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THIRD COLLECTION

SCALD AND VALUABLE

T. R. A. C. T. 2

THE HISTORY OF THE

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A
THIRD COLLECTION
OF
SCARCE and VALUABLE
TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Interesting and Entertaining Subjects:

But chiefly such as relate to the

History *and* Constitution of *these* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuscript*, in the ROYAL,
COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries;

Particularly that of the

Late LORD SOMERSET.

Revised by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL. II.

*The Bent and Genius of the Age is best known, in a free Country, by the Pamphlets
and Papers that come daily out, as the Sense of Parties, and sometimes the Voice of
the Nation.*

Preface to KENNET's Register.

Judex qui aliquid statuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum, & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum
statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.

Ld. COKE & JUST. Inst.

L O N D O N:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCLI.

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SCARCER and VALUABLE

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Id. Gore & Just. 1781.

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MDCCLII.

THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
SECOND VOLUME.

AN Abstract, or brief Declaration of the present State of his Majesty's Revenue, with the Assignations and Defalcations upon the same, all Moneys brought into his Majesty's Coffers from time to time since his coming to the Crown of *England*, by what Means soever; the ordinary annual Issues, Gifts, Rewards, and extraordinary Disbursements, as they are distinguished in the several Titles hereafter, 1651, Page 1

The Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, as it was publicly declared at *Westminster* the 16th Day of *December* 1653, in the Presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many others, Persons of Quality: At which Time and Place, his Highness, *Oliver*, Lord Protector of the said Commonwealth, took a solemn Oath for observing the same, 45

The Names of the Members called to take upon them the Trust of the Government of this Commonwealth, which began on *Monday* the 4th of *June* 1653, the Day appointed by Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, for the Meeting of these Gentlemen; with the several Transactions since that Time, 1654, 59

A Relation of the Mutiny in the *New Ex-*
VOL. II.

change, of the *Portugal* Ambassador's Followers, 22d of *Nov.* 1653, 65

An exact Relation of the Proceedings and Transactions of the late Parliament, their Beginning and Ending: With a brief Account of their Expence, of the Time of their Session, and the Acts that were made by them, who were dissolved *December* 12, 1653, as likewise of four great Votes, viz. 1. For abolishing the Court of Chancery. 2. For the new Model of the Law. 3. For taking away the Power of Patrons to make Presentations. 4. That innocent Negative Vote of not agreeing with the Report of the Committee for Tithes; and an Account of some Reasons of those Votes; with a brief Apology in way of Vindication of those Gentlemen that appeared for the Votes, from the great Outcry made against them by *L. D.* a Member of the late Parliament, 1654, 82

An exact Narrative of the Attempts made upon the Duke of *Glocester*. Being the Extracts of divers Letters written out of *France* to Persons of Quality in *England*, 1655, 101

The humble Petition and Advice presented unto his Highness the Lord Protector, by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgessees assembled at the Parliament begun and held at *Westminster* the 17th Day of *September* 1656; as also, their humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice presented unto his Highness in the same Parliament; together with his High-

A 2

The CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

- Highness's Consent unto the said Petitions, when they were respectively presented, 1657, Page 111
- A Time-serving Speech, spoken once in Season by a worthy Member of Parliament; and now is thought fit to be reprinted, to prevent the Occasion of having it respoken, 1680, 123
- England* anatomized, her Disease discovered, and the Remedy prescribed; in a Speech by a Member of the (so called) Parliament, 131
- England's* Confusion: Or, a true and impartial Relation of the late Traverses of State in *England*, with the Counsels leading thereto: Together with a Description of the present Power, ruling there by the Name of a Parliament, under the Mask of the Good old Cause, 136
- The Speech and Declaration of his Excellency the Lord General *Monk*, delivered at *Whitehall*, upon *Tuesday February 21, 1659*, to the Members of Parliament at their Meeting before the Re-admission of the formerly seclused Members into the Parliament-House, 155
- An Apology in the Behalf of the sequestrated Clergy, presented to the High Court of Parliament by *R. Mossom*, 158
- Seasonable Observations humbly offered to his Highness the Lord Protector, by *Samuel Lambe*, 164
- The Case of the old seclused, seclused, and now excluded Members, briefly and truly stated, from their own Vindication and their Electors, and the Kingdom's Satisfaction. By *William Prynne*, Esq; 1660, 189
- Considerations humbly tendered by *Simon Mayne*, to shew that he was no Contriver of that horrid Action of the Death of the late King, but merely seduced and drawn into it by the Persuasion of others, 196
- Votes, Resolves, and Orders in the Parliament in the Year 1660, concerning the Prisoners in the Tower, 198
- By the King, a Proclamation, to summon the Persons who gave Judgment, and assisted in that horrid and detestable Murder of his Majesty's Royal Father of blessed Memory, to appear and render themselves within fourteen Days, under Pain of being excepted from Pardon, 200
- An Abstract of Part of *Smith's* Articles and Charge (in his Majesty's Behalf) against Sergeant *Norfolk*, Esq; 202
- An Appeal to the Parliament concerning the Poor, that there may not be a Beggar in *England*, 1660, 204
- The Petition of *Henry Smith*, 206
- The State of the Case of *Edmund Harvey* Prisoner in the Tower of *London*, condemned to die, 207
- A Declaration of the Knights, Nobility, and Gentry of the County of *Oxon*, which have adhered to the late King, 1660, 209
- To the King's most excellent Majesty, and the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, the humble Petition of the Prisoners for Debt, 211
- A Fanatic's Address, humbly presented to the King and his Peers, and also to the People in their Representatives the Commons House of Parliament, assembled and sitting at *Westminster*: Discovering to them the Innocency of his Actions in the Midst of the late Revolutions of Government in this Nation, with the Resolves of them that walk with him, and the Qualifications of those they intend to have Communion withall. By *Henry Addis*, 1661, 220
- To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses in Parliament assembled, the humble Petition of *Oliver Fleming*, Knight, 232
- The humble Narrative of *Oliver Fleming*, Knight, shewing the Manner how I came to execute the Office of Master of the Ceremonies, with my Comportment and Sufferings therein for the Space of eighteen Years, 233
- A List of the Members of both Houses of Parliament that were forcibly seclused by the Army in the Year 1648, or since excluded by a few of their Fellow-members, confirming that which they formerly disowned, 240
- Acts of the Monuments of the late Rump, from the Time of their last Sessions until the Coming of the seclused Members, 247
- A seasonable Speech made by Alderman *Atkins* in the Rump Parliament, 1660, 250
- An Account of the Gains of the late Speaker, *William*

The CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

- William Lenthall*, in Answer to a Letter, 1660, 253
- The Way to Peace and Settlement of these Nations fully discovered, in two Letters delivered to his late Highness the Lord Protector, and one to the present Parliament: Wherein the Liberty of speaking (which every one desires for himself) is opposed against Antichrist for the procuring of his Downfall who will not grant the same to others, and now published to awaken the public Spirits in *England*, and to raise up the universal Magistrate in Christendom, that can suffer all Sorts of People (of what Religion soever they are) in any one Country, as God (the great Magistrate) suffers the same in all Countries of the World, 255
- A true Relation of the Quakers Sufferings, 265
- James Nailor's* Recantation, penned and directed by himself, to all People of the Lord gathered and scattered, and may most fitly serve as an Antidote against the infectious Poison of damnable Heresies, although couched under the most specious Veils of pretended Sanctity, 1659, 272
- For the King and both Houses of Parliament sitting at *Westminster*, and for every Member thereof to read, 274
- Iter Carolinum*: Being a succinct Relation of the necessitated Marches, Retreats, and Sufferings of his Majesty *Charles I.* from *January 10, 1641*, till the Time of his Death 1648, 1660, 288
- Instructions lately agreed on by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Commissioners sent by them to the *Hague* unto the King's most excellent Majesty. Together with the Speech made thereupon, by the Honourable *Denzil Holles*, Esq; one of the Commissioners, on *Wednesday, May 16, 1660*, 302
- A faithful Memorial of that remarkable Meeting of many Officers of the Army in *England*, at *Windsor-Castle*, in the Year 1648; as also a Discovery of the great Goodness of God in his gracious Meeting of them, hearing and answering their Suit of Supplications, while they were yet speaking to him: All which is humbly presented as a precious Pattern and Precedent unto the Officers and Soldiers of the said Army (or elsewhere) who are or shall be found in the like Path of following the Lord in this evil Day, searching or trying their Ways, in order to a thorough Return and Reformation. By *William Allen*, 1659, 307
- A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament who continued sitting till the 20th of *April 1653*, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, 1659, 314
- The Royal Oak: Or an historical Description of the Royal Progress, wonderful Travels, miraculous Escapes, and strange Accidents of his sacred Majesty *Charles II.* third Monarch of *Great Britain*, 315
- Resolves of Parliament, 1660, 319
- A List of the Earls and Lords that were present in the House of Peers on *Friday, April 27, 1660*, 320
- A Proclamation, *ibid.*
- A Declaration, 321
- To his most excellent Majesty King *Charles II.* our most gracious Sovereign; the humble Address of the Officers of the several Regiments of Horse under the Command of his Excellency the Lord General *Monk*; as it was presented by them to his Majesty at *Dartford Heath* in *Kent*, this present *Tuesday, May 29, 1660*, 322
- The Earl of *Manchester's* Speech to his Majesty in the Name of the House of Peers, at his Arrival at *Whitehall, May 29, 1660*; with his Majesty's Answer, 1660, 324
- A Proclamation against vicious, debauched, and profane Persons. By the King, 325.
- The true Copy of a Letter directed to the Provost and Preachers of the City of *Edinburgh*, delivered by an unknown Hand at the Cross in *June 19, 1660*, in the Time of the solemnizing the Proclamation of his sacred Majesty *Charles II.* fully discovering the horrid Treacheries of the Lord Marquis of *Argyle* and his Accomplices. To which is added, an Act of the *West-Kirk, August 13, 1650*, 327
- Petition of Sir *John Stawell*, 331
- A Brief of the Case and Title of *George Porter*, Esq; of *London*, unto a Deputation and Management of both the Letter-

The CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

ter Offices, together with the Profits thereunto belonging, derived from the Right Honourable <i>Charles Lord Stanhope</i> Baron of <i>Harrington</i> , Page 336	and Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic Religion in the Kingdom of <i>Ireland</i> , with their Protestation to the King; and a List of the Names of the Subscribers that have openly disclaimed and renounced the Pope of <i>Rome</i> , and all other foreign Powers, 1662, 391
A View of the Fallacies contained in a late printed Paper, intituled, <i>The Lord Stanhope's Case and Title to the Office of Postmaster of the Posts and Messengers</i> , 339	His Majesty's Speech, together with the Lord Chancellor's, to both Houses of Parliament, at their Prorogation on <i>Monday May 19, 1662</i> , 394
<i>Thomas Lea</i> , Rector of <i>Newton</i> in the Isle of <i>Ely</i> , his Case, 342	His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on <i>Monday March 21, 1663-4</i> , 401
The long Parliament revived: Or an Act for the Continuation and not Dissolving the Long Parliament (called by King <i>Charles I.</i> in 1640) but by an Act of Parliament; with undeniable Reasons, deduced from the said Act, to prove that that Parliament is not yet dissolved; also Mr. <i>William Prynne</i> his five Arguments fully answered, whereby he endeavours to prove it to be dissolved by the King's Death, &c. By <i>Thomas Philips</i> , 343	Articles of Peace between his sacred Majesty <i>Charles II.</i> King of <i>Great Britain, France and Ireland</i> , &c. and the City and Kingdom of <i>Algiers</i> , concluded by <i>Thomas Allen</i> , Esq; Admiral of his said Majesty of <i>Great Britain's</i> Ships in the <i>Mediterranean Seas</i> , &c. 1664, 404
An Answer to ditto, 358	Duke <i>Hamilton</i> , Earl of <i>Cambridge</i> , his Case, spoken to and argued on the Behalf of the Commonwealth before the High Court of Justice. By Mr. <i>Steele</i> of <i>Gray's-Inn</i> , 1649, 408
The humble Representation of the sad Condition of many of the King's Party, who since his Majesty's happy Return have no Relief, and but languishing Hopes: Together with Proposals how some of them may be speedily relieved, and others assured thereof within a reasonable Time, 1661, 363	A brief Relation of Sir <i>Walter Raleigh's</i> Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Castle of <i>Sherborne</i> in <i>Dorsetshire</i> , from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance, 1669, 441
The humble Address of several close Prisoners in the <i>Gatehouse, Westminster</i> , to the King and Council, to the Lord Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Justices and Judges of the King's Bench, to manifest their Innocence and to obtain their Liberty, 367	A full and true Relation of his Excellency the Pope's Nuncio's making his public Entry at <i>Windſor</i> , on Sunday July 3, 1687, 445
Truth's Discovery; or the Cavalier's Case clearly stated by Conscience and plain Dealing, presented to the honourable Commissioners, and all truly loyal and indigent Officers and Soldiers. By Capt. <i>Charles Hammond</i> , 376	By the King, a Declaration, with a List of the Foot and Horse that are for the Prince of <i>Orange</i> , 1688, 446
His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on <i>Monday July 8, 1661</i> ; with the Speech of Sir <i>John Turner</i> , Knight, Speaker of the House of Commons, 388	Father <i>la Chaise's</i> Project for the Extirpation of Heretics, 448
The Declaration and Remonstrations of the Earls, Lords, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels,	The Relation of the Rejoicings made in <i>Rome</i> for the Birth of the most serene Prince of <i>Wales</i> , only Son of <i>James II.</i> King of <i>Great Britain</i> , Defender of the Faith, 1689, 451
	A <i>Melius Inquirendum</i> into the Birth of the Prince of <i>Wales</i> ; or an Account of several Depositions <i>Pro</i> and <i>Con</i> , and the final Decision of that Affair by the Grand Inquest of <i>Europe</i> : Being a Supplement to the Depositions published by Authority, 1689, 458
	The

The CONTENTS of the SECOND VOLUME.

The Catholic Almanack for the Year 1687.
Containing both the *Roman* and *English*
Kalendars; with Catalogues of the Popes
from *St. Peter* to this present *Innocent XI.*
and of the Kings of *England* and Arch-

bishops of *Canterbury*, from the Year
600 to the Reformation. Printed by
Henry Hills, Printer to the King's Most
Excellent Majesty, for his Household and
Chapel, 1687, Page 489,

T R A C T S

AN ACT FOR THE BETTER REGULATION OF THE
of the present State of his Majesty's Revenue, with the
Assessments and Defalcations upon the same.

AND WHEREAS the said Act hath been made, and is now
being, that the said Act may be more fully executed, by
which means the said Revenue may be more fully
recovered, and the said Defalcations may be more
effectually prevented, the several Clauses hereafter following
shall be observed.

That the said Act shall be observed, and the several
Clauses thereof shall be put in Execution, according to the
true Intent and Meaning thereof.

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Clauses thereof shall be put in Execution, according to the
true Intent and Meaning thereof.

A THIRD

The CONTENTS of the Second Volume.

History of Germany, from the Year
1648 to the Present Time. By
J. G. L. [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]
[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The Catholic Almanack for the Year 1688.
Containing for the Year 1688
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THIRD COLLECTION

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TRACTS.

An ABSTRACT, or brief DECLARATION of the present State of his Majesty's Revenue, with the Assignations and Defalcations upon the same: All Monies brought into his Majesty's Coffers from time to time, since his coming to the Crown of *England*, by what Means soever: The ordinary annual Issues, Gifts, Rewards, and extraordinary Disbursements, as they are distinguished in the several Titles hereafter following.

Printed in the Year 1651.

Ordinary Receipts.

Great Customs.

Assignations.

T O the Cofferer	l. 20293
To the great Wardrobe	3065
To the Duke of <i>Lenox</i>	}
Fees to Customers	
Fees to Officers of the Exchequer	
Annuities and Creation Money	9899

— 33257

Defalcations.

Wares imported and exported	5425
Building of Ships	1500
Ready Money into the Receipt	100718

— 140900

Assignations.

2 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Impositions.

Assignment. Earl of Nottingham	l.	2700
Ready Money into the Receipt		43300
		46000
Three Pence upon Strangers Goods		2850

Receivers General of the King's Lands.

Assignations.

The Queen in Lands	l.	4000
In Rents		6500
In Fee-Farm for her Annuity		9500
To the Prince in Lands and Rents		2906
Coffers		9200
Fees and Wages		1176
Alms		1294
Annuities, Perpetuities, &c.		4830
Diets of the Lord Presidents		2408
Reparations of Castles, Parks, Lodges, &c.		1000
		42814
Defalcations. Portage of Moneys		500
Ready Money into the Receipt		21186
		64500

French and Rhenish Wines, 200 Tons for the King's House.

Assignations.

Great Wardrobe	l.	13000
Sir Fulke Grevill		300
James Bowey for High Country Wines		1584
Wines for the King's House with Leakage		5475
		20359
Defalcations. Impost Bills for 1200 Tons		2520
Ready Money into the Receipt		4121
		27000

Sheriffs in the Pipe.

Assignations.

To the Queen in Fee-Farm Rents	l.	3500
Cofferer		833
Wardrobe		451
Fees to Officers and Allowances		1360
		Creation

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 3

Creation Money	l. 240	
		6384
Ready Money in the Receipt		3858
		10242

Sea Coals.

Assignations.

A Grant to Sir Baptist Hicks and others, for Remain of ten Years bought of the Earl of Dunbarre	l. 2000	
Defalcations. Coals imported free	2000	
Ready Money into the Receipt	2300	
		6300

Court of Wards.

Assignations.

Coffer	l. 12000	
Wardrobe	2000	
Treasurer of the Chamber	1000	
Annuities	6000	
		21000
Ready Money into the Receipt		

Duchy of Lancaster.

Assignations.

Cofferer	l. 7500	
Treasurer of the Chamber	3000	
		10500

Alienation and Hanaper.

<i>Assignations.</i> Wardrobe	l. 200	
Ready Money into the Receipt	8000	
		8200

Chief Butlerage.

Assignations.

To Chancellors, 96 l. Lord Chief Justice, 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. Lord Hobart,
13 l. 6 s. 8 d. Lord Chief Baron, 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. Master of the Rolls,
6 l.

4 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

6 l. 13 s. 4 d. *Eaton College*, 15 l. *King's College*, 10 l. *The Auditors*,
 10 l. *Sir Thomas Waller's Fees*, 100 l. In all l. 278
 Ready Money into the Receipt 222

500

Ulnage of Cloth.

Assignations.

Cofferer l. 173
 Ready Money into the Receipt 647

820

Assigned.

New-year's Gift to the Privy Purse 1100
 Impost of Sugars to the Queen 4000
 Dutchy of *Cornwall*, with the Pension of Tin to the Prince 12000

17100

Sweet Wines.

Assignations.

Earl of *Southampton* l. 2000
 Great Wardrobe 5000

7000

Ready Money into the Receipt 2000

9000

Silks.

Assignations.

Lord Privy Seal l. 500
 Earl of *Salisbury* 4000
 Earl of *Mountgomery* 3000
 Lord *Liele*, now Earl of *Leicester* 1200
 Sir *Horatio Vere* 800
 Sir *Edward Conway* 500

10000

Ready Money into the Receipt 4977

14977

Licence to sell Wines 2700
 Tobacco by Estimate 4000
 Currants 2800
 Annual Tenths of the Clergy 11000
 Post Fines 2272

Unwrought

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 5

Unwrought Cloaths	l. 1000
Issues of Jurors	1000
Glasses assigned in Fees	1000
Cottons and Bayes	200
Silver and Gold Lace	200
New Drapery	98
Fines de Banco	133
Original and Judicial Sales	75
Sheeps Pelts	30
Smalt	20
Rents ad wardum castri Dover	82
Deal Wines	13
Custom of Carlisle	13
Steel	10
Wool, 20 l. Lead, 5 l. Arithmetical Instruments, 3 l.	28
Allum by Estimate	10000
Estalled Debt and Composition of Debts	3000
Seizures	2000
First-fruits	5000
Mint	3000
Recufants	6000
Clerk of the Faculties	200
Respite of Homage	500
King's Bounty assigned, being Money upon Forfeiture, &c.	3000

Sum total of all the Receipts aforesaid, viz.

Assignations	l. 190265
Defalcations	11045
Ready Money	249553
	450863

Ordinary Issues.

The King.

Privy Purse	5000
New-Years Gifts by Assignation	1100
	6100

The Queen.

Receivers-General, by Assignation	l. 16500
Fee-farm Rents in the Pipe-Office	3500
Sugars by Assignation	4000
	24000
In ready Money	500
	24500
	<i>The</i>

6 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

The Prince.

Out of the Dutchy of Cornwall and Tin	l. 12000
In Lands and Rents for Receivers-General	12906
	24906
In Ready Money, and New-Years Gifts, &c.	21094
	46000

Cofferer.

Out of the great Customs	l. 20293
From Receivers-General	9200
Out of the Court of Wards	12000
Out of the Dutchy of Lancaster	7500
Out of French Wines	7059
From Sheriffs	833
Out of Ulnage	173
	57058
In ready Money	18000
	75058

Great Wardrobe.

Out of the Great Customs	l. 3065
Out of the Court of Wards	2000
Out of the Hanaper	200
Out of the French Wines	13000
From Sheriffs	451
Out of the sweet Wines for the Robes	5000
	23716
In ready Money out of the Receipt	2284
	26000

Treasurer of the Chamber.

Out of the Court of Wards	l. 1000
Out of the Dutchy of Lancaster	3000
	4000
In ready Money out of the Receipt	16000
	20000

Navy.

Treasurer of the Navy for Harbrough narrow Seas and Cordage	l. 30000
Surveyors of Marine Victuals in ready Money	10000
	40000

Repair

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 7

Repair and enlarging Parks, &c.

From Receivers-General	L. 1000
In ready Money out of the Receipt	2000
	3000
Diets ready Money.	

Assignment.

Lord Privy Seal	L. 626
Star-Chamber	1200
Justices of Affize	2000
Lord Cobham	516
Grooms of the Bed-chamber	900
King's Riders	260
Walter Meeke the King's Barber	100
His Presidents from Receivers-General	2408
	8010

I R E L A N D.

In Fees and Annuities out of the Revenue there, to the Civil State not inclined to these Issues	L. 14000
In ready Money out of the Establishment	403000
Castles and Forts	4917
Berwick and Commissioners of the North	3440
Lieutenant of the Ordnance	6000
Master of the Armory	400
Supply of Gun-powder	3200
Lieutenant of the Tower	4000
Keeper of the Gate-house	300
Gentlemen Pensioners	6000
Provision of Horses	1600
Secret Affairs	1400
Ambassadors	10000
Master of the Posts	3000
Liveries of the Guard	1150
Works	10000
Repair of Stables	100
Jewel-house	6000
Revels 300 Pounds, Tents and Toils 200 Pounds	500
Rewards to Officers and others	3000
Barons of the Exchequer	300
Liberalties of the Exchequer and Receipt	1400
Blank Books for Customs and Imposition	200
Hay for Deer	140
	Non-

8 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Nonfuch Gardens	l. 200
Grooms and Pages	206
Sundry Persons out of the Receipt in ready Money, viz. in Fees	
25927 l. Perpetuities 515. Pensions 41494.	67936

Fees, Annuities, Perpetuities, &c.

Out of the great Customs	l. 9899
Out of the new Impositions, Lord Admiral	2700
From Receivers-General	16006
Out of the Court of Wards	6000
Out of the Impost of Sea Coals	2000
Out of the <i>French</i> Wines	300
From Sheriffs	1600
Out of the chief Butlerage	278
Out of the Impost of sweet Wines	2000
Out of the Silks	11000
Out of Glasscs	1000
	52783
	120719

Assignations.

Alms	l. 294
------	--------

Defalcations.

Great Customs for Goods imported free	4525
Out of <i>French</i> Wines	2520
Sea Coals exported and imported free	2000
Portage of Monies	500
Building Ships	1500
	11045

The King's Bounty by Assignation out of Money for Forfeitures, &c. 3000

The whole Sum of all the Issues aforesaid, viz.

Assignations	l. 190265
Defalcations	11045
Ready Money	286170
	487480

Inequalities between the ready Money received, and the ready Money issued upon the Ordinary, the said Issues exceeding the said Receipts l. 36617

Money extraordinary raised since his Majesty's coming to the Crown.

Given by the Parliament *Anno Tertio Regis Jacobi* three Subsidies, and six Fifteenths, and Tenths of the Laiety, and four Subsidies of the Clergy, payable

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 9

payable at eleven several Payments, all which, by Estimation, amounteth unto	l. 453000
Given by the Parliament, <i>Anno Septimo Regis Jacobi</i> , one Subsidy and one Fifteenth and Tenth of the Laiety, which amounteth unto	106166
Sale of Lands, some in Fee-simple, and some in Fee-farm; Mills and Parsonages	755020
Sale of Woods	47543
For Conformation of the Earl of <i>Hartfort's</i> Title unto certain Lands	15534
Compositions made upon defective Titles of Lands	37535
Compositions made for Assart Lands	23608
Fines of Copy-holders, and Leases of the mortgaged Lands	18600
Silver Ore out of the <i>Scottish</i> Mine	1000
Aid Money, collected throughout <i>England</i> , to make Prince <i>Henry</i> Knight	21800
Aid Money, collected throughout <i>England</i> , to marry the Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> the King's eldest Daughter	20500
Loan Money, upon Privy-Seals, borrowed in the ninth Year of King <i>James</i> , yet unrepaid	111046
Money repaid by the <i>French</i> King, due to the late Queen <i>Elizabeth</i>	60000
Money repaid by the Lords of the State of the Low-Countries due to the late Queen	248000
Besides 160000 <i>l.</i> in full Discharge of that Debt now paid in, which makes the whole Payment to be	421000
Money raised by creating Knights Baronets, towards defraying of the Charge of the Army in <i>Ireland</i> ; besides some few since	98550
Old Debts of King <i>Henry</i> the Eighth's Time, paid in by Sir <i>Thomas Shirly</i> upon their Grant	10000
Farmers of the great Custom for renewing their Lease	20000
For the Fine of the Lease of <i>French</i> and <i>Rhenish</i> Wines	16000
For the Fine of the Lease of the Sweet Wines	28500
For the Fine of the Lease of Tobacco	2000
The Earl of <i>Northumberland's</i> Fine in the Star-chamber, compounded for	11000
The Lord Viscount <i>Mountagu's</i> Fine in the Star-chamber, compounded for	4000
The Lord <i>Stourton's</i> Fine in the Star-chamber, compounded for	1000
For the Grant made to Sir <i>Lionell Cranfield</i> , for two Years and a half, to grant Licenses to keep Taverns	5536
Sale of <i>Burgundy</i> , Jewels left there in pawn	3412
Sale of the Goods confiscated in the Ship called the <i>Pearle</i> , late returned from <i>East-India</i>	8281
Paid in by the Executors of <i>Thomas Sutton</i> , Esq; to be disposed for pious Uses	10000
Given by the Lord <i>Wotton</i> , of Free-gift to his Majesty	1000
For the Fine of the Lease of Chief Butlerage of <i>England</i>	2000
Given to the King, by way of Benevolence by the Lords and others	52909
Money raised for Fines of new Buildings in and about <i>London</i>	4000
VOL. II.	The

10 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

The total Sum is Two Millions, One Hundred Ninety-three Thousand, Three Hundred Seventy and Four Pounds.

His Majesty's extraordinary Disbursements, since his coming to the Crown, besides the ordinary annual Issues.

The Expence of his Majesty and his Train, in his Journey from <i>Scotland</i> to <i>London</i>	l. 10752
The Funeral Charge of Queen <i>Elizabeth</i>	17428
The King's Coronation and Royal Entry	36145
Ambassadors and others sent into foreign States, besides the Charge of Ledger Ambassadors	20790
The Diets of Ambassadors and others, sent hither from foreign States	31400
His Majesty's Household Expence over and above the yearly Assignments and Allowances	232200
In Discharge of Debts due in <i>Ireland</i> in the late Queen's Time, and in Discharge of sundry Provisions there, over and above the Establishment	247433
To the Treasurer of the Chamber over and above his ordinary yearly Assignments	21362
The Queen's Child-bed, and other necessary Provisions for that Time	52542
To the Gentleman of his Majesty's Robes, over and above the yearly Assignment	8680
For Jewels, Pearls, Plate, &c. over and above the Assignment to the Jewel-house	158119
The Charge of the Mine in <i>Scotland</i>	3059
The Charge of divers Masks, besides the Provisions had out of the Wardrobe, and Materials and Workmen from the Office of the Works	7500
For Provision of Tents and Toyls, over and above the ordinary Allowance	1800
For Making and Graving of sundry Seals for his Majesty's Service	1514
Purchase of Lands, Parks, Houses, &c.	125705
Building and repairing of Houses, Lodges, Parks, Gardens, &c.	139900
For secret and extraordinary Services	12897
To the Commissioners for the late Borders adjoining to <i>Scotland</i>	7649
To the Commissioners for the Isle of <i>Jersey</i>	905
To the Commissioners for Depopulations	500
	9054
Pottage of Loan, Aid and Wood-Money	5600
Allowances out of assart Lands and defective Titles	17400
For Cordage, Masts, and building of Ships above the Assignments	63764
Charges about Deer and Fowl	100
For Apparel, Victuals, Transportations, and Pay of the Soldiers sent into <i>Swedeland</i>	5775
For the like Charges of Soldiers sent into <i>Cleve</i> , Sir <i>Edward Cecill</i> being General, whose Allowance was five Pounds by the Day for himself, the whole Charge	17695
Prince <i>Henry's</i> Funeral Charges	16016
	The

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* II

The Lady *Elizabeth's* Marriage, with the *Palsgrave's* Diets, and other Charges appertinent to the same, viz.

For the <i>Palsgrave's</i> Diets, at his standing House	l. 6000
For his Diets at his Installment into the Garter	4000
For Diet at the Solemnization of their Marriage	2000
For Lodgings for the <i>Palsgrave's</i> Servants	830
To the Lord <i>Hay</i> to provide Apparel and other Necessaries for the Lady <i>Elizabeth</i>	6252
More to the Lord <i>Hay</i> for more Necessaries for the Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> , and for furnishing her Marriage-chamber	3023
To the Lord <i>Harrington</i> to provide Apparel and like Necessaries for the Lady <i>Elizabeth</i>	1829
More to him for Jewels for her, and for Apparel for her Servants	3914
To divers Merchants for Silks and other Necessaries	995
For Charges about the Lords Mask at her Marriage	400
To the Treasurer of the Navy for the Naval Fight performed on the <i>Thames</i> at the Marriage	4800
For the Fire-works of the <i>Thames</i> , then	2880
To Sir <i>Edward Cecill</i> , appointed Treasurer for her Journey to <i>Heidelberg</i> , for her Purse	2000
To certain Gentry, to take the Assurance of the Lady <i>Elizabeth's</i> Jointure, and for settling the same	800
To the Farmers of the great Customs to pay Bills of Exchange, when she arrived beyond the Seas, for Charges of her Journey	8000
For her Transportation to <i>Flushing</i>	5555
Total Charge of her Diets, Marriage, Provisions and Transportations	53294
Paid over to the <i>Palsgrave's</i> Agents for her Portion	40000
To the Earl of <i>Sussex</i> , as so much due to the late Earl of <i>Dunbar</i> , for so much disbursed by him by his Majesty's Direction	11000
To Sir <i>Thomas Edmonds</i> , Ledger Ambassador in <i>France</i> , to be disposed of there according to Direction	15000
To the Earl of <i>Pembroke</i> , for his Estate in the Iron-works, in the Forest of <i>Dane</i> , with the Materials to the same belonging	4100
For Tombs for the late Queen, the King's two Daughters, and the late Queen of <i>Scots</i> the King's Mother	3500
The Charge of the Allum-works in the North and West Parts of <i>England</i> , since his Majesty took those Mines into his Hands	64988
His Majesty's Charge towards the bringing of the New River to <i>London</i> from <i>Anwell</i> and <i>Chadwell</i> for the New Water-work	7856
To the great Wardrobe, over and above the ordinary Assignments	319647
Interest-Money paid by his Majesty, since his coming into <i>England</i> , after the Rate of Ten in the Hundred to the Citizens of <i>London</i>	127789
Rewards to Officers, &c. over and above the ordinary Issues for that Cause	49784
	To

12 *A Third Collection of* **TRACTS** *on all Subjects.*

To the Earl of *Nottingham* for the Hangings of the Story of the Fight in 88,
containing 708 *Flemish* Ells, at 10 l. 6 s. the Ell. In all l. 1628
To Pirates lately pardoned, by way of Composition for their Ships, &c. re-
stored to the Owners 4930

The whole Sum of these extraordinary Disbursements 2968970
To which being added the ready Money given away in Free-gifts,
which is 424469 l. as appeareth in its own Place, will make the
total Extraordinaries to be 2393429

And so it exceeds the Monies extraordinarily raised the Sum of 199065

To which the Inequalities between the ordinary annual Receipts, and ordinary
annual Issues being also added, will leave a very great Debt upon the King.

Ready Money paid out of the *Exchequer*, since his Majesty's coming
to the Crown, by way of Free-gift, to these several Persons fol-
lowing, viz.

Anno I. Regis Jacobi.

To the Lady <i>Mary</i> , Countess of <i>Southampton</i>	l. 600
To the Earl of <i>Downbarre</i> , the Lord <i>Howme</i>	1266
To Sir <i>John Ramsey</i> , now Viscount <i>Haddington</i>	900
To Sir <i>Robert Crosse</i>	700
To the Lady <i>Arbella</i>	666
To the Earl of <i>Marre</i>	500
To the Earl of <i>Murray</i>	2600
To Master <i>Bevis Bullmere</i>	100
To Sir <i>James Linsey</i>	500
To <i>David Lavingstone</i>	133
To Sir <i>Patrick Murray</i>	300
To Sir <i>George Elphinston</i>	500
To the Earl of <i>Lithcowe</i>	3000
To Sir <i>Robert Melvill</i>	500
To Sir <i>Charles Hales</i>	120
To <i>David Murray</i>	200
To Sir <i>Richard Person</i> , now Lord <i>Dingwell</i> , out of Recusant's Goods	150
To Sir <i>Roger Aston</i>	2000
To <i>Alison Hay</i>	200

The Total Sum is 10014935

Anno II.

To <i>Adam Newton</i> , Prince <i>Henry's</i> Tutor	300
To Sir <i>John Ramsey</i> , now Lord <i>Haddington</i>	100
To Sir <i>Edward Stafford</i>	100
To Monsieur <i>de Sourdeac</i>	1200
To	To

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 13

To the Duke of <i>Holst</i> the Queen's Brother	l. 4000
To <i>Philip Tise</i>	2000
To the <i>French</i> Ambassador	500
To the Earl of <i>Arroll</i>	1000
To <i>Anthony Balbany</i>	1600
To <i>Henry Hall, Esq;</i>	307
To <i>Richard Lecavell</i>	100
To Sir <i>Robert Melvil</i>	1500
To <i>Richard</i> , then Lord Archbishop of <i>Canterbury</i>	1333

The Total Sum is 10014040

Anno III.

To <i>George Zadwadsky</i> sent with Horses out of <i>Poland</i>	100
To <i>David Fenwick</i>	200
To <i>David Jenkins</i>	100
To <i>David Moises</i> and <i>William Rider</i> out of <i>Green-wax</i>	2000
To Sir <i>James Creighton</i> and Sir <i>George Howme</i> , junior, out of <i>Green-wax</i>	2000
To <i>John Gib</i> , out of <i>Recusants</i> Lands and Goods	3000
To <i>George Hay</i> out of the Profits of transporting <i>Iron Ordnance</i>	1662
To <i>William Shaw</i> out of <i>Fines</i> in the <i>King's-Bench</i>	800
To <i>Robert Browne</i> out of Goods confiscated	2000
To Mrs. <i>Jane Dormond</i> , now Lady <i>Roxbrough</i>	2200
To <i>Adam Newton</i> Prince <i>Henry's</i> Tutor	2000
To Doctor <i>Martin</i>	100
To <i>Arthur Mills</i>	100
To Sir <i>John Ramsay</i> now Lord <i>Haddington</i>	400
To <i>Samuel Rickpatrick</i>	400
To <i>John Nesmith</i>	66
To <i>Gilbert Primrose</i>	66
To Sir <i>Melker Levens</i>	150
To the Duke of <i>Holst</i> , the Queen's Brother	1000
To <i>Alice Dennice</i>	100
To Sir <i>William Steward</i>	600
To <i>Dorothy Steward</i>	200
To Monsieur <i>Ottoman</i>	66
To Sir <i>James Murrey</i>	100
To <i>Marian Hipburne</i>	100
To Sir <i>Richard Weston</i>	200
To <i>Michael Borstade</i>	337
To the Earl of <i>Downbarre</i> , then Lord <i>Howme</i> , for his Interest in the Manor of <i>Hartington</i> in <i>Com. Derby</i> , formerly granted unto him	6000

The Total Sum 10026047

Anno IV.

To Master <i>John Murray</i> of the Bed-chamber, not of <i>Recusants</i> Lands and Goods	l. 2000
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To

14 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

To Sir James Sandilandis out of Recufants	l. 1500
To Robert Walker	100
To Richard Brasse	100
To Patrick Morton	200
More to John Murray	100
To the Earl of Essex	761
To the Earl of Arroll	1000
To the Earl of Rutland, his own Arrears of Rent due	424
To the Lord Lundourus	500
To David Spence, & al.	240
To Sir James Sandilandis more	150
To Samuel Rickpatrick	400
To Sir Richard Weston	300
To Sir John Ramsay, now Lord Haddington	900
To Levine Stallenge	200
To Alice Dennis	100
Rewards to the King of Denmark's Servants	1235
To the Earl of Clanricard, out of John Daniel's Land	2000
To John M. Kime, out of Goods confiscated	200

The Total Sum is ——— 10012410

Anno V.

To John Auchmontie out of Recufants Lands and Goods	l. 2000
To Martin and Abraham Harderet out of Recufants Lands and Goods	3000
To Alexander Hay out of Debts due to the King	1000
To Sir Richard Weston	1700
To Peter Vanlore	1625
To Thomas Levingstone	66
To Dr. Neale, then Dean of Westminster	200
To Sir Thomas Terringham	1000
To the Lord Danvers	750
To Sir John Lindsey	100
To John Spence	40
To Dr. Martin	100
To Sir Levis Bulmere	100
To John Nesmith	66
To Gilbert Primrose	66
To Sir Thomas Edmonds	240
To William Bellenden	200
To Charles Fortie	100
To the Earl of Downbarre	4106
To Sir Henry Broncker	100
To the Lord Lundourus	2500
To Francis Steward	100
To Sir Edward Grevill	500
To	

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 15

To Sir Roger Aston	l. 1500
To the Merchants of the <i>Levant</i> Seas, for a Present to be given by them to the Grand Signior for establishing Capitulations of Intercourse	5322
To John Patten out of Recusants Lands, &c.	200

The Total Sum is 10026681

Anno VI.

To Sir Fevis Bullmere	500
To the Lord Hay out of estalled Debts and Seizures due to his Majesty	11500
To Richard Brasse	20
To the Lord Gourdon	250
To John Barkley	60
To Master Francis Steward	220
To Robert Carliell	100
To the poor Watermen of London, for their Relief in the great Frost	200
To John Griffeth	100
To David and Katharine Jenkins	100
To the Earl of Perth	1000
To the Lord Obigney	375
To Henry Gonntrade	250
To the Lord Viscount Haddington	2000
To Daniel Burgrave	2500
To Paul Starling	2500
To James Steward	1500
To the Earl Home	2000
To Sir Robert Melvill	2000
To John Johnson	100
To John Norden	200
To Sir Oliver Cromwell for relinquishing of his Grant of 200 l. by the Year out of his Majesty's Lands, given to him of Free-Gift	6000
To Sir Edward Grevill out of the Money raised by Composition for Assart Lands	2000
To Sir Henry Guilford	68
To Rowland Woodward	60
To the King of Denmark's Servants in Reward	148

The Total Sum is 10035751

Anno VII.

To Contractors for Parsonages, &c. in Reward for their Pains in taking up divers Sums of Money for the King	1300
More to them for the like Service	1400
To the Earl of Downbarre	2000
To Sir Stephen Proctor	80
To	

16 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

To the Earl of <i>Suffolke</i> being an Arrearage of Rents due by him to his Majesty	l. 4830
To Sir <i>Patrick Murray</i> and Sir <i>James Oughterlony</i> for relinquishing their Grant of Concealments	1500
To the Lord <i>Obigney</i> for relinquishing his Grant of 1000 l. by the Year in Fee-simple given unto him by his Majesty	18000
To <i>Thomas Warwick</i>	400
To Sir <i>Patrick Murray</i> more	300
Paid over to Merchants to be disbursed for the Restitution of the Prince of <i>Moldavia</i> to his Estate of the King's Free-Gift	3000
To the King of <i>Denmark's</i> Servants for bringing of Deer in Reward	100
To <i>Henry Mynors</i>	500
To Sir <i>Robert Gray</i>	800
To <i>Arthur Ingram</i>	673
To the Lord <i>Gourdon</i>	1000
To Sir <i>Robert Drewry</i>	500
To the Earl <i>Home</i>	1000
To <i>William Shaa</i> for relinquishing his Grant of old Debts	480
To <i>Gilbert Primrose</i>	200
To the Earl of <i>Montgomery</i> for surrendering Part of his Grant of Custodies	6000
To Sir <i>Richard Weston</i>	1664
To Sir <i>Charles Cornewallis</i>	1000
To <i>William Belon</i>	250
To <i>George Marshall</i>	100
To Sir <i>Thomas Bartlet</i>	170
To the Lord Viscount <i>Haddington</i>	7200
To Sir <i>Robert Douglas</i>	200
To Sir <i>Henry Gray</i>	3000
To <i>Jehu Webb</i>	50
To the Lord <i>Hoth</i>	200
To <i>David Moises</i> and <i>William Dampart</i>	450
To Dr. <i>Millwood</i>	66
To <i>John Berwick</i>	52
To <i>Peter la Costa</i>	100
To <i>John Elphinstone</i>	500
To <i>William Browne</i>	66
To <i>Andrew Downes</i>	50
To the Lord <i>Bruce</i> Lord of <i>Kinlosse</i>	2000
To Sir <i>Alexander Hay</i>	500

The Total Sum is 10061687

Anno VIII.

To <i>Thomas Pott</i>	l. 100
To <i>Richard Brasse</i>	100
	To

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 17

To William Dampart	l. 50
To John Barkley	200
To Claud Rolf for bringing of Hawks	20
To Sir Alexander Hay	1500
To John Marshall	100
To Henry Gibb	170
To Sir Henry Guntrode	1300
To Adam Newton Prince Henry's Tutor	2000
To William Tipper	600
To William Stirrel	50
To the Earl of Embden's Servants in Reward	60
To Sir Henry Gray out of Sir Thomas Shirle's Money paid in for Debts due in King Henry the Eighth's Time	2000
To Sir Edward Apsley and Edward Woodward out of the same Money	4000
To Sir Stephen Proctor	42
To Sir John Hungerford	160
To John Berwick	48
To Richard Hall	160
To Sir Sigismond and Henry Alexander	100
To Sir Thomas Bartlet	100
To Robert Walker and Richard Brasse	86
To Claud Russel	40
To Sir Richard Martin	110

The Total Sum is 10013096

Anno IX. 1611.

To Robert Cunningham	l. 80
To John Eldred & al.	690
To the Earl of Downbarre for relinquishing his Grant of Logwood	2000
To Sir Robert Carre late Earl of Somerset	500
More to him for his Interest in the Manor of Sherborne lately given unto him	20000
To the Lady Helen Mac Carty	40
To Sir Richard Martin	300
To the Earl of Essex	3000
To the Lord Viscount Haddington	8000
To the Earl of Montgomery	8000
To the Lord Viscount Fenton	8000
To the Lord Hay	8000
To Thomas Warwick	500
To Sir Sigismond and Henry Alexander	100
To Sir John Eyres	500
To Andrew Melvin	60
To the Lord Knivett	500
To Sir William Lane	50

18 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

To William Ramsey	l. 600
To William Stockdale	80
To the Earl of Marre for his Interest in the Manors of Hunden and Chibley in Com. Suff. now sold to the Lord Cavendish for 15000 l. and given to the said Earl, as of his Majesty's Free-Gift	15000
To John Vachell	100
More to the Lord Viscount Rochester late Earl of Somerset	5000
To Patrick Maulde	600
To Sir John Grahame	220
To John Barkley	100
To Katharine Bridges	100
To Patrick Abercromby	40
To the Duke of Mantua's Servants	40
To the Marquis of Brandenburg's Servants	40
To John Murray the Queen's Servant	228
To John Howme	50
To Christian Schonero	150
To the Lady Raleighe for Composition for Shereborne	8000

The Total Sum is 10090668

Anno X. 1612.

To Prince Henry of Free-Gift	8100
To Roger Polkingborne	72
To Patrick Gourdon	66
To the Lord Obigney	2000
To Sir Roger Aston	2000
To the Lord Viscount Rochester	15500
To William Ramsey	600
To Edward Bridges	150
To Patrick Maulde	600
To the Lord Knivett	500
To William Shaa	500
To William Stacy	100
To Julio Cannilla Crema	100
To James Johnson	400
To Sir Patrick Howme	200
To Edmond Bradshawe	100
To the two Alexanders	100
To Perundine	60
To Sir Robert Douglas	2000
To Sir Richard Wigmore	310
To Captain William Murray	666
To Robert Buchannon	50
To Lawrence Newmeke	30
To John Levingstone	1000
To	

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 19

To Sir James Howme	l. 500
To Henry Smith	40
To the Lord Viscount Lisle for his Interest in <i>Alton Woods</i> , and for his faithful Service	3000
To Sir Robert Shirley Ambassador from <i>Persia</i> of Free Gift	666
To the Marquis of <i>Brandenburgh's</i> Servants for bringing of Silks	40
The Total Sum is	10039450

Anno XI. 1613.

To William Pinches	l. 120
To Henry Zinzan, alias <i>Alexander</i>	100
To David Dormond	100
To Jeronimo Cavasasco	60
To Sir James Areskin out of the Money brought by Sir Thomas Shirley, for Debts due in King <i>Henry</i> the Eighth's Time	1014
To the Earl of <i>Northampton</i>	6000
To Sir David Murray, being Part of the Lord Viscount <i>Mountague's</i> Fine	2000
To the Earl of <i>Clanricarde</i>	3000
To Charles Chambers for relinquishing a Grant of 3000 l. out of Recufants	750
To the Lord of <i>Loreston</i> for the like Grant of 6000 l. out of Recufants	1500
To Sir William Waade for the like for 2000 l.	500
To Ralph Bowes for the like for 1000 l.	250
To Sir Richard Wigmore for the like for 1000 l.	250
To Sir James Simple and Thomas Lee for the like Grant for 4000 l.	1000
To Sir Hugh Beeston for the like Grant for 3000 l.	750
To Thomas Wilson out of the Money reserved for the King's Bounty	300
To Sir James Oughlerlony out of Bounty	200
To Sir Francis Steward out of Bounty	200
To Sir William Gunstable out of Bounty	133
To Ellis Rothwell out of Bounty	200
To Captain William Steward out of Bounty	666
To Sir Jehn Shaa out of Bounty	200
To Sir William Steward out of Bounty	500
To Archibald Napper	200
The Total Sum is	10019993

Anno XII. 1614.

To the two Zinzans, alias <i>Alexander</i>	l. 100
To Peter la Costa	60
To Salomon de Caux	50
To Monsieur de Tournon	100
To the Earl of <i>Suffolk</i> for surrendering his Grant of the Impost of Currants	10000

20 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

To the Lord Viscount <i>Haddington</i> , and the Lord <i>Dingwel</i> , out of Sir <i>Henry James</i> his Lands, Goods, escheated for refusing the Oath of Allegiance	l. 6000
To Sir <i>Richard Wigmore</i> out of the same Lands and Goods	1000
To the Lord <i>Sheffielde</i> for surrendering his Estate in a Pension of 1000 l. by the Year, formerly given unto him by his Majesty	6370
To the Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> for surrendering his Estate for the granting of Licenses to sell Wine in Taverns	11072
To <i>Franciscus Julius</i> Duke of <i>Saxony</i> of his Majesty's Free-Gift	2000
To the Lord Viscount <i>Haddington</i> out of the Arrearages now paid in by Recusants	2000
To the Earl <i>Howme</i>	660
To <i>Ellen Felton</i>	300
To <i>John Barkley</i>	333
To <i>Alexander Mongrief</i> .	660
To the two <i>Zinzans</i> , alias <i>Alexander</i>	1000
To <i>David Ramsey</i>	1000
To <i>John Sandilandis</i>	600
To <i>Francis</i> and <i>John Bonham</i>	300
Sent unto the Lady <i>Elizabeth</i> by Master <i>Maxwell</i> , as of his Majesty's Free-Gift	1100
To Master <i>John Dackombe</i> of Free-Gift	140
To Sir <i>Edward Cecil</i>	500
To <i>John Murray</i>	150
To Sir <i>James Sandilandis</i> and <i>Patrick Abercromby</i>	100
To <i>Andrew Boide</i> out of Bounty	500
To Sir <i>William Steward</i> out of Bounty	1500
To Sir <i>John Graham</i> out of Bounty	1500
To Sir <i>William Constable</i> out of Bounty	500
To <i>John Murray</i>	1000

The Total Sum is 10050595

Anno XIII. 1615.

To <i>William Shaa</i> out of Bounty	l. 1500
To Sir <i>George Ramsey</i> out of Bounty	1000
To Sir <i>James Oughterlony</i> out of Bounty	1800
To <i>Francis Tirrel</i>	300
To Sir <i>David Murray</i> of Free-Gift to pay his Debts	5200
To Sir <i>Robert Douglas</i>	1000
To <i>Peter de Moulyn</i> Doctor of Divinity lately come out of <i>France</i>	300
To <i>Philip Jacobson</i> Merchant, out of the Goods forfeited in the Ship called the <i>Pearl</i>	6000
To the Earl of <i>Nottingham</i>	1500
To <i>John Berkley</i>	250
To <i>Thomas Dempster</i> Historiographer	200
To	

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 21

To John Garrett	l. 20
To the Lord Viscount Haddington	800
To Sir Arthur Ingram in Reward for his Pains taken about the Allum Business	666
To William Parkhurst	500

The Total Sum is . . . 21036

Anno XIV. 1616.

To Adam Valett and John Tetart	l. 80
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The Total Sum of all the Free Gifts . . . 424469

Memorandum. Most of those Persons before mentioned hath or had Pensions,
with Jewels, &c.

Anno XIV. Jacobi 1616.

To Adam Valett and John Tetart, Frenchmen	l. 80
To John Garratt	20
To the King of Denmark's Servants for bringing Deer	100
To Sir William Bronker out of the Bounty-Money	2000
To the Officers (in Recompence of their Places) in <i>Flushing</i> upon Sur- render of the Town	1915
The like to the Officers at <i>Brill</i>	1785
To Clement Edmonds of a Grant made unto him of the Reversion of Muster-Master of <i>Brill</i>	400
To George Thoresby Commissary of the Muster in <i>Brill</i> in Recompence of his Place	400
To Sir James Simple and Thomas Leighe out of Recusants Lands and Goods	310
To Morgan Colman	20
To Captain Barnaby Rich	100
To Sir James Hamilton for surrendering his Grant of the Customs and Imposts in the Ports of <i>Logh Coyne</i> and Bay of <i>Knockfergus</i> in <i>Ireland</i>	1300
To Archibald Napper out of the Bounty-Money	1800
More to him for surrendering his Pension of 200 l.	600
To Sir Thomas Cornewallis	300
To Lawrence Dundas	50
To Sir James Sandilandis	150
To Barnard Lindsey	1000
To Sir William Cornewallis out of Bounty	2000
To Master Coppier	100
To the Earl of Nottingham	1500
To the Lord Viscount Haddington	6000
To Christian Steward the Dwarf	20
To Richard D'Olive	160
To James Maxwell	l. 150
	To

22 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

To Sir James Oughterlony, out of Bounty	800
To Walter Balconquall	200
To Sir Cary Raleigh	100
To Richard Connock	666
To James Chambers, the King's Phyfician	250
To the Lord Obigney	5000
To Jehan de Tour, Frenchman	100

The Total Sum is 29376

Anno XV. to Regis Jacobi 1617.

To the Lady Elizabeth Murray	l. 100
To Francis Earl of Cumberland, in Recompence of the Loss by him sustained upon the Grant made unto George late Earl of Cumberland, in the third Year of the King, for the Licensing of all manner of Clothes to be transported beyond the Seas. For 19858 Clothes undressed, now restrained to be transported, which cometh unto (after the Rate of Two Shillings Eight-pence the Cloth) the Sum of	2647 l. 14 s. 8 d.
To the Lady Roxborough, formerly Lady Dormond	l. 3000
To Richard Seimor	100
To the late Earl of Somersett to pay his Debts	5083
To the Lady Walsingham	1000

Knights Baronets.

Every Knight Baronet paid One Thousand Four-score and Fifteen Pounds,
(divided into Three several Payments, to be paid proportionably yearly,
during Three Years) towards the Maintenance of thirty Footmen (for three
Years) in his Majesty's Forces, serving in the Province of Ulster in the
Kingdom of Ireland, for the quiet Establishment of that Province, every
Footman to be allowed Eight-pence by the Day, during the said Term.
The Names of those Baronets, and their Priority of Place, are as followeth,
viz.

<i>Suff.</i>	Sir Nicholas Bacon	<i>Westm.</i>	Sir Richard Musgrave
<i>Lanc.</i>	Sir Richard Mollineux	<i>Norff.</i>	Sir Henry Hobart
<i>Glamorg.</i>	Sir Thomas Mansell	<i>Cestria.</i>	Sir George Booth
<i>Leic.</i>	Sir George Shirley	<i>Cant.</i>	Sir John Peyton
<i>Glamorg.</i>	Sir John Stardling	<i>Suff.</i>	Lionel Talmash, Esq;
<i>Derb.</i>	Sir Francis Leake	<i>Nott.</i>	Sir James Clifton
<i>Suffex.</i>	Sir Thomas Pelham	<i>Lanc.</i>	Sir Thomas Gerrarde
<i>Lanc.</i>	Sir Richard Houghton	<i>Staff.</i>	Sir Walter Aston
<i>Wilt.</i>	Sir John St. John	<i>Norff.</i>	Sir Philip Knivett
<i>Suffex.</i>	Sir John Shelley	<i>Effex.</i>	Sir John Wentworth
<i>Cistria.</i>	Sir John Savage	<i>Eboru.</i>	Sir Henry Bellafter
<i>Effex.</i>	Sir Francis Barrington	<i>Eboru.</i>	Mr. William Constable
<i>Leic.</i>	Mr. Henry Barkley	<i>War.</i>	Sir Thomas Leighe
<i>Eboru.</i>	Mr. William Wentworth	<i>Rutl.</i>	Sir Edward Nowell

Hunt.

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 23

<i>Hunt.</i>	Sir Robert Cotten	<i>Oxon.</i>	Mr. Thomas Spencer
<i>Cestria.</i>	Mr. Robert Cholmonde	<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir John Tufton
<i>Devon.</i>	Mr. Edward Seymore	<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir Samuel Peiton
<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir Moile Finch	<i>Hertf.</i>	Sir Charles Morrifon
<i>Oxon.</i>	Sir Anthony Cope	<i>Kanc.</i>	Sir Henry Baker
<i>Lincolne.</i>	Sir Thomas Mounfon	<i>Effex.</i>	Mr. Roger Appleton
<i>Lincolne.</i>	Sir Thomas Uavifor	<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir William Sedley
<i>Derb.</i>	Mr. George Greifley	<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir William Twifden
<i>Glouc.</i>	Mr. Paul Tracye	<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir Edward Hales
<i>Eboru.</i>	Sir Henry Savile	<i>Kancia.</i>	Sir William Moyns
<i>Derb.</i>	Mr. Henry Willoughby	<i>Effex.</i>	Mr. Thomas Mildmay
<i>North.</i>	Mr. Lewis Tresham	<i>Effex.</i>	Sir William Maynarde
<i>North.</i>	Mr. Thomas Brudenell	<i>Buck.</i>	Mr. Henry Lea
<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir George St. Paul	<i>Wiltes.</i>	Sir Edward Gorges
<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir Philip Tirwhite	<i>Effex.</i>	Sir Harbot. Grimston
<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir Roger Dallifon	<i>Warr.</i>	Sir Thomas Holt
<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir Edward Carre	<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir Nicholas Sanderfon
<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir Edward Huffey	<i>Somerfet.</i>	Sir John Portman
<i>Norff.</i>	Mr. Leftran. Mordant	<i>Lincoline.</i>	Sir John Wray
<i>Effex.</i>	Mr. Thomas Bendifh	<i>Berk.</i>	Mr. William Effex
<i>Carmert.</i>	Sir John Wyme	<i>Eboru.</i>	Sir Marmaduke Wivell
<i>Glouc.</i>	Sir William Throgmorton	<i>Wiltes.</i>	Sir Francis Englesfield
<i>South.</i>	Sir Richard Worsley	<i>Staff.</i>	Mr. John Peshall
<i>Bedd.</i>	Mr. William Gostwick	<i>Effex.</i>	Sir William Ayeloffe
<i>Warr.</i>	Mr. Thomas Puckering	<i>Warr.</i>	Sir Edward Devourax
<i>Cant.</i>	Sir Miles Sandes	<i>Devon.</i>	Sir Thomas Ridgeway
<i>Nott.</i>	Mr. John Mollineux	<i>Cornb.</i>	Sir Reynold Mohun
<i>Eboru.</i>	Sir Francis Wortley	<i>Effex.</i>	Sir Paul Banning
<i>Eboru.</i>	Sir George Savile	<i>Total of the Baronets were 90</i>	
<i>Derb.</i>	Mr. William Kniveton	<i>Dunolm.</i>	Mr. Thomas Blackifton
<i>Norff.</i>	Sir Philip Woodhouse	<i>Cestria.</i>	Mr. Rowlan. Egerton
<i>Oxon.</i>	Sir William Pope	<i>Norff.</i>	Mr. Roger Townshend.
<i>Rutl.</i>	Sir James Harrington		
<i>Staff.</i>	Mr. Richard Fleetwood		

Fees and Annuities payable out of his Majesty's *Exchequer*, distinguished in their several Natures, Titles and Payments, *viz.*

<i>Justices of the King's Bench.</i>		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Sir Edward Coke, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England,				
for his Fee at 224 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 9 <i>d.</i> by the Year, and 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>				
by the Year for his Circuits		258	6	5
To Sir John Dodridge, Knight, one of the Justices of that				
Bench, for his Fee at 154 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year, and 33 <i>l.</i>				
6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year for his Circuits		188	6	8

To

24 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Sir <i>John Crook</i> , Knight, for the like	188	6	8
To Sir <i>Robert Houghton</i> , Knight, for the like	188	6	8
Total Sum by the Year is	823	6	5

Besides their yearly Allowances for their Diets in their Circuits.

Justices of the Common-Pleas.

To Sir <i>Henry Hubberd</i> , Knight, Chief Justice of the <i>Common-Pleas</i> , for his Fee at 161 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 1 <i>d.</i> by the Year, and 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year, for his Circuits. Total is	194	19	9
To Sir <i>Peter Warburton</i> , Knight, one of the Justices of that Bench, for his Fee, at 154 <i>l.</i> 19 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year, and 34 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year, for his Circuits. Total is -	188	6	8
To Sir <i>Humfrey Winch</i> , Knight, for the like	188	6	8
To Sir <i>Augustine Nicolls</i> , Knight for the like	188	6	8
Total Sum by the Year is	759	19	9

Besides their yearly Allowance for their Diets in their Circuits.

Justices of Assize in the County of Suffolk.

To Sir <i>Peter Warburton</i> , Knight, one of the Justices of Assize in the County of <i>Suffolk</i> , for his Fee yearly	12	6	8
To Sir <i>James Altham</i> , Knight, for the like	12	6	8
To <i>Thomas Willis</i> , Clerk of Assize, for his Fee yearly :	0	20	0
In all yearly	26	13	4

Master of Requests.

To Sir <i>Roger Wilbrabam</i> , Knight, one of the Masters of Requests, for his Fee by the Year	100	0	0
To Sir <i>Daniel Dunne</i> , one of the Masters of Requests, for his Fee by the Year	100	0	0
To Sir <i>Ralph Winwood</i> , another of the Masters of Requests, for his Fee by the Year. . . .	50	0	0
To Sir <i>Christopher Perkins</i> , another of the Masters of Requests, for his Fee yearly	50	0	0
To Sir <i>Richard Williamson</i> , another of the Masters of Requests, for his Fee yearly	50	0	0
To <i>John Dacombe</i> , Esq; another of the Masters of Requests, for his Fee yearly	100	0	0
The Sum is	450	0	0

The

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 25

The King's Serjeants at Law, and others of the King's Council at Law.

	l.	s.	d.
To Sir Henry Montague, Serjeant at Law	41	6	10
To Sir Randolph Crewe, Serjeant at Law	41	6	10
To Sir John Davys, Serjeant at Law	41	6	10
To Sir Francis Bacon, Attorney-General	81	6	8
To Sir Henry Yelverton, Solicitor-General	70	0	0
Master Henry Martin, Advocate for all Ecclesiastical Causes	20	0	0

In all yearly 295 7 2

The Chancellor, Under-Treasurer, Barons, Officers, and Clerks of the Exchequer.

To Sir Fulke Grevill, Chancellor of the Exchequer, for his Fee by the Year	26	13	4
To him as Under-Treasurer of the Exchequer, by the Year	173	6	8
To Sir Lawrence Tanfeil, Lord Chief Baron, for his Fee, at 154 l. 19 s. 8 d. by the Year, and 33 l. 6 s. 8 d. by the Year, for his Circuits. In all yearly	188	6	8
To Sir George Snigg, one of the Barons, for his Fee at 80 l. per Annum, and 33 l. 6 s. 8 d. yearly for his Circuits	113	6	8
To Sir James Altham, one of the Barons, the like Fee	113	6	8
To Sir Edward Bromley, one of the Barons, the like Fee	113	6	8
To John Sotherton, Esq; the fifth Baron for receiving the Receivers-General their Accounts	66	13	4
To him for his Attendance on the Sealing Days	13	6	8
To him for his Attendance, as well in the Terms, as after the Terms, yearly	16	13	4
More to him, as the fifth Baron, for his Fee, yearly	66	13	4
To Sir John Pointz, one of the Chamberlains, for his Fee	52	3	4
To Sir Nicolas Carew alias Throgmorton, one of the Chamberlains, for his Fee yearly	52	3	4
To John Bradshaw, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains	10	0	0
To George Austin, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains	10	0	0
To Alexander Stafford, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, for joining of the Tallies	5	0	0
To William Page, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, for joining of the Tallies	5	0	0
To John Hunt, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, to write the Counterpell	6	0	0
To John Best, one of the Deputy-Chamberlains, to write the Counterpell	6	0	0
To ——— Fanshaw, the King's Remembrancer	55	17	4
To Arthur Salway, one of the Secondaries in that Office	4	0	0
To William Bourchier, one of the Secondaries there	4	0	0
To the Clerks of that Office, in Reward amongst them, for writing and inrolling the Amerciaments there	15	6	8
To John Osborn, Esq; the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer	30	0	0

26 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>Richard Smith</i> , one of the Secondaries in the Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer's Office yearly	5	0	0
To <i>Henry Osborn</i> , one of the Secondaries there	4	0	0
To the Clerk's there in Reward, for writing the Amerciaments in that Office	22	10	0
To Sir <i>Arthur Manwaring</i> Clerk of the Pipe	47	4	2
To <i>Robert Baker</i> Controller of the Pipe	40	0	0
To <i>George Allington</i> , one of the Secondaries there	10	0	0
To <i>Alexander Williams</i> , one of the Secondaries there	10	0	0
To the Clerks there for writing the Amerciaments	9	3	4
To <i>Alexander King</i> , one of the Auditors of the Revenues of the Crown, for his Fee yearly	20	0	0
To Sir <i>Thomas Neale</i> , another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To <i>William Hill</i> , another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To <i>Francis Neale</i> , another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To <i>Hugh Sexey</i> , another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To <i>Thomas Hutton</i> , another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To <i>Nathaniel Fuller</i> , another of the Auditors	20	0	0
To <i>Francis Goston</i> , one of the Auditors of the Imprests	66	13	4
To <i>Richard Sutton</i> , one of the Auditors of the Imprest	66	13	4
To <i>William Cholmley</i> , Foreign Apposer in the Exchequer	40	0	0
To <i>Francis Fuller</i> , Clerk of the Extracts in the Exchequer	33	6	8
More to him for drawing down and writing the Amerciaments of divers Counties in Reward	10	0	0
To <i>Thomas Allen</i> , Clerk of the Nichils, for his Fee	20	0	0
To <i>Thomas Turner</i> , Clerk of the Pleas in the Exchequer	5	0	0
To the Clerks in the Office of the Pleas, for writing the Amerciaments in that Office	3	0	0
To <i>Edmond Thorolde</i> , Marshal to the Court of Exchequer	5	0	0
To <i>Edward Wardour</i> , Clerk of the Pells in the Receipt of the Exchequer, for his Fee, at 90 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> by the Year for himself, and 20 <i>l.</i> by the Year for a Clerk under him, for writing the Pell of <i>Exitus</i> , in all yearly	110	13	4
More to him for keeping the Pell of Receipt	61	13	4
For a Clerk under him to write the Pell of Receipt	5	0	0
To <i>John Bingley</i> , Writer of the Tallies and Counter-Tallies in the Receipt of Exchequer	91	13	4
To his Clerk under him for writing the Tallies	9	0	0
To Sir <i>Edward Cary</i> , one of the Tellers in the Receipt	31	13	4
To Sir <i>William Bowler</i> , one of the Tellers there	31	13	4
To Sir <i>Francis Egiok</i> , one of the Tellers there	31	13	4
To Mr. <i>Watson</i> , one of the Tellers there	31	13	4
To <i>John Rowdon</i> Bag-bearer there, his Fee yearly	6	13	4
To the Under Clerks of the Receipt for their Attendance in the Vacation Times	46	0	0
To <i>Richard Staunton</i> , one of the Messengers there	6	16	10
To <i>Isaac Bush</i> , one of the Messengers there	6	16	10
To			

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 27

	l.	s.	d.
To Henry Greene, one of the Messengers there	6	16	10
To William Taylor, one of the Messengers there	6	16	10
To the Boys of the Receipt for their Attendance	2	0	0

The Total Sum is 2175 8 10

Officers in divers Courts of Records:

To Sir Francis Bacon, Clerk of the Council in the Star-chamber, his Fee yearly	26	13	4
To Francis Anderson, Clerk of the Extracts there	20	0	0
To Thomas Fanshawe and William Mitchell, Clerks of the Crown in the King's Bench	10	0	0
To Thomas Waller, one of the Prothonotaries of the Common-Pleas, being an Allowance for poor Suitors	10	0	0
To Sir Thomas Spencer, Keeper of the Writs in the Common-Pleas	6	13	4
To John Wright, Clerk of the Lower House of Parliament	10	0	0

In all by the Year 83 6 8

Surveyors of Lands, &c.

To Robert Treswell, Surveyor of all his Majesty's Woods on this Side Trent	50	0	0
More to him as Surveyor of the King's Castles, Forts, Parks and Lodges	50	0	0
To John Norden, one of the Surveyors of the King's Lands, for his Fee yearly	50	0	0
To John Thorpe, one of the Surveyors, &c. for the like	20	0	0
To Sir William Strode, Surveyor of the King's Land in the County of Devon, for his Fee yearly	20	0	0
To Henry Campion, Surveyor of the King's Lands in the County of Southampton, for his Fee yearly	13	6	8
To William Duck, Surveyor of the King's Highways	40	0	0

In all yearly 243 6 8

Secretaries, Clerks of the Council, &c.

To Sir Ralph Winwood, Principal Secretary of State, for his Fee yearly	100	0	0
To Sir Thomas Lake, one of the principal Secretaries	100	0	0
To Sir John Herbert, second Secretary	100	0	0
To Sir Thomas Hamilton, Secretary for Scotland	100	0	0
To Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary for the Latin Tongue	80	0	0
To Sir Thomas Edmonds, Secretary for the French Tongue	66	13	4
To Sir Anthony Ashley, one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To Francis Cottington, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To William Trumbull, Esq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0

28 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>Clement Edmonds</i> , Esq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To <i>George Calvert</i> , Esq; one of the Clerks of the Council	50	0	0
To Sir <i>Humfrey May</i> , for attending his Majesty for Causes concerning the Kingdom of <i>Ireland</i>	133	6	8
To Sir <i>Thomas Wilson</i> and <i>Ambrose Randall</i> , Keepers of divers Records remaining at <i>Whiteball</i>	60	16	8
To <i>George Cox</i> , one of the Keepers of the Council Chamber Door, his Fee yearly	60	16	8
To <i>Thomas Graves</i> , another of the Keepers of the Council Chamber Door, 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per diem	45	13	6
In all	1097	6	10

Attendants on Foreign Ambassadors.

To Sir <i>Lewis Lewknor</i> Master of the Ceremonies	200	0	0
To <i>John Finett</i> , his Assistant	10	0	0
To Sir <i>William Button</i> , attending on Ambassadors sent from foreign Parts, 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per diem. In all per annum	121	13	4
Total per annum	331	13	4

To divers Persons for sundry Services.

To Sir <i>George Villiers</i> , Master of the Horse to the King	66	13	4
To <i>Andrew Zinzan</i> , alias <i>Alexander</i> , for riding the King's great Horses	66	13	4
To Sir <i>Thomas Howard</i> , Master of the Horse to the Prince	40	0	0
To Sir <i>Thomas Penruddock</i>	33	6	8
To Sir <i>Edmond Carey</i> , the Knight Harbinger	13	6	8
To <i>Edward Cherry</i> , the King's Merchant	33	6	8
To <i>Ralph Gill</i> , Keeper of the Lions, and other Beasts in the Tower of <i>London</i>	18	5	0
More to him by Way of Increase	9	2	6
To <i>George Colmer</i> , the King's Cock-master	200	0	0
To Sir <i>George Moore</i> , Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, for his Fee per Annum	100	0	0
To Sir <i>Richard Conningsby</i> , Gentleman Usher, for bearing the Rod before the King at the Feast of St. <i>George</i> , his Fee by the Year	18	5	0
To the Earl of <i>Nottingham</i> , Guardian and Chief Justice of all Forests, Chaces, Parks and Warrens on this Side <i>Trent</i> , his Fee yearly	100	0	0
To him in Consideration for his Profit of the Justice-Acre per ann.	66	13	4
To <i>Hugh May</i> , Clerk of the Market	20	0	0
To <i>Jebu Webb</i> , Master of the Tennis Plays	12	13	4
To <i>John Wood</i> and <i>Robert</i> his Son, for keeping and breeding of Cormorants, by the Year	45	12	6
To			

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 29

To Richard Putto, for prosecuting of old Debts due to the King, l. s. d.
his Fee, besides his Fifth Part out of all such Debts recovered
and brought in 50 0 0

In all by the Year is 893 18 4

King's Heralds and Pursuivants at Arms.

To William Cambden, alias Clarencieux King of Arms in the East,
West, and South Parts of England, for his Fee *per annum* 20 0 0

To Richard St. George, alias Norroy King at Arms in the North
Parts of England 20 0 0

To Samuel Thompson, alias Windsor Herald 13 6 8

To Ralph Brooke, alias York Herald 13 6 8

To Robert Treswell, alias Somerset Herald 13 6 8

To William Penson, alias Chester Herald 13 6 8

To John Raven, alias Richmond Herald 13 6 8

To Nicholas Charles, alias Lancaster Herald 13 6 8

To Thomas Knight, alias Rougecrosse, Pursuivant at Arms 10 0 0

To William Smith, alias Rouge dragon Pursuivant 10 0 0

To Henry St. George, alias Bluemantle Pursuivant 10 0 0

To Philip Holland, alias Portcullis Pursuivant 10 0 0

In all 160 0 0

Sergeants at Arms.

To eighteen Sergeants at Arms, for their Fee to each of them
yearly 18 l. 5 s. which cometh unto in all yearly 328 10 0

Musicians.

To twenty-two Musicians, for their Fees and Liveries, viz. to
some 2 s. 8 d. by the Day, and 16 l. 2 s. 6 d. by the Year
for their Livery, and to the most of them 1 s. 8 d. by the
Day, and the like Allowance for Livery; which cometh unto
in all by the Year 1060 12 6

Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries.

To Dr. De Mayerne 400 0 0

To Dr. Craig the Elder 100 0 0

To Dr. Craig the Younger 100 0 0

To Dr. Atkins 100 0 0

To Dr. Hammond 100 0 0

To Dr. Poe, Physician for the King's Household 50 0 0

To Gilbert Primrose, Sergeant Surgeon to the King 26 13 4

More to him as ordinary Surgeon to the King 40 0 0

More to him as Surgeon to the Prince 33 6 8

To William Goddourous, Serjeant Surgeon to the King 26 13 4

More to him as ordinary Surgeon to the King 40 0 0

To

30 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>Duncan Primrose</i> , Surgeon to the King yearly	40	0	0
To <i>Alexander Baker</i> , Ordinary Surgeon to the King	40	0	0
To <i>Peter Chamberlain</i> , Surgeon to the Queen	40	0	0
To <i>Archibald Haye</i> , Surgeon Ordinary to the King	40	0	0
To <i>Lewis Rogers</i> , Ordinary Surgeon to the Prince	40	0	0
To <i>William Clowes</i> , Ordinary Surgeon to the Prince	40	0	0
To <i>John Wolfgango Rumlero</i> , Apothecary to the King, his Fee by the Year	40	0	0
More to him as Apothecary to the Queen	40	0	0
To <i>Gedeon de Lawne</i> , Apothecary to the King	20	0	0
To <i>George Scheires</i> , Apothecary to the King's House, his Fee by the Year	40	0	0
More to him, Provider of sweet Waters for the King's Service, his Fee by the Year	13	6	8
To <i>Ralph Cleyton</i> , Apothecary to the Prince, his Fee by the Year	20	0	0
To <i>Jolliffe Lownes</i> , Apothecary to the Prince, his Fee by the Year	20	0	0
The Total Sum is	1450	0	0

Artificers.

To <i>Alexander Miller</i> and <i>Robert Arskin</i> , the King's Taylors, to each of them Two Shillings by the Day. In all	73	0	0
To <i>Alexander Wilson</i> and <i>Patrick Blake</i> , the Prince's Taylors, to each Eighteen-pence by the Day	54	15	0
To <i>John Dauson</i> and <i>Edward Thomazin</i> , for the Guards Coats for their Fee 12 d. by the Day	18	5	0
To <i>Peter</i> and <i>William Bland</i> , Serjeant-Furriers to the King, for their Fee Two Shillings by the Day	36	10	0
To <i>John Bingham</i> , Sadler to the King, 12 d. by the Day for himself, and Three-pence by the Day for a Servant under him. In all by the Year	23	11	3
To <i>William Broderick</i> , Embroiderer for the King	27	7	6
To <i>Abraham Abereromby</i> , Sadler to the Prince, 12 d. by the Day for himself, and 3 d. by the Day for a Servant under him. In all by the Year	23	11	3
To <i>Ralph</i> and <i>William Canning</i> , chief Arras-maker, 6 d. by the Day, and 10 l. by the Year, for their Fee	19	2	6
To <i>Randolph Bull</i> , Clock-keeper, 1 s. per Diem	18	5	0
To <i>William</i> and <i>Thomas Mussell</i> , Cutters and Razers of the King's Apparel, 12 d. per Diem	18	5	0
To <i>Alexander Howme</i> , Shoemaker to the King	18	5	0
To <i>Alexander Craiford</i> , Shoemaker to the King	18	5	0
To <i>Thomas Wilson</i> , Shoemaker to the Prince	18	5	0
To <i>Richard Sheppeard</i> , Perfumer to the King	18	5	0

To

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 31

	l.	s.	d.
To ——— Embroiderer to the Prince	18	5	0
To Nathaniel Matthew, Cutler to the King	18	5	0
To Thomas Pulford	18	5	0
To Richard Mayle, Cook in the Star-chamber	18	5	0
To Edmond Tomlins, Butler in the Star-chamber	9	2	6
To Thomas Cesar, Clock-keeper, per Annum	39	16	8
To Thomas Bond, Cleanser of the Hangings	12	3	4
To John and William Lugar, Maker of the Black-Jacks for the King's House, 6 d. per Diem. In all	9	2	6
To Richard Cole, the King's Girdler, 6 d. per Diem	9	2	6
To John and Abraham Bateman, the King's Book-binder, by the Year	6	0	0
To Robert Barker, the King's Printer	6	13	4
To John Norton, the King's Printer for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew Tongues	26	0	8
In all yearly	552	0	7

Keepers of the King's Houses, Gardens and Warderobes.

To the Lady Hellen, Marchioness of Northampton, for keeping Richmond House and Warderobe 12 d. by the Day, for keeping the Garden and Orchard there 6 d. by the Day, and for keeping the Park there 18 d. by the Day. In all by the Year	54	15	0
To William Lord Compton, Keeper of Holdenby House	26	13	4
To ——— Keeper of the Robes and Jewels at Whitehall, 66 l. 13 s. 4 d. by the Year ; for keeping the great Warderobe there 10 d. by the Day ; for keeping the Orchard there 6 d. by the Day, and 17 l. 3 s. by the Year, for Charges there ; for keeping the Garden 17 l. 20 d. by the Year ; for keeping the Coniyard 12 d. by the Day, and 12 l. 13 s. 8 d. by the Year, in Consideration of Rents taken into the King's Hands. In all	156	3	4
More to him for keeping the Garden at St. James's 13 l. 6 s. 8 d. by the Year ; for keeping the Out-lodgings at Whitehall 4 l. by Year ; for keeping the Conduct Heads 6 l. 1 s. 8 d. by the Year ; for distilling of Water 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. by the Year ; for Fire to air the Hot-houses 2 l. by the Year ; for carrying of Hay 2 l. by the Year ; for Mowing, Making, and Carriage of Hay for the Deer in the Park 3 l. 6 s. 8 d. for Swans and other Fowl in the Park 1 l. by the Year ; for digging and setting of Roses in the Spring-Garden 2 l. by the Year. Twenty Pounds by the Year, in Recompence of certain Lodgings ; for keeping of the Range-trees 6 d. by the Day ; and for keeping the Rain Dear 4 d. by the Day. In all by the Year	72	5	10
		To	

32 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>John Trevor</i> , for keeping of <i>Oatland's House</i>	27	7	6
To Sir <i>Marmaduke Darrell</i> , for keeping <i>Maisondien Place</i> at <i>Dover</i> 6 <i>d.</i> by the Day	9	2	6
To the Lady <i>Barwick</i> , and <i>John</i> her Son, for keeping the King's House at <i>Thetford</i> , 12 <i>d.</i> by the Day; and for keeping the Garden there 12 <i>d.</i> by the Day. In all by the Year	36	10	0
To <i>John Winyard</i> , Keeper of the King's House in the Palace at <i>Westminster</i> , 6 <i>d.</i> by the Day	9	2	6
More to him for keeping the Wardrobe at <i>Hampton-Court</i> 12 <i>d.</i> by the Day, and 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year, for Charges about the same. In all by the Year	51	11	8
To <i>Richard Hamerton</i> , Keeper of the King's House at <i>Roiston</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4
To <i>John Cotton</i> , for keeping of the Wardrobe at <i>Theobald's</i> 18 <i>d.</i> by the Day; for Fire 10 <i>l.</i> by the Year; and for his Livery 4 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all	41	7	6
To <i>Stephen Pearse</i> , for keeping the Wardrobe at <i>Richmond</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day, and for Fire 4 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all by the Year	16	13	4
To <i>John Cotton</i> , for keeping the Wardrobe at <i>Westminster</i> , 10 <i>d.</i> by the Day, and for keeping the Revelstry there 2 <i>d.</i> by the Day; for Fire 10 <i>l.</i> by the Year; and for the Fustians and Pillowbears 4 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all by the Year	32	5	0
To <i>Jeremy Roffe</i> , for keeping the Wardrobe at <i>Hickingbrook</i> 12 <i>d.</i> by the Day; for Fire 10 <i>l.</i> by the Year; for his Livery 4 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all	32	5	0
To <i>Thomas Hickson</i> , for keeping the Warbrobe at <i>Greenwich</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day; for a Servant under him 4 <i>d.</i> by the Day; and for his Livery 3 <i>l.</i> by the Year	21	5	0
To <i>Nicholas Pidgeon</i> , as Clerk of the Wardrobe in the Tower of <i>London</i> , for his Fee by the Year	14	0	0
To <i>John Stephenson</i> , for keeping the Wardrobe at <i>Windsor</i> 6 <i>d.</i> by the Day; and for a Servant under him 3 <i>d.</i> by the Day. In all yearly	13	13	9
To <i>Andrew Bright</i> and <i>Edmond Doubleday</i> , for keeping the King's Bible at <i>Whitehall</i> , yearly	13	6	8
More to him for distilling sweet Waters	13	6	8
To <i>George Hopton</i> for the keeping of at <i>Hampton-Court</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d.</i> by the Day. In all yearly	51	14	2
To <i>Andrew Bright</i> , for keeping the Garden-door at <i>Whitehall</i> , 2 <i>s.</i> by the Day. In all yearly	36	10	0
To <i>William Hogan</i> , Officer of the Stilling-house, at <i>Hampton-Court</i> , and for keeping of the two new Gardens there, for his Fee, yearly	40	0	0
To <i>Bristow Pidgeon</i> , for keeping of the Garden in the Tower of <i>London</i> 6 <i>d.</i> by the Day; and for keeping the little Wardrobe			
there			

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 33

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
there 12 <i>d.</i> by the Day ; for a Servant under him 4 <i>d.</i> by the Day ; and for Fire 3 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all by the Year	36	9	2
To <i>Thomas Sheffeld</i> , for keeping the Garden at <i>Greenwich</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> by the Day	18	5	0
To <i>Edward Lovell</i> for keeping the . . . and Garden at <i>Richmond</i> , 6 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> by the Year, and for weeding and other necessary Charges, 4 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all	10	1	8
To <i>Sir Patrick Howme</i> , for keeping the King's House at <i>Rolston</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> by the Day	18	5	0
To <i>William Risbrook</i> , Under-keeper of <i>Richmond-house</i> , for his Fee by the Year	30	0	0
To <i>Jasper Stallenge</i> , for keeping the Garden for the Silk-worms, for his Fee by the Year	60	0	0
To <i>John</i> and <i>Francis Bonnell</i> , for the Attendance about the Silk-worms by the Year	60	0	0

The Total Sum is 1015 2 11

There are other House-keepers, paid by the Treasurer of the Chamber, Cofferer, &c. of whom I cannot take Notice.

Keepers of Stables.

To <i>William Thomas</i> , for keeping the <i>Mews</i>	24	0	0
To <i>Thomas Powell</i> , for keeping the Stables at <i>Hampton-Court</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4
To <i>John Braig</i> , Keeper of the Stables at <i>Reading</i> , by the Year	12	3	4
To <i>Ralph More</i> , for keeping the Stables at <i>St. Alban's</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4

In all by the Year 60 10 0

Keepers of Forests, Chaces and Parks.

To <i>Thomas Earl of Exon</i> , for keeping <i>Rockingham-Forest</i> , for his Fee per Annum	14	4	8
To <i>Sir Robert Harley</i> , for keeping <i>Boring-wood</i> alias <i>Bring-wood Forest</i> , in <i>Com. Herff.</i> 6 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> by the Year ; for the Po- keship, 1 <i>l.</i> 10 <i>s.</i> 5 <i>d.</i> by the Year ; and for keeping the Fo- rest of <i>Prest-wood</i> , 18 <i>s.</i> by the Year. In all	8	10	11
To <i>Edward Lord Denny</i> , and <i>James Lord Hay</i> , for keeping <i>Cbinckford Walk</i> in <i>Waltham Forest</i> , 6 <i>d.</i> by the Day ; and for keeping the Game of Pheasants there, 4 <i>d.</i> by the Day ; and for keeping half of <i>Newlodge Walk</i> , 2 <i>d.</i> by the Day. In all per Annum	18	5	0

To . . . for keeping *Walthamstow Walk* in the Forest
of *Waltham*, 8 *d.* by the Day ; for keeping of *Leighton Walk*,

34 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
4 <i>d.</i> by the Day; and for keeping of <i>Wallwood</i> and <i>Hamfrith Woods</i> , 3 <i>d.</i> by the Day. In all yearly	22	16	3
To Ranger of <i>Waltham Forest</i> , his Fee by the Year	9	2	6
To <i>Edward Earl of Worcester</i> , and <i>Sir Thomas Somerset</i> his Son, for keeping the great Park of <i>Nonsuch</i> , 2 <i>s.</i> by the Day, and for 15 <i>l.</i> by the Year. In all	51	10	0
To <i>Sir Edward Howard</i> , for keeping <i>Bifleet Park</i> and Lodge, in the County of <i>Surrey</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4
To <i>Sir Robert Leigh</i> for keeping <i>Woodfurth Walk</i> in <i>Waltham Forest</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4
To <i>Sir Edward Cary</i> , for keeping <i>Mary-bone Park</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4
To <i>Sir Henry Riche</i> , for keeping <i>Hyde-Park</i> , 8 <i>d.</i> by the Day	12	3	4
To <i>Richard Earl of Dorset</i> , Governor of the Park called <i>The Broyl</i> , 6 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> per Annum; for two Keepers under him, 4 <i>d.</i> per Diem; and for a Ranger of the Woods there, 2 <i>d.</i> per Diem. In all per Annum	15	15	10
To <i>William Smith</i> , for looking to the Deer in <i>Cramborne-Chace</i> , by the Year	20	0	0
To <i>Thomas Norris</i> , Under-ranger in <i>Enfield-Chace</i> , 6 <i>d.</i> per Diem	6	2	6
To <i>Thomas Earl of Suff.</i> Lieutenant and Keeper of <i>Brayden Forest</i> in <i>Com. Wilts.</i> 6 <i>l.</i> 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per Annum; for a Ranger there, 20 <i>l.</i> per Annum; and for four Keepers there under him, to each of them 10 <i>l.</i> per Annum. In all per Annum	66	1	8

The Total per Annum is 281 2 8

Keepers of Warrens and Games.

To <i>John Bancks</i> , Keeper of the Warren called <i>Wilbrabam bushes</i> , in <i>Com. Cantab.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> per Diem, and for keeping the Game ten Miles Circuit, 2 <i>s.</i> more per Diem	73	0	0
To <i>Gilbert Wood</i> , Keeper of the Hare Warren at <i>Hampton-Court</i> , 2 <i>s.</i> per Diem	36	10	0
To <i>Alexander Glover</i> , Keeper of the Game about <i>Lambeth</i> and <i>Clapham</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> per Diem, and 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per Annum for his Livery	19	11	8
To <i>Robert More</i> , Keeper of the Game about <i>Oatlands</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> per Diem	18	5	0
To <i>Henry Beswick</i> , Keeper of the Swans in <i>St. James's Park</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> per Diem, and 1 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per Annum for his Livery	19	7	6
To <i>Francis Powton</i> and <i>Edmond Hobson</i> , Keepers of the Game about <i>Hampton-Court</i> , 2 <i>s.</i> per Diem, and 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> per Ann. for their Livery	37	16	8

To

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 35

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To Henry Halfebide and Henry his Son, Keepers of the Game about Royston, 2 s. 6 d. per diem, and 3 l. per annum for their Livery	48	12	6
To Thomas Cockeine Keeper of the Hares at Roiston, and twelve Miles Circuit, and for keeping the Game at Thetford, and seven Miles Circuit, 2 s. per diem	36	0	10
To George Kirkham and Michael his Son, Keepers of the Game about Rickmond, 1 s. 6 d. per diem	27	7	6
To Richard Stoner, Keeper of the Game at Hinchinbrooke, for his Fee 1 s. per diem	18	5	0
To Anthony Lewes, Keeper of the Game in Waltham Forest 1 s. per diem	18	5	0
To Edmond Maisters, Keeper of the Game at the Manor of Oatlands, 1 s. per diem, and 1 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum for his Livery.			
In all per annum	19	11	8
To William Rickbell, Keeper of the Game at Nonsuch, 1 s. per diem, and 1 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum for his Livery	19	11	8
To Samson Calvert, Keeper of the Game about Wandsworth 1 s. per diem	18	5	0
To Ralph Smith, Keeper of the Game about Westminster, 8 d. per diem, and 1 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum for his Livery	13	10	0
To David Tannet, another Keeper of the Game about Westminster, 8 d. per diem, and 1 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum for his Livery	13	10	0
To Alban Cox, Keeper of the Game about Barnet, &c. 4 d. per diem, and 1 l. 6 s. 8 d. per annum for his Livery	7	8	6
To John Coward and John his Son, Keepers of the Game at Thetford, 1 s. per diem	18	5	0
To William Marston, Keeper of the Game at Newmarket	45	12	6
The Total is per annum	508	16	0

Huntsmen.

To Sir Patrick Howme, Master of the privy Harriers, for his Fee, 120 l. per annum; and for keeping one Footman, four Horses and twenty Couple of Dogs, 100 l. per annum	220	0	0
To Thomas Pott Master of the Hunt, for his Fee, 4 s. per diem; for three Yeomen Prickers, to each 2 s. per diem; for one Groom 1 s. per diem; and for keeping 12 Couple of Dogs, 50 l. per annum. In all per annum	250	15	0
To Robert Rayne, Sergeant of the Buckhounds, per annum	50	0	0
More to him as one of the Yeomen of the privy Harriers, 3 l. per menssem	36	0	0
To William Battle, another of the Yeomen, the like Fee	36	0	0
To Richard Barnard, another of the Yeomen, the like Fee	36	0	0
To Nicholas Cockeine, another of the Yeomen, the like Fee	36	0	0

36 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>Richard Lazonby</i> , Master of the Lyam-hounds, <i>per annum</i> . .	40	0	0
To <i>Richard Gwynne</i> , Groom of the Harriers to the Prince <i>1s. 1d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , and <i>1 l.</i> <i>per annum</i> for his Livery	20	15	5
To <i>John Waters</i> , Yeomen of the Harriers to the King, <i>1 s. per diem</i>	18	5	0
To <i>Robert Walker</i> , Sergeant of the King's Hounds, <i>per annum</i>	50	0	0
To <i>Richard Brasse</i> , Yeoman of the King's Hounds, <i>per annum</i>	50	0	0
The Total is <i>per annum</i>	843	15	5

Falconers.

To <i>Robert Lord Dormer</i> , Master Falconer to the King, his Fee <i>44 l. per mensem</i> , which is <i>per annum</i>	528	0	0
More to him as Master Falconer to the King within the Manor of <i>Elmer</i> in <i>Com. Buck.</i> <i>1s. 6d. per diem</i>	27	7	6
To <i>Thomas Mongrief</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>2 s. per diem</i> , and <i>13 l. 13 s. 9 d. ob. per annum</i> for his Livery	50	3	9
To <i>Robert Pinkerton</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>1s. 6d. per diem</i> , and <i>13 l. 13 s. 9 d. per annum</i> for his Livery	41	1	3
To <i>James Quarrier</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>1s. 4d. per diem</i> , and <i>13 l. 13 s. 9 d. per annum</i> for his Livery	38	0	5
To <i>John Barkley</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>1 s. per diem</i> , and <i>13 l.</i> <i>13 s. 9 d. per annum</i> for his Livery	31	18	9
To <i>Francis Verney</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>per annum</i>	40	0	0
To <i>Lewis Latham</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>per annum</i>	40	0	0
To <i>Cornelius Artson</i> , Falconer to the King, <i>2 s. 6 d. per diem</i>	45	12	6
To <i>Eustace Norton</i> , Falconer to the Prince, <i>per annum</i>	30	0	0
More to him by Way of Increase <i>1 s. per diem</i>	18	5	0
To <i>George Mongreif</i> , Falconer to the King, for his Fee <i>per diem</i> , which is <i>per annum</i>	91	5	0
The Total is <i>per annum</i>	981	14	2

Revels.

To <i>Sir George Buck</i> , Master of the Revels, for his Fee <i>per annum</i>	10	0	0
To <i>Edward Kirkham</i> , Yeoman of the Revels, <i>6 d. per diem</i>	9	2	6
The Total is	19	2	6

Tents and Toils.

To <i>Henry Seckford</i> , Master of the Tents and Toil, <i>per annum</i> . .	30	0	0
To <i>Alexander Stafford</i> , Clerk Comptroller of the King's Tents and Pavillons, <i>8 d. per diem</i>	12	3	4
To <i>William Honinge</i> , Clerk of the Tents and Pavilions, <i>8 d. per</i> <i>diem</i> , and <i>1 l. 4 s. per annum</i> for his Livery	13	7	6
To <i>Edmund Mussel</i> , Yeoman to the Tents, &c. <i>per annum</i>	10	0	0
To			

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 37

	<i>l.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>s.</i>
To Robert Bowle, Groom of the Tents, &c. 8 <i>d.</i> per diem	9	2	6

The Total Sum is	74	13	4
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Posts.

To the Lord Stanhope, Master of the Posts, for his Fee	66	13	4
To Matthew de Quester, Post for beyond the Seas, 2 <i>s.</i> per diem	36	10	0
To William Trumbull, one of the Posts for the King, per annum	36	10	0
To Edward Davyes, Post for Ludlow, 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per diem	45	12	6
To John Brooke, Letter-bearer to the Prince, per annum	50	0	0

The Total Sum is	235	5	10
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Jewel-House.

To Sir Edward Cary, and Sir Henry his Son, Masters of the Jewel-house, for their Fee per annum	50	0	0
To Sir William Herrick, Sir John Spilman, and George Herriott, Jewellers, for their Fee to each of them 50 <i>l.</i> per annum	150	0	0
To Abraham Harderet, Jeweller to the Queen	50	0	0
To Richard Wright, and John his Son, Clerks of the Jewel-House, for their Fee per annum	13	6	8
To Nicholas Pidgeon, Yeoman of the Jewel-House	26	13	4

The Total Sum is	290	0	0
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Officers of the Works.

To Inigo Jones, Surveyor of the Works done about the King's Houses, 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per diem	45	12	6
To Thomas Baldwin, Comptroller of the Works	27	7	6
To Andrew Kerwin, Paymaster of the Works, 2 <i>s.</i> per diem	36	10	0
To William Portington, Master Carpenter, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To William Cure, Master Mason, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To James Lee, Master Plaisterer, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To Abraham Green, Serjeant Plumber	18	5	0
More to him as Plumber of Windsor Castle	18	5	0
To Jeremy Talcot, Bricklayer, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To William Southis, Master Mason of Windsor Castle	18	5	0
To Clement Chapman, chief Joiner of the Tower of London, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem, and for his Fee as chief Joiner of all the King's Works, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem, and for his Robe, 16 <i>l.</i> 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> per annum.			
In all	52	12	6
To Henry Waller, chief Joiner for the King's privy Chamber, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem, and for his Livery, 2 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	19	11	8
To Thomas Badveleg, chief Grocer 1 <i>s.</i> per diem, and for his Livery, 1 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> per annum	19	0	9

To

38 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>Thomas Aldridge</i> , Wheelwright in the Tower of London	18	5	0
To <i>Maximilian Colte</i> , Carver in Stone, 8 <i>d. per diem</i>	12	3	4
To <i>Francis Cartr</i> , chief Clerk of the King's Works	66	13	4
More to him as Provider of Timber-boards and Laths, 8 <i>d. per diem</i>	12	3	4
To <i>Henry Jennings</i> , Provider for the King's Works in the Tower of London, 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d. per diem</i>	12	3	4
To <i>George Nevy</i> , Overseer of the King's Works at <i>Portsmouth</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d. per diem</i>	24	6	8
To <i>William Wheatley</i> , Master Carpenter in the Tower of London, 8 <i>d. per diem</i>	12	3	4
The Total is	486	8	3

Officers of the Ordnance and Armory.

To Sir <i>Richard Morison</i> , Lieutenant of the Ordnance, his Fee per annum	66	13	4
To Sir <i>William Pope</i> , Master of the Armory at <i>Greenwich</i> , 66 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> More to him as Master of the Armory in the Tower of London, and all other Places in <i>England</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> per diem. For a Yeoman under him, 6 <i>d. per diem</i> ; and for a Boy 3 <i>d. per diem.</i> In all	98	12	1
To Sir <i>John Kay</i> , Surveyor of the Ordnance	36	10	0
To <i>Nedtrary Smart</i> , & al. Keepers of the Store of the Ordnance, Munition and Empco. in the Tower of London, 3 <i>s.</i> per diem	54	15	0
To <i>John Riddle</i> , Clerk of the Ordnance	36	10	0
To Sir <i>Robert Johnson</i> , Clerk of the Deliveries of the Ordnance in the Tower, 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To <i>John Benyon</i> , Clerk of the Armory at <i>Greenwich</i> , 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d. per diem</i> , and for his Livery 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>	46	19	2
More to him for his Fee 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 10 <i>d. per mensem</i>	23	18	10
To <i>Thomas Lincolne</i> , Yeoman of the Armory at <i>Greenwich</i> , 15 <i>l.</i> 12 <i>s.</i> per annum, and for his Livery, 1 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> per annum. In all	16	18	0
More to him for his Fee, 1 <i>l.</i> 4 <i>s.</i> per mensem	16	16	10
To <i>William Lacon</i> , Clerk of the Ordnance and Works at <i>Carlisle</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To <i>John Cowper</i> , Harness-maker in the Tower, 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d. per diem</i>	24	6	8
To <i>Henry Zinzan</i> , Harness-maker, his Fee per annum	10	0	0
To <i>William Heath</i> , Keeper of the Store-house at <i>Portsmouth</i>	20	0	0
To <i>Francis Inglesby</i> , Keeper of the Armory at <i>Greenwich</i>	30	8	4
To <i>John Parker</i> , Keeper of the Armory at <i>Westminster</i>	18	5	0
To Sir <i>John Bingham</i> , Keeper of the Armory at <i>Hampton-Court</i> , 1 <i>s.</i> per diem	18	5	0
To <i>Thomas Laverock</i> , Maker of Hand-guns, 1 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d. per diem</i>	24	6	8

To

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 39

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To William Pickering, Master of the Works of the Armory at Greenwich, and to eight Hammermen there, three Locksmiths, three Millmen, two Labourers, and one Gilder, for their Fees <i>per mensem</i> , and the Allowance of 7 <i>l. per mensem</i> , for ordinary Expences and necessary Provisions for the said Armory, cometh unto in all <i>per mensem</i> 32 <i>l.</i> 15 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> which is <i>per annum</i>	449	19	6
To Thomas Pit, Gun-maker, 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	18	5	0
To Israel Owen, Gun maker, 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	18	5	0
To Richard Philips, Gun-maker, 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	18	5	0
To John Philips, Gun-founder, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
To John Heyborne, Provider of Instruments of War, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
To John Fletcher, Provider of Ropes and Matches for the Ordnance, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
To James Palfreyman, Keeper of the Hand-guns and Demi-haggs in the Tower, 10 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	15	4	2
To Andrew Kerwin, Gunstone-maker, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
To Thomas Brown, Gunstone-maker, 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	9	2	6
To John Thomas, Yeoman of the Ordnance	9	2	6
To John Jefferson, Bow-maker, 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	9	2	6
More to him as Bow-stringer-maker, 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	9	2	6
To John Powell, Fletcher, Arrow-maker	9	2	6
To Roger Chovin Cross-bow-maker 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	6	1	8
More to him as Maker of Hand-guns	12	0	0
To Thomas Brown, Maker of Iron Ordnance, 1 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	27	7	6
To Sir Richard Musgrave, Master and Surveyor in the North Parts, 5 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> for himself, and 2 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> for three Servants under him. In all <i>per annum</i>	146	0	0
To Hugh Price, Porter at the Minoretts, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
The Total is	1397	11	11

Gunners.

To William Hammond, Master Gunner of England, 2 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	36	10	0
To fourteen Gunners in the Tower of London, to each of them 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i> , which cometh unto <i>per annum</i>	273	15	0
To eleven Gunners in the Tower of London to each of them 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , which in all cometh unto <i>per annum</i>	133	16	8
To eighty-six Gunners in the Tower of London to each of them 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i> , which in all cometh unto <i>per annum</i>	693	10	0
To two Gunners at Carlisle Castle, to each 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	36	10	0
To two Gunners more there, to each 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	18	5	0
To Robert Leming, Gunner at Harwich, 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per diem</i>	18	5	0
To William Bull, Master Gunner at Windsor Castle, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
To Richard Ratcliffe, Gunner at the Fort of Eastmersey in Essex, 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per diem</i>	12	3	4
To			

40 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	l.	s.	d.
To Richard Portriffe, Gunner, at Rye, 6 d. per Diem . . .	9	2	6

The Total per Annum is — 1244 0 10

Captains of Castles and Forts.

To William Earl of Pembroke, Captain and Keeper of the Town and Isle of Portsmouth, 10 s. per Diem for himself, and for the Wages of twenty Soldiers, to each 8 d. per Diem, cometh to in all . . .	425	16	8
More to him for the Wages of one Master-Gunner at 10 d. per Diem, fifteen Gunners, each at 8 d. per Diem, fourteen Gunners, each at 6 d. per Diem, one Ancient, one Armorer, one Serjeant, one Drummer, one Fife, and a hundred Soldiers, each at 8 d. per Diem, in the said Town and Isle, which cometh unto in all per Annum . . .	10062	19	2
To Sir George Moore, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, for himself 200 l. per Annum, 1 s. 4 d. per Diem for eleven Yeomen Wardoners, to each 8 d. per Diem, and 2 l. 13 s. 4 d. per Ann. for Fire for them. In all per Annum . . .	865	15	0
To Sir Fardinando Gorges, Captain of the new Fort at Plymouth, for himself and Soldiers there, 2 l. 16 s. per Diem, which cometh unto per Annum . . .	1022	0	0
To Sir John Parker, Captain of Pendennis Castle, near Falmouth, 10 s. per Diem for himself, and for the Wages of fifty Footmen there, at 8 d. per Diem, which cometh unto per Annum, in all . . .	690	16	8
To Mr. Francis Godolphin, Captain of the Isle of Silley, for the Wages of one Lieutenant, at 4 s. per Diem; another Lieutenant at 2 s. per Diem; for three Gunners, each at 10 d. per Diem; Forty-five Soldiers, each at 8 d. per Diem, being the Summer Company there, which cometh to (for 183 Days) for half the Year . . .	352	5	6
More to him for Winter Company there, viz. one Lieutenant at 4 s. per Diem, another Lieutenant at 2 s. per Diem, three Gunners, each 10 d. per Diem, and twenty Soldiers, to each 8 d. per Diem for 182 Days for the other half Year, which cometh unto . . .	198	13	8
To Sir John Trevor, Captain of Upnor Castle, for the Wages of twenty Soldiers there, each at 8 d. per Diem, which cometh unto in all per annum . . .	243	6	8
To Peter Temple, Captain of Camber Castle, 2 s. per Diem for himself, and for eight Soldiers and six Gunners, each at 6 d. per Diem. In all per Annum . . .	164	5	0
To Sir Robert Lane, Captain of South-sea Castle, 2 s. per Diem for himself; for one Porter 8 d. per Diem, and ten Gunners, each 6 d. per Annum . . .	139	18	4

To

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 41

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To <i>Thomas Barker</i> , Captain of the green Bulwark of <i>Arcliff</i> , at <i>Dover</i> , and the black Bulwark there, <i>1 s. 4 d. per Diem</i> for himself, and for four Gunners, and two Soldiers, each at <i>6 d. per Diem</i> , which cometh unto in all <i>per Annum</i>	97	6	8
To <i>George Fenner</i> , Captain of <i>Sandgate</i> Castle, for his Fee <i>per Annum</i>	40	0	0
To <i>Anthony Lewes</i> , Captain of the Fort of <i>Westilbury</i> , <i>2 s. per Diem</i>	36	10	0
To Captain of the Fort at <i>Milton</i> , for his Fee <i>20 l. per Annum</i> , and <i>4 d. per Diem</i> . In all	26	1	8
To <i>William Binge</i> , Captain of <i>Deal</i> Castle, his Fee <i>per Annum</i>	20	0	0
To <i>John Heydon</i> , Captain of <i>Sandown</i> Castle, his Fee <i>per Ann.</i>	20	0	0
To <i>William Boughton</i> , Captain of <i>Walmore</i> Castle, his Fee <i>per Annum</i>	20	0	0
To Sir <i>John Thorneborough</i> , Captain of <i>Scarborough</i> Castle, in <i>Com. Eboru. per Annum</i>	16	0	0
The Total is	1444	15	0

There are divers Castles and Forts paid by the King's Receivers-General, and Sheriffs of Counties, which I cannot set down, because no particular Mention doth express it in the Records of the Receipts and Issues.

Officers of the Navy and Admiralty.

To <i>Charles Earl of Nottingham</i> , Lord Admiral of <i>England</i> , for his Fee <i>per Annum</i>	133	6	8
To Sir <i>Francis Howard</i> , Captain-General of the Narrow Seas, <i>1 l. per Diem</i> for himself; for one Clerk under him, <i>8 d. per Diem</i> , and for 16 Men under him, each at <i>10 s. per Menssem</i> , 28 Days to each Month, which cometh unto in all <i>per Annum</i>	481	3	4
To Sir <i>Robert Maunsell</i> , Treasurer of the Navy, for himself <i>66 l. 13 s. 4 d. per Annum</i> , and for two Clerks under him, each at <i>8 d. per Diem</i> , and <i>8 l. per Annum</i> for his Boat-hire. In all <i>per Annum</i>	91	0	0
More to him an Allowance of <i>6 s. 8 d. per Diem</i> for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office	121	13	4
To Sir <i>Richard Bingley</i> , Surveyor of the Navy, for himself <i>40 l. per Annum</i> , for two Clerks under him, each <i>8 d. per Diem</i> , and <i>8 l. per Annum</i> for his Boat-hire	72	6	8
More to him an Allowance of <i>4 s. per Diem</i> , for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office	73	0	0
To Sir <i>Jeffery Slingby</i> , Comptroller of the Navy, for himself <i>50 l. per Annum</i> , for two Clerks under him, each <i>8 d. per Diem</i> , and <i>8 d. per Annum</i> for Boat-hire. In all	82	6	8
VOL. II.			More

42 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
More to him an Allowance of 4 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office	73	0	0
To Sir Marmaduke Darrell and Sir Thomas Bludder, Surveyors of the Marine Victuals for the King's Navy, for themselves 50 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , and for a Clerk under them 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> . In all <i>per Annum</i>	62	3	4
More to them an Allowance of 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , and for two Clerks under them, each 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , for their Pains about the Affairs of that Office. In all <i>per Annum</i>	97	6	8
To Peter Buck, Clerk of the Navy for his Fee 33 <i>l.</i> 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , and 6 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> for his Boat-hire. In all <i>per Ann.</i>	39	6	8
More to him an Allowance of 3 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> , for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office	60	16	8
To Thomas Baker, Clerk of the Store at Deptford, 26 <i>l.</i> 13 <i>s.</i> 4 <i>d.</i> <i>per Annum</i> , and 6 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> for his Boat-hire	32	13	4
More to him an Allowance of 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> for his Pains about the Affairs of that Office	45	12	6
To John Ackworth, Keeper of the Store at Woolwich, 20 <i>l.</i> <i>per Ann.</i> 4 <i>l.</i> <i>per Annum</i> for his Boat-hire, and 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i> for Diet. In all	54	8	4
To Thomas Wriothesley, one of the Assistants to the Officers of the Admiralty, <i>per Annum</i>	20	0	0
To Walter Portriss, another of the Assistants, <i>per Ann.</i>	20	0	0
To Michael Geere, another of the Assistants	20	0	0
To John Grent, Surveyor of the Tonnage, <i>per Annum</i>	18	5	0
To William Bright, Shipwright, 1 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i> <i>per Diem</i>	30	8	4
To John Austin, Shipwright, <i>per Annum</i>	20	0	0
To Matthew Baker, Shipwright, 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i>	18	5	0
To Phineas Pett, Shipwright, 1 <i>s.</i> <i>per Diem</i>	18	5	0
To Robert Hudson and George Rands, for clearing the Roads <i>per Annum</i>	30	0	0

The Total *per Annum* is — 1715 7 6

The Total Sum of Fees and Annuities is — 25928 7 8

*In Anno Septimo of the King, there was one entire Subsidy granted by the Laity throughout all England, for which was paid into the Receipt of the Exchequer, by the Collectors thereof, the Sum of 69666 *l.* and so by Estimation a Subsidy is so valued; which, for more Particularity, is here distinguished, as it is collected in each several Shire of England, and as each Shire payeth, viz.*

Berk. - - -	l. 963	Cestria. - - -	l. 871	Dorset. - - -	l. 1239
Buck. - - -	1526	Cumberl. - - -	516	Derb. - - -	644
Bedd. - - -	721	Cornub. - - -	1784	Devon. - - -	5821
Cantab. - - -	1205	Dunolme - - -	61	Essex. - - -	2653
				Eboru.	

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 43

Eboru. - - - l. 4070	Monmouth - - l. 293	Surr. - - - l. 2286
Glouc. - - - 1748	Nott. - - - 593	Suffex - - - 1705
Hertff. - - - 1221	North. - - - 980	Somerset - - - 4249
Hereff. - - - 1105	Norff. - - - 2840	Wigorn - - - 1178
Hunt. - - - 553	Northumberl. - 129	Westminster - - 102
Kancia. - - - 3042	Oxon. - - - 1109	Wilts - - - 2240
Lanc. - - - 978	Rutl. - - - 174	Warr. - - - 918
Leic. - - - 805	Salop. - - - 787	Of the Nobility - 3180
Lincolne - - - 2571	South. - - - 2412	Within the King's
London - - - 5178	Staff. - - - 681	House - - - 1101
Midd. - - - 1512	Suff. - - - 2824	

Shires in Wales.

Angliff.	Cardigan.	Merioneth. - - l. 120
Bercon.	Denbigh.	Montgomery
Carnarvon.	Flint.	Pembroc.
Carmarth. - - l. 101	Glamorgan.	Radnor. - - - 41

Total of the whole Collection of *England* and *Wales*,
amounteth to — — — l. 69666

The Reason why most of these *Welch* Shires stand with Planks is, because they pay no Subsidies now they are charged with the Mizes they pay unto the Prince of *Wales*: And until this seventh Year of the King, the Shires of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*, never paid any Subsidy or Fifteenth, because they were at a continual Charge in Defence of the Borders against *Scotland*.

One 15th and 10th of the Laiety cometh unto — l. 36500

Every City, Hundred, Town, and Village, pays in, for Fifteenths and Tenths, no more than they are chargeable by the antient Roll and Tax set upon them, so that their Payments are certain.

The Dividend of the 13000 l. distributed amongst the Governors and Officers of the Towns of Ulushing and Brill, in Recompence of the Loss of their Places, upon Surrender of the said Towns to the Lords the States of the United Provinces.

	l.	s.	d.
To Captain Moyle	400	0	0
To Edmond Gentill, Provost-Marshal of the Brill	400	0	0
To two Water-Bailiffs of the Towns, viz. to each 400 l. out of which their Deputies to be allowed <i>pro rata</i>	800	0	0
To two Commissaries of Musters, to each 400 l.	800	0	0
To two Clerks of the Ordnance, to each 100 l.	200	0	0
To two Master-Gunners, to each 100 l.	200	0	0

44 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
To two Master-Gunners Mates, to each 100 Marks	133	6	8
To eight Quarter-Master Gunners, to each 50 <i>l.</i>	400	0	0
To two Assistants, to each 40 <i>l.</i>	80	0	0
To ten Cannoneers, amongst them	80	0	0
To the Lady Browne	300	0	0
To Monsieur Block	150	0	0
To Sir William Waade and Clement Edmonds, in Recompence of the Reversions of Offices they had there, to each of them 400 <i>l.</i>			
In all	800	0	0
To Sir William Waade, due to him upon a former Warrant, payable out of the Checks	600	0	0
To two Preachers between them	76	13	4
To be employed for redeeming of so many Pensions as shall amount unto the Sum of 2500 <i>l.</i> per annum, granted to the Governors and some other Officers of the said Towns	7500	0	0
to be disposed by the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer for that Use.			

Memorandum. This agreeth with the Schedule signed by the King

The Total Sum is — 12920 0 0

Memorandum. The Lord Viscount Lisle, Governor of the Town of Ulusbing and the Castle of Ramakins, hath, in Recompence of that Place, a Pension out of the Receipt of the Exchequer at Westminster of 1200*l.* per ann. during his Life.

Sir Horatio Vere, Governor of Brill, hath also, during his Life, in Recompence 800*l.* per annum.

And Sir Edward Conway a Pension, during his Life, of 500*l.* per annum.

Reader, be pleased to take Notice, That the Printer varies not from the original Copy, neither one Way or other; and if any worthy Gentleman, or Man of Quality, is not well satisfied in any of these Particulars, but makes a Question, or doubteth of the Truth of any of them, let him repair to the Stationer that hath been at the Charge of Printing, or the Gentleman that hath been the Preserver of these original Copies, there they shall have a View gratis of all, and full Satisfaction, to clear some Errors formerly printed, and falsely published.

The

The GOVERNMENT of the COMMONWEALTH of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, as it was publickly declared at *Westminster* the 16th Day of *December*, 1653. in the Prefence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Persons of Quality; at which Time and Place his Highness, OLIVER Lord Protector of the said Commonwealth, took a solemn Oath for observing the same.

Published by His Highness the Lord Protector's special Commandment.

Printed in the Year 1653.

I. **T**HAT the supreme Legislative Authority of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, shall be and reside in one Person, and the People assembled in Parliament; the Stile of which Person shall be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

II. That the Exercise of the chief Magistracy and Administration of the Government over the said Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, shall be in the *Lord Protector*, assisted with a Council; the Number whereof shall not exceed Twenty-one, nor be less than Thirteen.

III. That all Writs, Processes, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Style of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England* by Authority of Parliament, shall run in the Name and Style of the *Lord Protector*, from whom, for the future, shall be derived all Magistracy and Honours in these three Nations; and shall have the Power of Pardons, (except in Case of Murder and Treason) and Benefit of all Forfeitures for the public Use: And shall govern the said Countries and Dominions in all Things by the Advice of the Council, and according to these Presents and the Laws.

IV. That the *Lord Protector*, the Parliament sitting, shall dispose and order the Militia and Forces both by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the three Nations, by Consent of Parliament; and that the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice and Consent of the major Part of the Council, shall dispose and order the Militia for the Ends aforesaid, in the Intervals of Parliament.

V. That the *Lord Protector*, by the Advice aforesaid, shall direct, in all Things, concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correspondence with Foreign
reign.

reign Kings, Princes and States; and also, with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, have the Power of War and Peace.

VI. That the Laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Imposition laid upon the People, but by common Consent in Parliament, save only as is expressed in the 30th Article.

VII. That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at *Westminster* upon the third Day of *September*, one thousand six hundred fifty-four; and that successively a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the preceding Parliament.

VIII. That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the Time of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their first Meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent.

IX. That as well the next, as all other successive Parliaments, shall be summoned, and elected in Manner hereafter expressed; that is to say, The Persons to be chosen within *England*, *Wales*, the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of Four hundred: The Persons to be chosen within *Scotland*, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty: And the Persons to be chosen to sit in Parliament for *Ireland*, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty.

X. That the Persons to be elected to sit in Parliament from time to time for the several Counties of *England*, *Wales*, the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, and all Places within the same respectively, shall be according to the Proportions and Numbers hereafter expressed, that is to say,

For the County of *Bedford*, six; viz.

For the Town of *Bedford*, one.

For the County of *Bedford*, five.

For the County of *Berks*, seven; viz.

For the Borough of *Abingdon*, one.

For the Borough of *Reading*, one.

For the County of *Berks*, five.

For the County of *Bucks*, eight; viz.

For the Town of *Buckingham*, one.

For the Borough of *Aylesbury*, one.

For the Borough of *Wiccomb*, one.

For the County of *Bucks*, five.

For the County of *Cambridge* and Isle of *Ely*, eight; viz.

For the Town of *Cambridge*, one.

For the University of *Cambridge*, one.

For

For the Isle of *Ely*, two.
For the County of *Cambridge*, four.

For the County of *Chester*, five; viz.
For the City of *Chester*, one.
For the County of *Chester*, four.

For the County of *Cornwall*, twelve; viz.
For the Borough of *Dunishwet*, otherwise *Launceston*, one.
For the Borough of *Truro*, one.
For the Borough of *Penryn*, one.
For the Boroughs of *Eastlow* and *Westlow*, one.
For the County of *Cornwall*, eight.

For the County of *Cumberland*, three; viz.
For the City of *Carlisle*, one.
For the County of *Cumberland*, two.

For the County of *Derby*, five; viz.
For the Town of *Derby*, one.
For the County of *Derby*, four.

For the County of *Devon*, twenty; viz.
For the City of *Exeter*, two.
For the Borough of *Plymouth*, two.
For the Boroughs of *Dartmouth*, *Clifton*, and *Hardness*, one.
For the Borough of *Totness*, one.
For the Borough of *Barnstable*, one.
For the Borough of *Tiverton*, one.
For the Borough of *Honiton*, one.
For the County of *Devon*, eleven.

For the County of *Dorset*, ten; viz.
For the Borough of *Dorchester*, one.
For the Boroughs of *Weymouth* and *Melcomb-Regis*, one.
For the Borough of *Lyme-Regis*, one.
For the Town and County of *Pool*, one.
For the County of *Dorset*, six.

For the County of *Durham*, three; viz.
For the City of *Durham*, one.
For the County of *Durham*, two.

For the County of *York*, twenty-two; viz.
For the City of *York*, two.
For the Town of *Kingston upon Hull*, one.

For

48 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

For the Borough of *Beverley*, one.

For the Borough of *Scarborough*, one.

For the Borough of *Richmond*, one.

For the Town of *Leeds*, one.

For the Town and Parish of *Hallifax*, one.

For the County of *York*, fourteen, to be chosen distinctly by the three Ridings; that is to say, for the *West Riding*, six; for the *East Riding*, four; for the *North Riding* four.

For the County of *Essex*, sixteen; viz.

For the Borough of *Maldon*, one.

For the Borough of *Colchester*, two.

For the County of *Essex*, thirteen.

For the County of *Gloucester*, and County of the City of *Gloucester*, nine; viz.

For the City of *Gloucester*, two.

For the Borough of *Tewksberry*, one.

For the Borough of *Cirencester*, one.

For the County, and the County of the City of *Gloucester*, except the said City, five

For the County of *Hereford*, six; viz.

For the City of *Hereford*, one.

For the Borough of *Leominster*, one.

For the County of *Hereford*, four.

For the County of *Hertford*, seven, viz.

For the Town of *St. Albans*, one.

For the Borough of *Hertford*, one.

For the County of *Hertford*, five.

For the County of *Huntington*, four; viz.

For the Borough of *Huntingdon*, one.

For the County of *Huntingdon*, three.

For the County of *Kent*, eighteen; viz.

For the City of *Canterbury*, two.

For the City of *Rockester*, one.

For the Borough of *Maidstone*, one.

For the Port of *Dover*, one.

For the Port of *Sandwich*, one.

For the Borough of *Queenborough*, one.

For the County of *Kent*, eleven.

For

For the County of *Lancaster*, eight; viz.

For the Borough of *Preston* in *Anderness*, one.

For the Borough of *Lancaster*, one.

For the Borough of *Liverpool*, one.

For the Town and Parish of *Manchester*, one.

For the County of *Lancaster*, four.

For the County of *Leicester*, six; viz.

For the Borough of *Leicester*, two.

For the County of *Leicester*, four.

For the County of *Lincoln*, sixteen; viz.

For the City of *Lincoln*, two.

For the Town of *Boston*, one.

For the Borough of *Grantham*, one.

For the Town of *Stamford*, one.

For the Town of *Great Grimsby*, one.

For the County of *Lincoln*, ten.

For the County of *Middlesex*, six; viz.

For the City of *Westminster*, two.

For the County of *Middlesex*, four.

For the City of *London*, six.

For the County of *Monmouth*, three.

For the County of *Norfolk*, sixteen; viz.

For the City of *Norwich*, two.

For the Town of *Lynn-Regis*, two.

For the Town of *Great Yarmouth*, two.

For the County of *Norfolk*, ten.

For the County of *Northampton*, eight, viz.

For the City of *Peterborough*, one.

For the Town of *Northampton*, one.

For the County of *Northampton*, six.

For the County of *Nottingham*, six; viz.

For the Town of *Nottingham*, two.

For the County of *Nottingham*, four.

For the County of *Northumberland*, five; viz.

For the Town of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, one.

For the Town of *Berwick*, one.

For the County of *Northumberland*, three.

50 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

For the County of *Oxford*, eight; viz.

For the City of *Oxford*, one.

For the University of *Oxford*, one.

For the Borough of *Woodstock*, one.

For the County of *Oxford*, five.

For the County of *Rutland*, two.

For the County of *Salop*, eight; viz.

For the Town of *Shrewsbury*, two.

For the Borough of *Bruges*, alias *Bridgnorth*, one.

For the Borough of *Ludlow*, one.

For the County of *Salop*, four.

For the County of *Stafford*, six; viz.

For the City of *Litchfield*, one.

For the Town of *Stafford*, one.

For the Borough of *Newcastle* under *Lyne*, one.

For the County of *Stafford*, three.

For the County of *Somerset*, sixteen; viz.

For the Borough of *Taunton*, two.

For the City of *Bath*, one.

For the City of *Wells*, one.

For the Borough of *Bridgwater*, one.

For the County of *Somerset*, eleven.

For the City of *Bristol*, two.

For the County of *Southampton*, fourteen; viz.

For the City of *Winchester*, one.

For the Town of *Southampton*, one.

For the Town of *Portsmouth*, one.

For the Isle of *Wight*, two.

For the Borough of *Andover*, one.

For the County of *Southampton*, eight.

For the County of *Suffolk*, sixteen; viz.

For the Borough of *Ipswich*, two.

For the Borough of *Bury St. Edmunds*, two.

For the Borough of *Dunwich*, one.

For the Borough of *Sudbury*, one.

For the County of *Suffolk*, ten.

For the County of *Surrey*, ten; viz.

For the Borough of *Southwark*, two.

For

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 51

For the Borough of *Guilford*, one.

For the Borough of *Rygate*, one.

For the County of *Surrey*, six.

For the County of *Sussex*, fourteen ; viz.

For the City of *Chichester*, one.

For the Borough of *Lewes*, one.

For the Borough of *East-Grinstead*, one.

For the Borough of *Arundel*, one.

For the Borough of *Rye*, one.

For the County of *Sussex*, nine.

For the County of *Westmoreland*, two.

For the County of *Warwick*, seven ; viz.

For the City of *Coventry*, two.

For the Borough of *Warwick*, one.

For the County of *Warwick*, four.

For the County of *Worcester*, seven, viz.

For the City and County of the City of *Worcester*, two.

For the County of *Worcester*, five.

For the County of *Wilts*, fourteen ; viz.

For the City of *New Sarum*, two.

For the Borough of *Marlborough*, one.

For the Borough of the *Devizes*, one.

For the County of *Wilts*, ten.

For the County of *Anglesea*, two.

For the County of *Brecon*, two.

For the County of *Cardigan*, two.

For the County of *Caermarthen*, two.

For the County of *Caernarvon*, two.

For the County of *Denbigh*, two.

For the County of *Flint*, two.

For the County of *Glamorgan*, three ; viz.

For the Town of *Cardiffe*, one.

For the County of *Glamorgan*, two.

For the County of *Merioneth*, one.

For the County of *Montgomery*, two.

For the County of *Pembroke*, three ; viz.

For the Town of *Haverford-west*, one.

For the County of *Pembroke*, two.

For the County of *Radnor*, two.

The Distribution of the Persons to be chosen for *Scotland*, and the several Counties, Cities, and Places within the same, shall be according to such Proportions and Number, as shall be agreed upon and declared by the *Lord Protector* and the major Part of the Council, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament. The Distribution of the Persons to be chosen for *Ireland*, and the several Counties, Cities, and Places within the same, shall be according to such Proportions and Number, as shall be agreed upon, and declared by the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament.

XI. That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, with such Alteration as may suit with the present Government, to be made by the *Lord Protector* and his Council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall seal, issue, and send abroad, by Warrant from the *Lord Protector*. If the *Lord Protector* shall not give Warrant for issuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the first Day of *June*, one thousand six hundred fifty-four, or for the Triennial Parliaments before the first Day of *August* in every third Year, to be accounted as aforesaid ; that then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal for the Time being, shall, without any Warrant or Direction, within seven Days after the said first Day of *June*, one thousand six hundred fifty-four, seal, issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons (changing therein what is to be changed as aforesaid) to the several and respective Sheriffs of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for summoning the Parliament to meet at *Westminster*, the third of *September* next ; and shall likewise, within seven Days after the said first Day of *August*, in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the precedent Parliament, seal, issue, and send abroad several Writs of Summons, changing therein what is to be changed, as aforesaid, for summoning the Parliament to meet at *Westminster* the sixth of *November* in that third Year. That the said several and respective Sheriffs shall, within ten Days after the Receipt of such Writs as aforesaid, cause the same to be proclaimed and published in every Market-Town within his County, upon the Market-Days thereof, between twelve and three of the Clock ; and shall then also publish and declare the certain Day of the Week and Month for choosing Members to serve in Parliament for the Body of the said County, according to the Tenor of the said Writ, which shall be on *Wednesday* five Weeks after the Date of the Writ ;
and

and shall likewise declare the Place where the Election shall be made ; for which Purpose he shall appoint the most convenient Place for the whole County to meet in, and shall send Precepts for Elections to be made in all and every City, Town, Borough or Place within his County, where Elections are to be made by virtue of these Presents, to the Mayor, Sheriff, or other Head-Officer of such City, Town, Borough, or Place, within three Days after the Receipt of such Writ and Writs, which the said Mayors, Sheriffs and Officers respectively, are to make Publication of, and of the certain Day for such Elections to be made in the said City, Town, or Place aforesaid, and to cause Elections to be made accordingly.

XII. That at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head-Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places respectively, shall take View of the said Elections, and shall make Return into the Chancery within twenty Days after the said Elections of the Persons elected by the greater Number of Electors, under their Hands and Seals, between him on the one Part, and the Electors on the other Part ; wherein shall be contained, That the Persons elected shall not have Power to alter the Government, as it is hereby settled in one single Person and a Parliament.

XIII. That the Sheriff, who shall wittingly and willingly make any false Return, or neglect his Duty, shall incur the Penalty of two thousand Merks of lawful *English* Money ; the one Moiety to the *Lord Protector*, and the other Moiety to such Persons as will sue for the same.

XIV. That all and every Person and Persons, who have aided, advised, assisted, or abetted in any War against the Parliament, since the first Day of *January*, one thousand six hundred forty one (unless they have been since in the Service of the Parliament, and given signal Testimony of their good Affections thereunto) shall be disabled, and be incapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to serve in the next Parliament or in the Three succeeding Triennial Parliaments.

XV. That all such who have advised, assisted, or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, shall be disabled and incapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament ; as also all such who do or shall profess the Roman Catholic Religion.

XVI. That all Votes and Elections given, or made contrary, or not according to these Qualifications, shall be null and void : And if any Person, who is hereby made incapable, shall give his Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, such Person shall lose and forfeit one full Year's Value of his real Estate, and one full third Part of his personal Estate ; one Moiety thereof to the *Lord Protector*, and the other Moiety to him, or them who shall sue for the same.

XVII. That the Persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, shall be such (and no other than such) as are Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of One and Twenty Years.

XVIII. That all and every Person and Persons, seized or possessed to his Use, of any Estate, real or personal, to the Value of Two Hundred Pounds,
and

and not within the aforesaid Exceptions, shall be capable to elect Members to serve in Parliament for Counties.

XIX. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall be sworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth and send abroad Writs of Summons to Parliaments at the Times, and in the manner before expressed: And in case of Neglect or Failure, to issue and send abroad Writs accordingly, he or they shall, for every such Offence, be guilty of High Treason, and suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

XX. That in case Writs be not issued out, as is before expressed, but that there be a Neglect therein, fifteen Days after the Time wherein the same ought to be issued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, that then the Parliament shall, as often as such Failure shall happen, assemble and be held at *Westminster*, in the usual Place, at the Times prefixed, in Manner, and by the Means hereafter expressed; that is to say, that the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, Sherifffdoms, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforesaid, within *England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the Universities of *Oxford and Cambridge*, and the Mayor and Bailiffs of the Borough of *Berwick upon Tweed*, and other the Places aforesaid respectively, shall, at the several Courts and Places to be appointed as aforesaid, within thirty Days after the said fifteen Days, cause such Members to be chosen for their said several and respective Counties, Shrievedoms, Universities, Cities, Boroughs, and Places aforesaid, by such Persons, and in such manner, as if several and respective Writs of Summons to Parliament, under the Great Seal, had issued and been awarded according to the Tenor aforesaid: That if the Sheriff, or other Persons authorized, shall neglect his or their Duty herein: That all and every such Sheriff and Person authorized as aforesaid, so neglecting his or their Duty, shall, for every such Offence, be guilty of High-Treason, and shall suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

XXI. That the Clerk, called, *The Clerk of the Commonwealth*, in *Chancery*, for the Time being, and all others, who shall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns shall be made, shall, for the next Parliament, and the two succeeding Triennial Parliaments, the next Day after such Return, certify the Names of the several Persons so returned, and of the Places for which he and they were chosen respectively unto the Council, who shall peruse the said Returns, and examine, whether the Persons so elected and returned be such as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: And that every Person and Persons being so duly elected, and being approved of by the major Part of the Council to be Persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to sit in Parliament, and not otherwise.

XXII. That the Persons chosen and assembled in manner aforesaid, or any Sixty of them, shall be, and be deemed the Parliament of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the supreme Legislative Power to be and reside in the *Lord Protector* and such Parliament, in manner herein expressed.

XXIII. That the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, shall at any other Time than is before expressed, when the Necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in manner before expressed, which shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent, during the first three Months of their Sitting: And in case of future War with any Foreign State, a Parliament shall be forthwith summoned for their Advice concerning the same.

XXIV. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the *Lord Protector* for his Consent; and in case he shall not give his Consent thereto within twenty Days after they shall be presented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament, within the Time limited, that then, upon Declaration of the Parliament, That the *Lord Protector* hath not consented, nor given Satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into, and become Laws, although he shall not give his Consent thereunto; provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the Matters contained in these Presents.

XXV. That *Philip Lord Viscount Lisle*, *Charles Fleetwood*, Esquire; *John Lambert*, Esquire; *Sir Gilbert Pickering*, Baronet; *Sir Charles Wolseley*, Baronet, *Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Baronet; *Edward Montagu*, Esquire; *John Desborough*, Esquire; *Walter Strickland*, Esquire; *Henry Lawrence*, Esquire; *William Sydenham*, Esquire; *Philip Jones*, Esquire; *Richard Major*, Esquire; *Francis Rous*, *Philip Skippon*, Esquires; or any Seven of them, shall be a Council for the Purposes expressed in this Writing: And, upon the Death, or other Removal of any of them, the Parliament shall nominate six Persons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed, out of which the major Part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the *Lord Protector*, of which he shall elect one: And in case the Parliament shall not nominate within twenty Days after notice given unto them thereof, the major Part of the Council shall nominate Three, as aforesaid, to the *Lord Protector*, who out of them shall supply the Vacancy; and until this Choice be made, the remaining Part of the Council shall execute as fully, in all Things, as if their Number were full: And in case of Corruption, or other Miscarriage in any of the Council in their Trust, the Parliament shall appoint Seven of their Numbers, and the Council Six, who, together with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, for the Time being, shall have Power to hear and determine such Corruption and Miscarriage, and to award and inflict Punishment, as the Nature of the Offence shall deserve; which Punishment shall not be pardoned or remitted by the *Lord Protector*: And in the Interval of Parliaments, the major Part of the Council, with the Consent of the *Lord Protector*, may, for Corruption, or other Miscarriage as aforesaid, suspend any of their Number from the Exercise of their Trust, if they shall find it just, until the Matter shall be heard and examined as aforesaid.

XXVI. That the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council aforesaid, may at any Time, before the meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council such Persons as they shall think fit, provided the Number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed One and Twenty, and the *Quorum* to be

be proportioned accordingly by the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council.

XXVII. That a constant yearly Revenue shall be raised, settled and established for maintaining of Ten Thousand Horse and Dragoons, and Twenty Thousand Foot in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, for the Defence and Security thereof, and also for a convenient Number of Ships, for guarding of the Seas; besides Two Hundred thousand Pounds *per annum* for defraying the other necessary Charges for Administration of Justice, and other Expences of the Government; which Revenue shall be raised by the Customs, and such other Ways and Means as shall be agreed upon by the *Lord Protector* and Council, and shall not be taken away or diminished, nor the Way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the Consent of the *Lord Protector* and the Parliament.

XXVIII. That the said yearly Revenue shall be paid into the public Treasury, and shall be issued out for the Uses aforesaid.

XXIX. That in case there shall not be Cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence at Land or Sea, but that there be an Abatement made thereof, the Money which will be saved thereby, shall remain in Bank for the public Service, and not be employed to any other Use but by Consent of Parliament, or in the Intervals of Parliament, by the *Lord Protector*, and major Part of the Council.

XXX. That the raising of Money for defraying the Charge of present extraordinary Forces, both at Land and Sea, in respect of the present Wars, shall be by Consent in Parliament, and not otherwise, save only that the *Lord Protector*, with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, for preventing the Disorders and Dangers which may otherwise fall out both at Sea and Land, shall have Power, until the meeting of the first Parliament, to raise Money for the Purposes aforesaid, and also to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary, which shall be binding and in force, until Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.

XXXI. That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Jurisdictions, and Hereditaments, which remain yet unfold or undisposed of by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the Forests and Chaces, and the Honours and Manors belonging to the same; the Lands of the Rebels in *Ireland*, lying in the four Counties of *Dublin*, *Cork*, *Kildare*, and *Katerlangh*; the Lands forfeited by the People of *Scotland*, in the late Wars; and also the Lands of Papists and Delinquents in *England*, who have not yet compounded) shall be vested in the *Lord Protector*, to hold, to him and his Successors, *Lord Protectors* of these Nations, and shall not be aliened but by Consent in Parliament: And all Debts, Fines, Issues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, shall be due to the *Lord Protector*, and be payable into his public Receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his Name.

XXXII.

XXXII. That the Office of the *Lord Protector*, over these Nations, shall be elective, and not hereditary; and upon the Death of the *Lord Protector*, another fit Person shall be forthwith elected to succeed him in the Government, which Election shall be by the Council; who, immediately upon the Death of the *Lord Protector*, shall assemble in the Chamber where they usually sit in Council; and having given Notice to all their Number of the Cause of their assembling, shall, being Thirteen at least present, proceed to the Election, and before they depart out of the said Chamber, shall elect a fit Person to succeed in the Government, and forthwith cause Proclamation thereof to be made in all the three Nations as shall be requisite: And the Person that they or the major Part of them shall elect, as aforesaid, shall be, and shall be taken to be *Lord Protector* over these Nations of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging; provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line, or Family, be elected to be *Lord Protector*, or other chief Magistrate over these Nations, or any of the Dominions thereto belonging: And until the aforesaid Election be past, the Council shall take Care of the Government, and administer in all Things as fully as the *Lord Protector*, or the *Lord Protector* and Council are enabled to do.

XXXIII. That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, shall be, and is hereby declared to be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging for his Life.

XXXIV. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and the chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

XXXV. That the Christian Religion, contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public Profession of these Nations; and that as soon as may be, a Provision less subject to Scruple and Contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers for instructing the People, and for Discovery and Confutation of Error, Heresy, and whatever is contrary to sound Doctrine: And that, until such Provision be made, the present Maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.

XXXVI. That to the public Profession held forth, none shall be compelled by Penalties or otherwise, but that Endeavours be used to win them by sound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Conversation.

XXXVII. That such as profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, publickly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the Profession of the Faith, and Exercise of their Religion, so as they abuse not this Liberty, to the civil Injury of others, and to the actual Disturbance of the public Peace on their Parts; provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, nor to such as, under the Profession of Christ, hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

XXXVIII. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauses in any Law, Statute and Ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid Liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

XXXIX. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen and Prince, of Archbishops and Bishops, &c. Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents, and Forest Lands, or any of them; or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments, belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached or made invalid; but shall remain good and firm: And that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any Sum or Sums of Money, by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other public Revenue; and also the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation; and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, shall remain firm and good, and not be made void and invalid upon any Pretence whatsoever.

XL. That the Articles given to or made with the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, shall be performed and made good to the Persons concerned therein. And that such Appeals as were depending in the last Parliament, for Relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Estates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any Thing in this Writing, or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

XLI. That every successive *Lord Protector* over these Nations, shall take and subscribe a solemn Oath, in the Presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, That he will seek the Peace, Quiet, and Welfare of these Nations, cause Law and Justice to be equally administered, and that he will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in this Writing; and in all other Things will, to his Power, and to the best of his Understanding, govern these Nations, according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs.

XLII. That each Person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their Trust, take and subscribe an Oath, That they will be true and faithful in their Trust, according to the best of their Knowledge; and that, in the Election of every successive *Lord Protector*, they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promise, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

The Oath taken by his Highness OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector.

WHEREAS the major Part of the last Parliament (judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the Good of this Commonwealth) did dissolve the same, and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the twelfth Day of this instant *December*, resigned unto me their Powers and Authorities; and whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy Course should be taken for the Settlement of these Nations upon such a Basis and Foundation, as, by the Blessing of God, might be lasting, secure Property, and answer those great Ends of Religion and Liberty, so long contended for; and upon full and mature Consideration had of the Form of Government

vernment hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine Assistance, may answer the Ends afore-mentioned ; and having also been desired, and advised, as well by several Persons of Interest and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the Protection and Government of these Nations, in the Manner expressed in the said Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly : And do promise, in the Presence of God, that I will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained therein, but, to my Power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed ; and shall, in all other Things, to the best of my Understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs, seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administred.

O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared Lord Protector thereof, did this 16th Day of December 1653 sign this Writing, and solemnly promise, as is therein contained, in Presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, who administred the same Oath, and of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Persons of Quality.

The NAMES of the MEMBERS of PARLIAMENT called to take upon them the Trust of the Government of this Commonwealth, which began on *Monday* the 4th of *June* 1653, the Day appointed by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, for the Meeting of these Gentlemen : With the several Transactions since that Time.

Printed in the Year 1654.

A COPY of the Letter from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, sent to the Members called to take upon them the Trust of the Government of this Commonwealth.

FORASMUCH as, upon the Dissolution of the late Parliament, it became necessary that the Peace, Safety, and Government of this Commonwealth should be provided for ; and in order thereunto, divers Persons fearing God, and of approved Fidelity and Honesty, are by myself

self, with the Advice of my Council of Officers, nominated, to whom the Charge and Trust of so weighty Affairs is to be committed. And having good Assurance of your Love to, and Courage for God and the Interest of his Cause, and of the good People of this Commonwealth; I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Forces raised and to be raised within this Commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you, being one of the Persons nominated, personally to be, and appear at the Council Chamber, commonly known or called by the Name of the *Council Chamber at Whitehall*, within the City of *Westminster*, upon the fourth Day of *July* next ensuing the Date hereof, then and there to take upon you the said Trust, unto which you are hereby called, and appointed to serve as a Member for the County of — And hereof you are not to fail. *Given under my Hand and Seal the — Day of June 1653.*

O. CROMWELL.

Monday, June 4. 1653.

This being the Day appointed by the Letters of Summons from his Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, for the Meeting of those Gentlemen that were called to the Supreme Authority, they met accordingly in the Council-Chamber, where being entered the Room, above one hundred and twenty in Number, and being sat round about the Table, the Lord General standing by the Window opposite to the Middle of the Table, and having as many of the Army-Officers as the Room could well contain, on his Right-hand and on his Left, his Lordship made a very grave, Christian, and seasonable Speech and Exhortation; wherein he briefly recounted the many great and wondrous Mercies of God towards this Nation, and the Series of Providence wherein the Presence of God did wonderfully appear in carrying on this Cause, and bringing Affairs into the present Condition, beyond all Expectation; ascribing the Glory of all to God alone.

He set forth also, in particular, the Progress of Affairs since the famous Victory at *Worcester*, wherein that Arch Enemy of this Nation was wholly subdued. He likewise laid down the Actings of the Army thereupon, after divers Applications to the Parliament, and much being wanting, and Forbearance, together with the Grounds and Necessity of their dissolving the said Parliament, which his Excellency declares to be for the Preservation of this Cause, and the Interest of all honest Men who have been engaged therein.

Moreover, he very amply held forth the Clearness of the Call given to the present Members to take the Supreme Authority; and did from the Scriptures exhort them to their Duties, and encourage them therein, desiring that a Tenderness might be used towards all godly and conscientious Persons, of what Judgment and under what Form soever.

Which being ended, his Lordship produced an Instrument under his own Hand and Seal, whereby he did, with the Advice of his Officers, devolve and intrust the Supreme Authority and Government of this Commonwealth, into the Hands of the Persons then met, who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the Supreme Authority of the Nation, unto whom all Per-

sons.

sons within the same, and the Territories thereunto belonging, are to yield Obedience and Subjection. And they are not to sit longer than the 3d of November 1654. Three Months before their Dissolution they are to make Choice of other Persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a Twelve-month; but it is left to them to take Care for a Succession in Government: Which Instrument being delivered to the Persons aforesaid, his Lordship commended them to the Grace of God.

This being done, his Excellency and his Officers withdrew; and the said Persons so met, having the Supreme Authority put into their Hands, after some short Space, adjourned till the next Morning eight o' Clock, and appointed to meet in the old Parliament House, there to seek God for Direction in this great Work, and for his Presence and Blessing therein. Hereupon, without doing any further Business, they all departed.

The Names of the Members of Parliament which began June 4. 1653. with the respective Counties for which they serve.

<i>Berks.</i>	<i>Derby.</i>
S Amuel Dunch	Jervas Bennet
Vincent Goddard	Nathaniel Barton.
Thomas Wood.	<i>Devon.</i>
<i>Bedford.</i>	George Monk, one of the Generals at Sea.
Nathaniel Taylor	John Carew
Edward Cater	Thomas Sanders
<i>Buckingham.</i>	Christopher Martin
George Fleetwood	James Erisey
George Baldwin	Francis Rous
<i>Cambridge.</i>	Richard Sweet.
John Sadler	<i>Dorset.</i>
Thomas French	William Sydenham
Robert Castle	John Bingham.
Samuel Warner.	<i>Essex.</i>
<i>Chester.</i>	Joachim Matthews
Robert Duckenfield	Henry Barington
Henry Birkinhead.	John Brewster
<i>Four Northern Counties.</i>	Christopher Earl
Charles Howard	Dudley Templer.
Robert Fenwick	<i>Gloucester.</i>
Henry Dawson	John Crofts
Henry Ogle.	William Neast
<i>Cornwall.</i>	Robert Holmes.
Robert Bennet	<i>Southampton.</i>
Francis Langdon	Richard Norton
Anthony Rous	Richard Major
John Bawden.	John

62 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

- | | |
|-----------------------|---|
| John Hildesley. | <i>Nottingham.</i> |
| <i>Hertford.</i> | John Oddingfels |
| Henry Lawrence | Edward Chid. |
| William Reeve. | <i>Oxon.</i> |
| <i>Hereford.</i> | Sir Charles Wolsley |
| Wroth Rogers | William Draper |
| John Herring. | Dr. Jonathan Goddard. |
| <i>Huntington.</i> | <i>Rutland.</i> |
| Edward Montague | Edward Horseman. |
| Stephen Phefaunt. | <i>Salop.</i> |
| <i>Kent.</i> | William Botterel |
| Lord Viscount Lisle | Thomas Baker. |
| Thomas Blount | <i>Stafford.</i> |
| William Kenrick | George Bellit |
| William Cullen | John Chetwood. |
| Andrew Broughton | <i>Suffolk.</i> |
| <i>Lancaster.</i> | Jacob Caley |
| William West | Francis Brewster |
| John Sawrey | Robert Dunkon |
| Robert Cunliff. | John Clark |
| <i>Leicester.</i> | Edward Plumstead. |
| Henry Danvers | <i>Somerset.</i> |
| Edward Smith | Robert Blake, <i>one of the Generals at</i> |
| John Prat. | <i>Sea</i> |
| <i>Lincoln.</i> | John Pine |
| Sir William Brownlow | Dennis Hollister |
| Richard Cust | Henry Henley. |
| Barnaby Bowtel | <i>Surrey.</i> |
| Humphrey Walcot | Samuel Hichland |
| William Thompson. | Lawrence March. |
| <i>Middlesex.</i> | <i>Sussex.</i> |
| Sir William Roberts | Anthony Stapeley |
| Augustine Wingfield | William Spence |
| Arthur Squib. | Nathaniel Studely. |
| <i>Monmouth.</i> | <i>Warwick.</i> |
| Philip Jones. | John St. Nicholas |
| <i>Northampton.</i> | Richard Lucy. |
| Sir Gilbert Pickering | <i>Wilts.</i> |
| Thomas Brook. | Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper |
| <i>Norfolk.</i> | Nicholas Green |
| Robert Jeremy | Thomas Eyre. |
| Tobias Fecete | <i>Worcester.</i> |
| Ralph Wolmer | Richard Salway |
| Henry King | John James. |
| William Burton. | <i>York.</i> |

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 63

York.

George Lord Evre
Walter Strikland
Francis Laffels
John Anlaby
Thomas Dickenson
Thomas St. Nicholas
Roger Coats
Edward Gill.

London.

Robert Tichborn
John Ireton
Samuel Moyer
John Langley
John Stone
Henry Barton
Praise-God Barbone.

Wales.

Bushy Mansel
James Philips
John Williams
Hugh Courtney
Richard Price

John Brown.

Scotland.

Sir James Hope
Alexander Brody
John Swinton
William Lockhart
Alexander Jefferies.

Ireland.

Sir Robert King
Colonel John Hewson
Colonel Henry Cromwell
Colonel John Clarke
Daniel Hutchinson.
Vincent Gookyn.

*Called in by the Parliament since they
sate.*

Lord General Cromwell
Major General Lambert
Major General Harrison
Major General Desborough.
Colonel Mat. Tomlinson.

Council of State.

T H E Lord General
Major General Desborough
Major General Harrison.
Mr. Major
Colonel Sydenham
Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper
Alderman Tichbourn
Sir Charles Wolsey
Sir Gilbert Pickering.
Mr. Carew
Colonel Jones
Lord Viscount Lisle
Mr. Lawrence
Colonel Montague
Mr. Strickland
Captain Howard.

The Lord Eyre
Sir William Roberts
Mr. Sadler
Sir Robert King
Colonel Henry Cromwell.
Dr. Goddard
Colonel Barton
Sir William Brownlow
Captain Stone
Colonel George Fleetwood
Colonel James
Mr. Anlaby
Mr. Bennet
Colonel Rous
Colonel Bingham.

The

The Commissioners Names for the *High Court of Justice.*

John Lisle, *one of the Lords Commissioners for the Great Seal of England*

John Bradshaw, *Serjeant at Law*

Charles George Cocke, *Esq;*

Matthew Sheppard, *Esq;*

William Underwood, *Alderman of London*

John Hayes, *Esq;*

George Langham, *Esq;*

Maurice Thompson, *Esq;*

Richard Shute, *Esq;*

Mark Hildesley, *Esq;*

Thomas Allen, *Alderman of London*

Daniel Taylor, *Esq;*

Edmund Waring, *Esq;*

John Blackwell, *jun. Esq;*

Nicholas Juxon, *Esq;*

Roger Frith, *Esq;*

Nathaniel Whetham, *Esq;*

Edward Cresset, *Esq;*

Ralph Harrison, *Esq;*

Benjamin Valentine, *Esq;*

William Web, *Esq;*

Owen Row, *Esq;*

Thomas Andrews, *Alderman of London*

John Hardwicke, *Esq;*

Richard Arnold, *Esq;*

Sir John Thorowgood of Kensington, *Knight*

Abraham Babington, *Esq;*

Richard Moor, *Esq;*

Edward Whaley, *Esq;*

William Goff, *Esq;*

John Okey, *Esq;*

Thomas Juxon, *Esq;*

Mark Coe, *Esq;*

An ACT declaring what Offences shall be adjudged Treason.

BE it enacted by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That if any Person shall maliciously or advisedly publish, by Writing, Printing, or openly Declaring, That the said Government is tyrannical, usurped, or unlawful; or that the Commons, in Parliament assembled, are not the supreme Authority of this Nation, or shall plot, contrive, or endeavour to stir up or raise Force against the present Government, or for the Subversion or Alteration of the same, and shall declare the same by any open Deed, that then every such Offence shall be taken, deemed and adjudged by Authority of this Parliament to be High Treason.

That if any Person shall maliciously and advisedly plot or endeavour the Subversion of the said Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, or the Council of State, and the same shall declare by any open Deed, or shall move any Person or Persons for the doing thereof, or stir up the People to rise against them, or either of them, they or either of their Authorities, every such Offence shall be taken, deemed, and declared to be High Treason.

If any Person not being an Officer, Soldier, or Member of the Army, shall plot, contrive, or endeavour to stir up any Mutiny in the said Army, or withdraw any Soldiers or Officers from their Obedience to their superior Officers, or from the present Government as aforesaid, or shall procure, invite, aid, or assist any Foreigners or Strangers to invade *England* or *Ireland*, or shall adhere to any Forces raised by the Enemies of the Parliament, Commonwealth,

wealth, or Keepers of the Liberties of *England*; or if any Person shall counterfeit the Great Seal of *England* for the Time being, used and appointed by Authority of Parliament, every such Offence shall be taken to be High Treason, and also forfeit unto the Use of the Commonwealth, all and singular his or their Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments, Goods and Chattels: Provided always, that no Persons shall be indicted and arraigned for any of the Offences mentioned in this Act, unless such Offenders shall be indicted or prosecuted for the same, within one Year after the Offence committed. That if any Person shall counterfeit the Money of this Commonwealth, or shall bring any false Money into this Land, counterfeit, or other like to the Money of this Commonwealth, knowing the Money to be false, to merchandize or make Payment, in deceit of the People of this Nation: Or if any Person shall hereafter falsly forge and counterfeit any such Kind of Coin of Gold or Silver, as is not the proper Coin of this Commonwealth, and is or shall be current within this Nation by Consent of the Parliament, or such as shall be by them authorised thereunto; or shall bring from the Parts beyond the Seas into this Commonwealth, or into any the Dominions of the same, any such false and counterfeit Coin of Money being current within the same, as is above said, knowing the same to be false, to the Intent to offer or make Payment by Merchandize, or otherwise, or shall impair, diminish, falsify, clip, wash, round, file, scale, or lighten, for wicked Lucre, or Gain's Sake, any the proper Moneys of this Commonwealth, or of any other Realm, allowed and suffered to be current: All such Offences adjudged High Treason, their Counsellors, Procurers, Aiders and Abettors being convicted, shall suffer Pains of Death. It shall not extend to, or be adjudged to make any Corruption of Blood to any of the Heirs, or to make the Wife to forfeit her Dower, or her Title, Action or Interest in the same. *July 17. 1649.*

A RELATION of the Mutiny on *Tuesday* the 22d of *November* 1653, in the *New-Exchange*, of the *Portugal* Ambassador's Followers, &c.

THIS Night was a great Mutiny at the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, such as hath scarce ever been the like. The Business, upon the best Information that I can have from those who were present in Part of the Business, and have conferred with others upon the whole, is this:

On *Monday* Night (which was the Night before) three of the *Portugal* Ambassador's Family, whereof his Brother was one, being at the *New-Exchange*, they talking in *French* spake of such Discourse of Transactions of some *English* Affairs, which Colonel *Gerhard*, Sir *Gilbert Gerhard's* Brother, understanding the *French* Tongue, hearing, told them very civilly, that they did not represent the Stories they spake of right; whereupon one of the *Portugals* gave him the Lie: Upon that they began to jostle, and all three fell upon Colonel *Gerhard*, and threw him down, and got upon him; but though he be but a little Man, yet he threw him off that was upon him, and so was bustling with him

a good while: There were some Gentlemen there, but knew not who it was they so assaulted, and so never meddled with them; and yet one of the *Portugals* with his Dagger stabbed Colonel *Gerbard* in the Shoulder, and hurt him fore: But afterwards Mr. *Anfrazier* spake to the *Portugals*, that it was not civil nor handsome for so many to fall upon one, three to one being very unequal, and endeavoured to pull one of them off, and so to persuade them to cease, and thereby he came to see who it was they had assaulted; who finding it to be Colonel *Gerbard*, which he knew well, and seeing them still pursue their Rage upon him, he drew to relieve him; and after some Bustle the *Portugals* went away, one of them having a Cut upon his Cheek: And that Night afterwards near twenty of their Attendants came to the *Exchange*, and would have quarrelled with any body; and some Cuffing there was by some, but not much more that Night, for it was late, and they returned home.

On *Tuesday* Night, came about fifty of the *Portugals* again to the *New-Exchange*, of which Number were the Ambassador's Brother, and two Knights of *Malta*, and they were led on by a *Portugal* in Buff, whom they call Captain, one well known to some in the *Exchange*, and they had generally double Arms, all or most Part of them Swords and Pistols, and Coats of Mail or Armour, some one Thing, some another, to preserve their Bodies from Swords entering upon them.

They had also two or three Coaches that brought Ammunition, in which were Hand-Granadoes and Bottles, and some little Barrels of Powder and Bullets, and other Necessaries, if Occasion was. They had also some Boats ready to attend them at the Water-side, if Occasion was for them also.

Thus they came with a Resolution to fall upon every *English* Gentleman they should find in or about the *Exchange*; and entering in with this Equipage, the People were exceedingly frightened. For first came in the Captain in the Buff, who led them, and after him the *Portugal* Ambassador's Brother, and the Knights of *Malta*, and so the rest, all with drawn Swords, and in so furious a Posture, as if they intended to kill every body they met with that stood before them.

Hereupon the People fled into the Shops in the *Exchange* to shelter themselves, and all that did not so they fell upon, though no Man gave them the least Affront, yet they pistolled and cut, and wounded many.

Mr. *Greneway*, a Gentleman of *Gray's-Inn*, Son to the Lady *Greneway*, was there with his Sister, and a Gentlewoman whom he was to have married, who desired them two to stand up in a Shop, where he saw them safe, and they would have had him to have staid with them, but he said he would only go see what was the Matter; but he was no sooner parted from them, but immediately the Word being given by the *Portugal* Captain in Buff, which was *Safa*, which was the Word when they were to fall on. Without any Affront offered towards them, one of them pistolled him, and shot him in the Head, and he is dead of his Wounds; and many others they have dangerously wounded. Colonel *Mayo* had twelve upon him at once, yet drew his Sword, and fought with them as long as he was able to hold his Sword in his Hand, which being cut, he was forced to let his Sword fall, and then they cut and wounded him in
many

many Places. Mr. *Thomas Howard*, Mr. *Cartar*, and divers others, were wounded passing by.

The Horse at the *Meuse* had taken Alarm before they returned, and returning home, passing by the *Meuse*, some of the Horse moving towards them, some of them discharged Pistols towards the Horse, and the rest run home to to the Ambassador's House; but the Horse-Guards took some of them, and carried them into the *Meuse*, and sent Word thereof to the Lord General; and a Party of Horse pursued them, and beset the Ambassador's House.

And Commissary General *Whalley* sent in to the Ambassador, acquainted him with this horrible Attempt and bloody Murder of his Followers, and shewed him his Men they had taken Prisoners, and required the chief of the rest of them to be delivered into the Hands of Justice, which the Ambassador was loth to do. But seeing he could not baffle them, to stop the Course of Justice in so horrible a bloody Business as that had been, he delivered up his Brother and one of the Knights of *Malta*, and some others, such as they had then Information was chief, and promised to secure the rest to be forthcoming, any of them when they should be demanded. After which the Ambassador made his Address to the Lord General, and chiefly for his Brother; but his Excellency told him that it did concern the Public, and therefore his Addressee must be to the Parliament and Council of State. It is such a horrible Business that his Excellency would not meddle with him in it.

The *Portugals* that are in Custody are Prisoners at *James's*, and the Business is under Examination before the Council of State.

By the Council of State.

THE Council of State taking Notice of the tumultuous and barbarous Actings at the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, in the County of *Middlesex*, upon the 21st and 22d of *November* last past, the same being accompanied with the Drawing of Swords, Discharging of Pistols, and such other high Misdemeanors as are scarce to be paralleled by the Actings of any Persons living under the Protection of a civil Government, and which, in the Effects thereof, produced not only a very great and notorious Violation of the public Peace, but also the murdering of one, and the assaulting, wounding and affrightning of many other of the People of this Nation, pursuing their ordinary Callings and Occasions. And for as much as the said Exchange is a Place of public Resort and Trade; the Council have therefore thought it necessary hereby to declare their Resentment of those Proceedings, and their just Displeasure against the same. And as they intend vigorously to prosecute the Offenders, so, to the Intent the like Evils may be better prevented in Time to come, they do hereby strictly require and charge, That no Person or Persons, of what Quality soever, do presume, at the said Exchange, or any other like public Place, to occasion, encourage or abet, any tumultuous Meetings, or hazard a Breach of the civil Peace, or drawing there, or in any other such Place, any Sword or other Weapon, discharging, presenting, or bearing any Gun or Pistol, or firing of Powder in Granadoes, or in any otherwise whatsoever.

ever. Of which Command, it will be expected that all Persons whatsoever take Notice, and demean themselves accordingly, upon Peril of being reputed, and dealt withall, as Disturbers of the public Peace, whereof a very strict Account shall be taken : And all Justices of the Peace, and other publick Ministers, are required carefully to perform their Duties in this Behalf ; as also, to use their utmost Endeavours to prevent and restrain all immodest and unhand-some Demeanors of such as shall resort to the said *Exchange*, that so no just Cause of Offence may be given to sober Minds, nor any Thing there acted dishonourable to Religion or the Nation.

Monday, December 12. 1653. *It being moved, That the Sitting of this Parliament was not for the Peace of the Commonwealth ; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General Cromwell the Powers which they received from him, and seconded by several other Members ; and the Speaker, with many of the Members, departed to Whitehall, being the greater Number, and did, by a Writing under their Hands, resign unto his Excellency their said Powers.*

Saturday, December 10. 1653. The Parliament this Day resumed the Debate upon the Report made from the Committee of Tithes, which is as follows :

1. That it be represented to the Parliament as the best Way for ejecting ignorant, prophane, and scandalous Ministers ; That Commissioners be sent from hence into all the Counties, divided into six Circuits (besides *London* and *Middlesex*) three Commissioners into each Circuit, to join with four or six in every County (and each Riding in *Yorkshire* to be as a County) and that in every County the said Persons, or five of them (two of the Commissioners sent from hence being always present) be impowered to eject all Ministers (of that County) that are not of good Behaviour, and holy in Conversation, or that are not apt and able to teach, or in teaching hold not forth the faithful Word, or be not diligent, or labour not in the Word and Doctrine, or be greedy of filthy Lucre : And be also impowered to settle godly and able Persons to preach the Gospel in all void Places, and to unite two or three Parishes together, so that none be above three Miles from the public Meeting-place.

2. That it be presented to the Parliament, That Dr. *Arrowsmith*, Colonel *Goff*, Major *Hains*, Mr. *John Owen*, Mr. *Thomas Goodwyn*, Mr. *Ben* of *Dorchester*, Mr. *Fairclough* the Elder, Mr. *Lockier*, Mr. *Caryl*, Mr. *Stephen Marshall*, Mr. *Worthington*, Mr. *Turner*, Mr. *Tomes*, Mr. *Martin Holbeck*, Mr. *Cradocke*, Mr. *Jessey*, Mr. *Arthur Barnardiston*, Mr. *William Greenbill*, Colonel *Campfield*, Mr. *Dyke*, Mr. *Stalham*, may be sent Commissioners, by three in a Circuit, for ejecting and settling Ministers, according to the Rules prescribed.

3. That all such as are or shall be approved for public Preachers of the Gospel in the public Meeting-places, shall have and enjoy the Maintenance already settled by Law, and such other Encouragement as the Parliament hath already appointed, or hereafter shall appoint : And that where any scruple Payment of
Tithes,

Tithes, the three next Justices of the Peace, or two of them, shall, upon Complaints, call the Parties concerned before them, and by the Oaths of Witnesses, shall duly apportion the Value of the said Tithes, to be paid either in Money or Land, by them to be set out according to the said Value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the said Tithes; and in case such approved Value be not duly paid or enjoyed, according to the Order of the said Justices, the Tithes shall be paid in Kind, and shall be recovered in any Court of Record.

4. That upon hearing and considering what hath been offered to the Committee touching Propriety in Tithes, of Incumbents, Rectors, Possessors of Donatives or propriate Tithes; it is the Opinion of this Committee, and resolved to be reported to the Parliament, that the said Persons have a legal Propriety in Tithes.

The House having spent several Days in Debate of the whole Report, and especially of the first of the four Parts thereof; and the Question being put, That this House doth agree with the first Clause of the Report, it passed in the Negative.

Monday, December 12. 1653. It being moved in the House this Day, That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the Good of the Commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the Lord General *Cromwell* the Powers which they received from him; and that Motion being seconded by several other Members, the House rose, and the Speaker, with many of the Members of the House, departed out of the House to *Whitehall*, where they, being the greater Number of the Members sitting in Parliament, did, by a Writing under their Hands, resign to his Excellency their said Powers, and Mr. Speaker, attended with the Members, did present the same to his Excellency accordingly.

His Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell* and his Council of Officers met this Day, at which Meeting, after a most excellent, wise, gracious, and pious Speech made by his Excellency, full of Religion towards God, Prudence towards the State, and Love and Care towards this distracted Nation, some Things were transacted in order to a Settlement and sweet Composure; the Union of all that fear the Lord is much desired, that so we may sit down comfortably under a safe and well-grounded Peace.

The late Parliament having, upon their Dissolution, delivered up the Power which they received from his Excellency at their first sitting, by a Writing under their Hands and Seals; his Excellency thereupon called a Council of Officers, and advised with other Persons of Interest in the Nation, how this great Burden of governing *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, with the Armies therein, and Navies at Sea, should be borne, and by whom; who after several Days seeking of God, and advising therein, it was resolved that a Council of godly, able and discreet Persons, should be named, consisting of twenty-one; and that his Excellency should be chosen *Lord Protector of the three Nations*. And on *Friday* last his Excellency came down to *Westminster*, and was installed *Lord Protector of the three Nations*, the Manner whereof was thus:

December

70 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

December 18. His Excellency the Lord General *Cromwell*, about one of the Clock in the Afternoon, went from *Whitehall* to *Westminster* in his Coach, Foot Soldiers being on both Sides the Streets all along, and in the Palace at *Westminster* were many Soldiers both Horse and Foot; his Excellency was attended by the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Judges and Barons of the several Benches in their Robes, and after them the Council of the Commonwealth; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of *London*, in their Scarlet Gowns, with the Recorder and Town-Clerk, all in their Coaches, who passed before his Excellency; and last of all came his Excellency in a black Suit and Cloak in his Coach, with his Life-Guard, and divers bare before him; and many of the chief Officers of the Army with their Cloaks and Swords, and Hats on, passed on Foot before and about his Coach.

In this Equipage his Excellency and Attendants came to *Westminster-Hall*, where was a Chair placed in the High Court of Chancery; where being come, the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England* stood next to the Chair, the one on the one Side, and the other on the other Side, and next to the Lord Commissioner *Lisle*, who stood on the Left-hand of the Chair, stood his Excellency (all being bare, and his Excellency also) on every Side of the Chair; in the next Place stood all the Judges and Barons on both Sides; and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen on the Right-side of the Court, next unto the Judges and the Council, and the chief Officers of the Army on the Left side of the Court.

The Rules for this New Government were then read, which consist of many Particulars, expressed in an Instrument.

The Instrument is large, which took up above half an Hour's Reading, and was read by Mr. *Jesop*, one of the Secretaries of the Council; after which the Lord Commissioner *Lisle* read a Parchment in the Nature of an Oath, to engage his Excellency to perform on his Part, according to the Government before mentioned: During which Time his Excellency held up his Hand, and having heard it read, accepted thereof, and subscribed thereto in the Face of the Court.

Then the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal, and the Judges, &c. invited him to take Possession of the Chair, as *Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which he did, and sat down with his Head covered, the Court continuing all bare.

The Lords Commissioners delivered up to his Highness the Purse and Seals, and the Lord Mayor of *London* his Sword; which were presently delivered to them back again by his Highness; and then after a Salute the Court rose.

First came the Aldermen and Council before his Highness, from the Court to *Westminster-Hall* Gate, where the Coaches were; after them the Judges; then came the Commissioners of the Great Seal, one of them bearing the Purse and Seals; and before his Highness came the Life-Guard; then four Serjeants of Arms with their Maces, one being the Mace of the City of *London*, the second of the Chancery, the third of the Council, and the other of the Parliament, borne by the Sword bearer of *London*, Sergeant *Middleton*, Sergeant *Dendy*, and Sergeant *Berkehead*; and the Lord Mayor of the City of *London*
went

A Third Collection of **TRACTS** *on all Subjects.* 71

went before his Highness with the Sword, and the Officers of the Army about his Person ; und in the Palace they took Coach at the Hall Gate, and returned to *Whitehall* in the same Equipage they went. The Lord Mayor rid bare with the Sword in the Boot of the Coach with his Highness ; and there were great Acclamations and Shoutings all along the Streets as they passed.

His Highness the *Lord Protector* being returned to *Whitehall* he went with his Attendants to the Banqueting-house, where they had an Exhortation made by Mr. *Lockier*, Chaplain to his Highness ; which being ended, they were dismissed with three Volleys of Shot by the Soldiers, between Four and Five o'Clock at Night.

The Title of the Instrument aforesaid, is thus :

The Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*.

The Substance of the said Instrument is,

I. *That the supreme legislative Power of England, Scotland, and Ireland, shall be and reside in one single Person, assisted with a Council of Thirteen at least, and Twenty-one at most, and the Commons assembled in Parliament.*

II. *That this single Person shall be called The Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*

III. *That there be constant Triennial Parliaments, and the First to begin the Third of September, 1654.*

IV. *That the Parliament shall have Power of making all Laws, saving some Cases relating to the Guards of the Commonwealth, and Matters of Religion (for which there is particular Provision made in the Instrument containing the Government.)*

V. *That all Bills that pass in Parliament shall be offered to the Lord Protector for his Consent ; which if he do not assent unto within twenty Days, shall, notwithstanding, pass into, and become a Law, provided they contain nothing contrary to the Matters expressed in the said Instrument.*

VI. *That the Lord Protector is to be Elective, and not Hereditary, and to be chosen by the Council immediately upon the Death of the Lord Protector.*

November 19. 1653. His Highness the Lord Protector met with those named of his Council, in the Council-chamber, at *Whitehall*, it being the Place where the Council of State used to sit, and several Things were transacted in order to a Settlement ; and this following Proclamation was ordered to be printed and published on the Monday following.

December 21. 1653. His Highness the Lord Protector, and the Council, being Thirteen in Number, met in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall* ; where his Highness, in a sweet Speech to them, pressed the Council to act for God and the Peace and Good of the Nations ; and particularly recommended to them to consider and relieve the Distresses of the Poor and Oppressed.

This

72 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

This Day this Proclamation following was published at *Westminster*, and in the City of *London*, by divers Sergeants at Arms, with their Maces, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen being present at the *Exchange*, &c.

By the Council, A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

WHEREAS the late Parliament dissolving themselves, and resigning their Powers and Authorities, the Government of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments is now established; and whereas *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, is declared Lord Protector of the said Nations, and hath accepted thereof: We have therefore thought it necessary (as we hereby do) to make Publication of the Premises, and strictly to charge and command all and every Person and Persons, of what Quality and Condition soever, in any of the three Nations, to take Notice hereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established: And all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other public Ministers and Officers, whom this may concern, are required to cause this Proclamation to be forthwith published in their respective Counties, Cities, Corporations, and Market-Towns, to the End none may have Cause to pretend Ignorance in this Behalf.

Given at Whitehall the Sixteenth Day of December, 1653.

Decemb. 21. His Highness the Lord Protector sat with the Council, which are Thirteen in Number, in the Council-chamber at *Whitehall*, and several Things were transacted in order to a quiet and peaceable Settlement of the three Nations.

The Names of the Council.

Mr. <i>Lawrence</i> the President	Sir <i>Gilbert Pickering</i>
Lord Viscount <i>Lisle</i>	Sir <i>Charles Woolfley</i>
Major General <i>Lambert</i>	Sir <i>Anthony Ashley-Cooper</i>
Major General <i>Desborow</i>	Mr. <i>Rouse</i>
Major General <i>Skippon</i>	Mr. <i>Strickland</i>
Colonel <i>Jones</i>	Mr. <i>Major</i> .
Colonel <i>Sydenham</i>	

A D E C L A R A T I O N *for Alteration of several Names and Forms heretofore used in Courts, &c.*

OLIVER, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, having the Exercise of the chief Magistracy, and the Administration of Government within the said Commonwealth, invested and established in his Highness, assisted with a Council, who have Power until the Meeting of the next Parliament (which is to be on the Third of *September* next) to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary, which shall be binding and in force, until Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same. And

And the said *Lord Protector* finding it to be most necessary, that some speedy and effectual Course be taken for settling the Names and Forms to be used in Patents, Commissions, and Proceedings in Courts of Justice, the said *Lord Protector*, by, and with, the Advice and Consent of his said Council, and in pursuance of, and according to, the Power and Trust reposed in him and them, doth declare and ordain, and be it by the Authority aforesaid declared and ordained, That in all Courts of Law, Justice, or Equity, and in all Writs, Grants, Patents, Commissions, Indictments, Informations, Suits, Returns of Writs, and in all Fines, Recoveries, Exemplifications, Recognizances, Process, and Proceedings of Law, Justice or Equity, within the said Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, instead of the Name, Stile, Title, and Test (of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament) heretofore used, that from and after the six and twentieth Day of *December*, 1653, the Name, Stile, Title, and Test of the *Lord Protector* for the Time being, of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, shall be used, and no other, and the Date shall be in the Year of our Lord, and no other.

And that all Duties, Profits, Penalties, Issues, Fines, Amerciaments, and Forfeitures whatsoever, which heretofore were sued for in the Name of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*, by Authority of Parliament, shall from and after the said 26th of *December*, be prosecuted, sued forth, and recovered in the said Name of the *Lord Protector*, for the Time being, of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging, and no other. And in all or any of the Proceedings aforesaid, where the Words were, *The Jurors of the Commonwealth*, or, *the Jurors for the Keepers of the Liberty of England*, by Authority of Parliament, do say or present, from and after the 26th of *December*, it shall be, *The Jurors for the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. do say, or present*, and no other, &c.

And it is further ordained, by the Authority aforesaid, That in all Oaths to be given to any Grand Jury, or Petty Jury, or to, or for, any Witnesses to give in Evidence to any such Jury or Juries, and in all other Oaths wherein the Name of *Keepers of the Liberty, &c.* was wont to be used, the same shall be given in the Name of the *Lord Protector*, instead of the Name of the said *Keepers, &c.* any Law, Usage, or Custom to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And it is lastly ordained, by the Authority aforesaid, That such Forms and Course of Proceedings, as were heretofore used in the Name and Time of the *Keepers of the Liberty, &c.* in Causes criminal or civil, and of which no Alteration is made in this Ordinance, shall stand and continue to be so used and observed as formerly; and that all Indictments, Presentments, Inquisitions, Commissions, and Captions, made with such Alterations, Additions, or Omissions, as aforesaid, or with such other Omissions, Additions, or Alterations, as shall be proper and necessary for making good of Indictments, Presentments, Commissions, Captions, and Inquisitions, and supplying the Sense and Mean-

74 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

ing thereof, according to the present Government of this Commonwealth under the *Lord Protector*, as aforesaid, shall stand, and be good and effectual in Law, to all Intents and Purposes, as if the same had been particularly herein named, any Law, Custom, or Usage to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

The Oath taken by his Highness OLIVER CROMWELL, Lord Protector.

WHEREAS the major Part of the last Parliament (judging that their sitting any longer, as then constituted, would not be for the Good of this Commonwealth) did dissolve the same, and by a Writing under their Hands, dated the twelfth Day of this Instant *December*, resigned unto me their Powers and Authorities; and whereas it was necessary thereupon, that some speedy Course should be taken for the Settlement of these Nations upon such a Basis and Foundation, as, by the Blessing of God, might be lasting, secure Property, and answer those great Ends of Religion and Liberty, so long contended for; and upon full and mature Consideration had of the Form of Government hereunto annexed, being satisfied that the same, through divine Assistance, may answer the Ends afore-mentioned; and having also been desired, and advised, as well by several Persons of Interest and Fidelity in this Commonwealth, as the Officers of the Army, to take upon me the Protection and Government of these Nations, in the Manner expressed in the said Form of Government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare my Acceptance accordingly: And do promise, in the Presence of God, that I will not violate and infringe the Matters and Things contained therein, but, to my Power, observe the same, and cause them to be observed; and shall, in all other Things, to the best of my Understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs, seeking their Peace, and causing Justice and Law to be equally administred.

O. CROMWELL.

Oliver Cromwell, Captain General of all the Forces of this Commonwealth, and now declared Lord Protector thereof, did this 16th Day of December 1653 sign this Writing, and solemnly promise, as is therein contained, in Presence of the Lords Commissioners of the Great Seal of England, who administred the same Oath, and of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, divers of the Judges of the Land, the Officers of State and Army, and many other Persons of Quality.

The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

1. THAT the supreme Legislative Authority of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, shall be, and reside in one Person, and the People assembled in Parliament,

ment; the Stile of which Person shall be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*.

2. That the Exercise of the chief Magistracy, and Administration of the Government over the said Countries and Dominions, and the People thereof, shall be in the *Lord Protector*, assigned with a Council, the Number whereof shall not exceed Twenty-one, nor be less than Thirteen.

3. That all Writs, Processess, Commissions, Patents, Grants, and other Things, which now run in the Name and Stile of *The Keepers of the Liberty of England*, by Authority of Parliament, shall run in the Name and Stile of the *Lord Protector*, from whom, for the future, shall be derived all Magistracy and Honours in these three Nations; and shall have the Power of Pardons (except in case of Murder and Treason) and Benefit of all Forfeitures for the public Use; and shall govern the said Countries and Dominions in all Things by the Advice of the Council, and according to these Presents, and the Laws.

4. That the *Lord Protector*, the Parliament sitting, shall dispose and order the Militia and Forces, both by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Good of the three Nations, by Consent of Parliament: And that the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice and Consent of the major Part of the Council, shall dispose and order the Militia for the Ends aforesaid in the Intervals of Parliament.

5. That the *Lord Protector*, by the Advice aforesaid, shall direct, in all Things concerning the keeping and holding of a good Correspondency with foreign Kings, Princes, and States, and also with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, have the Power of War and Peace.

6. That the Laws shall not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, nor any new Law made, nor any Tax, Charge, or Imposition, laid upon the People, but by common Consent in Parliament, save only as is expressed in the thirtieth Article.

7. That there shall be a Parliament summoned to meet at *Westminster* upon the Third Day of *September*, 1654, and that successively a Parliament shall be summoned once in every third Year, to be accounted from the Dissolution of the preceding Parliament.

8. That neither the Parliament to be next summoned, nor any successive Parliaments, shall, during the Time of five Months, to be accounted from the Day of their first meeting, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent.

9. That as well the next, as all other successive Parliaments, shall be summoned and elected in manner hereafter expressed: that is to say, the Persons to be chosen within *England, Wales*, the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of Four Hundred. The Persons to be chosen within *Scotland*, to sit and serve in Parliament, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty. And the Persons to be chosen to sit in Parliament for *Ireland*, shall be, and not exceed, the Number of Thirty.

10. That the Persons to be elected to sit in Parliament, from Time to Time, for the severall Counties of *England, Wales*, the Isles of *Jersey* and *Guernsey*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, and all Places within the same respec-

76 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

tively, shall be according to the Proportions and Numbers hereafter expressed; that is to say,

For the Town of Bedford 1. County of Bedford 5. Abington 1. Reading 1. County of Berks 5. Buckingham 1. Aylesbury 1. Wiccomb 1. County of Bucks 5. Cambridge 1. University of Cambridge 1. Ely 2. County of Cambridge 4. Chester 1. County of Chester 4. Launceston 1. Truro 1. Penryn 1. Eastlow and Westlow 1. County of Cornwall 8. Carlisle 1. County of Cumberland 2. Derby 1. County of Derby 4. Exeter 2. Plymouth 2. Dartmouth, Clifton, and Hardnesse 1. Totness 1. Barnstable 1. Tiverton 1. Honnyton 1. County of Devon 11. Dorchester 1. Weymouth and Melcomb-Regis 1. Lyme-Regis 1. Pool 1. County of Dorset 6. Durham 1. County of Durham 2. York 2. Kingston upon Hull 1. Beverley 1. Scarborough 1. Richmond 1. Leeds 1. Hallifax 1. County of York, West-Riding, 6. East-Riding 4. North-Riding 4. Maldon 1. Colchester 2. County of Essex 13. Gloucester 2. Tewksbury 1. Cirencester 1. County of Gloucester, except the said City 5. Hereford 1. Lempster 1. County of Hereford 4. St. Alban 1. Hertford 1. County of Hertford 5. Huntington 1. County of Huntington 3. Canterbury 2. Rochester 1. Maidston 1. Dover 1. Sandwich 1. Queenborough 1. County of Kent 11. Preston in Andernefs 1. Lancaster 1. Liverpool 1. Manchester 1. County of Lancaster 4. Leicester 2. County of Leicester 4. Lincoln 2. Boston 1. Grantham 1. Stamford 1. Grimsby 1. County of Lincoln 10. Westminster 2. County of Middlesex 4. City of London 6. County of Monmouth 3. Norwich 2. Lynn-Regis 2. Yarmouth 2. County of Norfolk 10. Peterborough 1. Northampton 1. County of Northampton 6. Nottingham 2. County of Nottingham 4. Newcastle upon Tyne 1. Berwick 1. County of Northumberland 3. Oxford 1. University of Oxford 1. Woodstock 1. County of Oxford 5. County of Rutland 2. Shrewsbury 2. Bridgnorth 1. Ludlow 1. County of Salop 4. Litchfield 1. Stafford 1. Newcastle on the Line 1. County of Stafford 3. Taunton 2. Bath 1. Wells 1. Bridgewater 1. County of Somerset 11. City of Bristol 2. Winchester 1. Southampton 1. Portsmouth 1. Isle of Wight 2. Andover 1. County of Southampton 8. Ipswich 2. Borough of Bury St. Edmonds 2. Dunwich 1. Sudbury 1. County of Suffolk 10. Southwark 2. Guilford 1. Rygate 1. County of Surrey 6. Chichester 1. Lewes 1. East-Greenstead 1. Arundel 1. Rye 1. County of Sussex 9. County of Westmoreland 2. Coventry 2. Warwick 1. County of Warwick 4. Worcester 2. County of Worcester 5. Sarum 2. Marlborough 1. Devizes 1. County of Wilts 10. County of Brecon 2. County of Cardigan 2. County of Caermarthen 2. County of Caernarvon 2. County of Denbigh 2. County of Flint 2. Town of Cardiffe 1. County of Glamorgan 2. County of Merioneth 1. County of Montgomery 2. Haverford-West 1. County of Pembroke 2. County of Radnor 2.

The Distribution of the Persons to be chosen for Scotland and Ireland, shall be according to such Proportions and Number as shall be agreed upon and declared by the Lord Protector, and the major Part of the Council, before the sending forth Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, &c.

11. That

11. That the Summons to Parliament shall be by Writ under the Great Seal of *England*, directed to the Sheriffs of the several and respective Counties, with such Alteration as may suit with the present Government, to be made by the *Lord Protector* and his Council, which the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall issue and send abroad by Warrant from the *Lord Protector*. If the *Lord Protector* shall not give Warrant for issuing of Writs of Summons for the next Parliament, before the first Day of *June*, 1654, or for the Triennial Parliaments, before the First Day of *August*, in every third Year, to be accounted as aforesaid: That then the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, for the Time being, shall, without any Warrant or Direction, within seven Days after the said first Day of *June*, 1654, seal, issue, and send abroad Writs of Summons, &c.

12. That at the Day and Place of Elections, the Sheriff of each County, and the said Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers within their Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and Places respectively, shall take View of the said Elections, and shall make Return into the *Chancery* within twenty Days after the said Elections, &c. wherein shall be contained, That the Persons elected shall not have Power to alter the Government, as it is hereby settled in one single Person and a Parliament.

13. That the Sheriff, who shall wittingly and willingly make any false Return, or neglect his Duty, shall incur the Penalty of two Thousand Marks.

14. That all and every Person and Persons, who have aided, advised, assisted, or abetted in any War against the Parliament, since the first Day of *January*, 1641. (unless they have been since the Service of the Parliament, and given signal Testimony of their good Affection thereunto) shall be disabled and be incapable to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Members to serve in the next Parliament, or in the Three succeeding Triennial Parliaments.

15. That all such who have advised, assisted, or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, shall be disabled and incapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to serve in Parliament; as also all such who do or shall profess the *Roman Catholic* Religion.

16. That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to these Qualifications, shall be null and void: And if any Person, who is hereby made incapable, shall give his Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, such Person shall lose and forfeit one full Year's Value of his real Estate, and one full third Part of his personal Estate.

17. That the Persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, shall be such (and no other than such) as are Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of One and Twenty Years.

18. That all and every Person and Persons, seized or possessed to his own Use, of any Estate real or personal, to the Value of 200*l.* and not within the aforesaid Exceptions, shall be capable to elect Members to serve in Parliament for Counties.

19. That

78 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

19. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, shall be sworn before they enter into their Offices, truly and faithfully to issue forth, and send abroad Writs of Summons to Parliaments at the Times, and in the Manner before expressed: And in case of Neglect or Failure, to issue and send abroad Writs accordingly, he or they shall, for every such Offence, be guilty of High-Treason, and suffer the Pains and Penalties thereof.

20. That in case Writs be not issued out, as is before expressed, but that there be a Neglect therein, fifteen Days after the Time wherein the same ought to be issued out by the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, that then the Parliament shall, as often as such Failure shall happen, assemble and be held at *Westminster*, in the usual Place, at the Time prefixed, &c.

21. That the Clerk, called, *The Clerk of the Commonwealth*, in Chancery, for the Time being, and all others, who shall afterwards execute that Office, to whom the Returns shall be made, shall for the next Parliament, and the Two succeeding Triennial Parliaments, the next Day after such Return, certify the Names of the several Persons so returned, and of the Places for which he and they were chosen respectively, unto the Council, who shall peruse the said Returns, and examine, whether the Persons so elected and returned, be such as is agreeable to the Qualifications, and not disabled to be elected: And that every Person and Persons being so duly elected, and being approved of by the major Part of the Council to be Persons not disabled, but qualified as aforesaid, shall be esteemed a Member of Parliament, and be admitted to sit in Parliament, and not otherwise.

22. That the Persons chosen and assembled in manner aforesaid, or any Sixty of them, shall be, and be, deemed the Parliament of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the supreme Legislative Power to be and reside in the *Lord Protector* and such Parliament, &c.

23. That the *Lord Protector*, with the Advice of the major Part of the Council, shall, at any other Time than is before expressed, when the Necessities of the State shall require it, summon Parliaments in manner before expressed, which shall not be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, without their own Consent, during the first three Months of their sitting: And in case of future War with any Foreign State, a Parliament shall be forthwith summoned for their Advice concerning the same.

24. That all Bills agreed unto by the Parliament, shall be presented to the *Lord Protector* for his Consent; and in case he shall not give his Consent thereto, within twenty Days after they shall be presented to him, or give Satisfaction to the Parliament within the Time limited: That then, upon Declaration of the Parliament, that the *Lord Protector* hath not consented, nor given Satisfaction, such Bills shall pass into, and become, Laws, although he shall not give his Consent thereunto; provided such Bills contain nothing in them contrary to the Matters contained in these Presents.

25. That *Philip Lord Viscount Lisle, Charles Fleetwood, Esq; John Lambert, Esq; Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. Sir Charles Woolfley, Bart. Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Bart. Edward Montagu, Esq; John Desborow, Esq; Walter Strickland,*

Strickland, Esq; Henry Laurence, Esq; William Sydenham, Esq; Philip Jones, Esq; Richard Major, Esq; Francis Rous, Esq; Philip Skippon, Esq; or any seven of them, shall be a Council for the Purposes expressed in this Writing; and upon the Death or other Removal of any of them, the Parliament shall nominate six Persons of Ability, Integrity, and fearing God, for every one that is dead or removed, out of which the major Part of the Council shall elect two, and present them to the *Lord Protector*, of which he shall elect one, &c.

26. That the *Lord Protector*, and the major Part of the Council aforesaid, may at any Time before the Meeting of the next Parliament, add to the Council such Persons as they shall think fit, provided the Number of the Council be not made thereby to exceed one and twenty, and the Quorum to be proportioned accordingly by the *Lord Protector* and the major Part of the Council.

27. That a constant yearly Revenue shall be raised, settled and established, for maintaining of ten thousand Horse and Dragoons, and twenty thousand Foot, in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, for the Defence and Security thereof, and also for a convenient Number of Ships for guarding the Seas; besides two hundred thousand Pounds *per annum* for defraying the other necessary Charges for Administration of Justice, and other Expences of the Government; which Revenue shall be raised by the Customs, and such other Ways and Means as shall be agreed upon by the *Lord Protector* and the Council, and shall not be taken away or diminished, nor the Way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the Consent of the *Lord Protector* and the Parliament.

28. That the said yearly Revenue shall be paid into the public Treasury, and shall be issued out for the Uses aforesaid.

29. That in case there shall not be Cause hereafter to keep up so great a Defence at Land or Sea, but that there be an Abatement made thereof, the Money which will be saved thereby, shall remain in Bank for the public Service, and not be employed to any other Use but by Consent of Parliament; or in the Intervals of Parliament by the *Lord Protector* and major Part of the Council.

30. That the raising of Money for defraying the Charge of present extraordinary Forces both at Land and Sea, in respect of the present Wars, shall be by Consent in Parliament, and not otherwise; save only that the Lord Protector, with the Consent of the major Part of the Council, for preventing the Disorders and Dangers which may otherwise fall out both at Sea and Land, shall have Power, until the Meeting of the first Parliament, to raise Money for the Purposes aforesaid, and also to make Laws and Ordinances for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations, where it shall be necessary, which shall be binding and in Force, until Order shall be taken in Parliament concerning the same.

31. That the Lands, Tenements, Rents, Royalties, Jurisdictions and Hereditaments which remain yet unsold or undisposed of by Act or Ordinance of Parliament, belonging to the Commonwealth (except the Forests and Chaces, and the Honours and Manors belonging to the same; the Lands of the Rebels in *Ireland*, lying in the four Counties of *Dublin, Cork, Kildare, and Katerlaugh*, the Lands forfeited by the People of *Scotland* in the late Wars, and also the
Lands

Lands of Papists and Delinquents in *England* who have not yet compounded) shall be vested in the *Lord Protector*, to hold to him and his Successors, *Lords Protectors* of these Nations, and shall not be aliened but by Consent in Parliament. And all Debts, Fines, Issues, Amerciaments, Penalties and Profits, certain and casual, due to the Keepers of the Liberties of *England* by Authority of Parliament, shall be due to the *Lord Protector*, and be payable unto his public Receipt, and shall be recovered and prosecuted in his Name.

32. That the Office of the *Lord Protector* over these Nations, shall be elective and not hereditary; and upon the Death of the *Lord Protector*, another fit Person shall be forthwith elected, to succeed him in the Government, which Election shall be by the Council, &c. provided that none of the Children of the late King, nor any of his Line or Family, be elected to be *Lord Protector*, or other chief Magistrate over these Nations, or any the Dominions thereto belonging. And until the aforesaid Election be past, the Council shall take Care of the Government, and administer in all Things as fully as the *Lord Protector*, or the *Lord Protector* and Council are enabled to do.

33. That *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain General of the Forces of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, shall be, and is hereby declared to be *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging*, for his Life.

34. That the Chancellor, Keeper, or Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Treasurer, Admiral, Chief Governors of *Ireland* and *Scotland*, and the Chief Justices of both the Benches, shall be chosen by the Approbation of Parliament, and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Approbation of the major Part of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

35. That the Christian Religion contained in the Scriptures, be held forth and recommended as the public Profession of these Nations; and that as soon as may be, a Provision less subject to Scruple and Contention, and more certain than the present, be made for the Encouragement and Maintenance of able and painful Teachers for instructing the People, and for Discovery and Confutation of Error, Heresy, and whatever is contrary to sound Doctrine; and that until such Provision be made, the present Maintenance shall not be taken away nor impeached.

36. That to the public Profession held forth, none shall be compelled by Penalties or otherwise, but that Endeavours be used to win them by sound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Conversation.

37. That such as profess Faith in God by Jesus Christ (though differing in Judgment from the Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline publicly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in, the Profession of the Faith, and Exercise of their Religion; so as they abuse not this Liberty, to the civil Injury of others, and to the actual Disturbance of the public Peace on their Parts, provided this Liberty be not extended to Popery nor Prelacy, nor to such as, under the Profession of Christ, hold forth and practise Licentiousness.

38. That

38. That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauses, in any Law, Statute, or Ordinance to the contrary of the aforesaid Liberty, shall be esteemed as null and void.

39. That the Acts and Ordinances of Parliament, made for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, and Prince, of Archbishops, Bishops, &c. Deans and Chapters, the Lands of Delinquents and Forest Lands, or any of them, or of any other Lands, Tenements, Rents and Hereditaments belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached or made invalid, but shall remain good and firm; and that the Securities given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament for any Sum or Sums of Money by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other public Revenue; and also the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagements of the public Faith for the Satisfaction of Debts and Damages, shall not be made void and invalid upon any Pretence whatsoever, but remain firm and good.

40. That the Articles given to, or made with the Enemy, and afterwards confirmed by Parliament, shall be performed and made good to the Persons concerned therein. And that such Appeals as were depending in the last Parliament, for Relief concerning Bills of Sale of Delinquents Estates, may be heard and determined the next Parliament, any Thing in this Writing, or otherwise to the contrary notwithstanding.

41. That every successive *Lord Protector* over these Nations, shall take and subscribe a solemn Oath in the Presence of the Council, and such others as they shall call to them, That he will seek the Peace, Quiet and Welfare of these Nations, cause Law and Justice to be equally administred, and that he will not violate or infringe the Matters and Things contained in this Writing; and in all other Things will, to his Power, and to the best of his Understanding, govern these Nations according to the Laws, Statutes and Customs.

42. That each Person of the Council shall, before they enter upon their Trust, take and subscribe an Oath, That they will be true and faithful to their Trust, according to the best of their Knowledge; and that in the Election of every successive *Lord Protector*, they shall proceed therein impartially, and do nothing therein for any Promise, Fear, Favour, or Reward.

AN EXACT RELATION of the Proceedings and Transactions of the late Parliament, their Beginning and Ending : With a brief Account of their Expence, of the Time of their Session, and the Acts that were made by them, who were dissolved *December 12. 1653.* As likewise of four great Votes, *viz. 1. For abolishing the Court of Chancery. 2. For a new Model of the Law. 3. For taking away the Power of Patrons to make Presentations. 4. That innocent Negative Vote of not agreeing with the Report of the Committee for Tithes.* And an Account of some Reasons of those Votes ; with a brief Apology in Way of Vindication of those Gentlemen that appeared for the Votes, from the great Outcry made against them.

By *L. D.* a Member of the late Parliament.

Matth. v. 11. Blessed are ye when Men revile you, and persecute you, and speak all Manner of Evil of you falsely for my Name's Sake ; rejoice and be exceeding glad, for great is your Reward in Heaven.

Printed in the Year 1654.

To the READER.

HAD not great Blasphemy, Reproach and Scorn been offered every where unto the holy Name of God, his Truth, his Ways, his Servants, by evil Men, to the great Grief of many fearing God, the following Relation and Discourse had never seen the Light : The particular Persons loaded with great Reproach and Scandal, could, in regard of themselves, have been contented to have borne all patiently with Silence, and left the Clearing of their Innocency to the most righteous God. It is no new Thing in the World for good Men to be reproached for well doing, and to have no other Reward for endeavouring to do their Country Service, and labouring to take off their heavy Oppressions and Grievances, than to be counted evil Doers : What is generally reported, is as easily believed and taken for Truth, though it be never so false, great Lightness and Vanity attending Persons, as is too evident. That one Part of the House would have destroyed all the Ministry, the good as well as the bad (passes for current) when as they were only against that old, corrupt, unequal, burthensome, and Debate-making Way, of their Maintenance by Tithes :

In

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 83

In which Way, beside other Things, many a good Soul hath only 20 or 30 l. per annum, to keep him and his alive ; and others of less Desert have 3 or 400 l. per annum, or more ; they thinking some more equal and less Burdensome Way might be found out and provided ; and that their Wives and Children might have had Allowance for their Subsistence also when they were dead. Many also were against their standing on that old Popish Foot of Account as now they do, as a Part of the old Hierarchy, judging it Reason, that as Archbishops and Bishops, Deans and Prebends, &c. were removed as Antichristian, so Parsons, Vicars, Curates, Rectors, Donatives and Incumbents (Strangers to the Gospel) should be taken away also, being of the same Stamp ; and that all faithful Teachers and Preachers of the Truth and Gospel, should, by Law, stand upon a more Gospel Account, and their outward Interest secured unto them accordingly, a short Bill being by them offered for that Purpose, but refused ; whether this amounteth to the destroying the godly Ministry, or whether they were their Enemies, or rather their Friends in it, they may please to consider. Reader, if thou thinkest that thou art come to Canaan, the Land of Rest, and that there is attained unto the full End aimed at and intended by Almighty God, in Answer of all those mighty Works and Wonders (near unto Miracles) that he hath wrought in these Lands ; if thou thinkest there is already the Harvest of all that Treasure spent, and Blood spilt in the late Wars, then rejoice and be glad : But if thou judgest God intended greater and more high Things than yet thou hast seen, in Way of removing Wickedness and Oppression, and advancing Justice and Righteousness, then believe, and wait and pray ; so adviseth he that is a Wellwisher to the Interest of the Lord Christ, the Welfare of the Saints, and the Prosperity of the Commonwealth of England.

L. D.

THE Parliament that sat so long, and had so many Changes and Alterations, and yet was preserved and continued, was a Council that God did highly honour, in making of them Instruments of very great Things, many of them being very good Things, as to the Freedom and Profit of the People ; among which, the Change of the Government from Kingly to that of a Commonwealth, may worthily be mentioned, as not of the least, but of the greatest, both to Religion's Interest, and the civil Benefit of all good Men.

But long sitting contracted Dulness, and a Kind of Indisposition to go on any further to perfect the Work which divine Providence had carried them on in wonderfully ; many of them minding more the greatening of themselves, rather than the rightening of the Wronged, and relieving the oppressed People, and performing their Promises to them ; so not proceeding to perfect the Work of Justice and Freedom so happily begun and carried on by them, as Instruments in the Hand of God, they became low in the Hearts and Esteem of good People ; and divine Providence so ordering of it (without which nothing cometh to pass) they were dissolved.

And upon an high Account for Godliness, and the Love of the Truth and Cause of God, and the Interest of his People, others were called together out of the Countries and Cities respectively, who assembling at the Place and Time appointed,

84 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

appointed, after a large Speech made unto them concerning the Ground of dissolving the former Council, and calling of this, there was delivered unto them an Instrument in Parchment under Seal, delivering the whole Power of the Nation or Commonwealth into their Hands, to take Care of, and to govern for their Good. It is very observable, that of all that were so chosen and summoned to appear for the End aforesaid, being one hundred and forty Persons, there were but two that refused the Call and Work, so unanimous a Concurrence was there found as to the Service; though they knew well their Call was not according to ancient Formality, and the Way of the Nation.

There seemed to be two Reasons wherein there was Satisfaction.

First, That divine Providence had cast it on them, without their seeking in the least.

Secondly, The Necessity, as the Case of the Commonwealth stood, of having some to act and carry on Affairs in way of Government, till there might be an Attainer to a better Way of Settlement, by the Choice of the good People of this Nation, which was not to be denied to be their just Right, and dearly purchased Liberty.

It was great Satisfaction and Encouragement to some, that their Names had been presented as to that Service, by the Churches, and other godly Persons; and withal, because they were to undergo the Trouble but one Year, or little more, and so long they were willing to serve their Country freely, to their best Abilities, looking for no Reward.

The 4th of July 1653, those thus assembled and impowered, did adjourn themselves from *Whitehall* to the Parliament house, to meet the next Morning at eight of the Clock, and then to begin with seeking God by Prayer; which accordingly they did, and the Service was performed by the Members amongst themselves, eight or ten speaking in Prayer to God, and some briefly from the Word; much of the Presence of Christ, and of his Spirit, appearing that Day, to the great gladding of the Hearts of many; some affirming they never enjoyed so much of the Spirit and Presence of Christ in any of the Meetings and Exercises of Religion in all their Lives, as they did that Day. In the Evening of that Day Mr. *Francis Rouse* was called to the Chair, and chosen Speaker; and then the House was adjourned to the next Day, when the House appointed to pray again three or four Days after, which accordingly was done by the Members, principally by such as had not done Service before, when also the Lord General was present, and it was a very comfortable Day. But after the House had spent the first Day in Prayer, and were the next Day met again, after Prayer, which was daily performed by one Member or other, as they were found free to perform it: They then proceeded to call over the House, read and laid up the Instrument of their Impowering, chose a Clerk, and after a Sergeant at Arms, and chose a Committee to consider what Officers and Attendants were necessary to be taken in, and to consider of the Fees and Salaries of such as should be employed; which accordingly was done and confirmed by the House, Charge being given to the Committee that Care should be taken that none but such as feared God should be employed. About this Time there

was

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 85

was a great Debate what Name they should give themselves to be called by, in as much as their Call was looked on as extraordinary; divers Titles were proposed; but at last, being put to the Vote, it was carried, to call themselves by the Name of, *The Parliament of the Commonwealth of England*. The lowness and Innocency of the Title, having little of earthly Glory or boasting in it, induced some to give their Vote for that, though others were much against it. The first Thing that was done was a solemn Declaration to the good People of this Commonwealth, and to all the World, of owning themselves a Parliament, and the supreme Power of this Nation; which was drawn up by a Committee, and then read and passed in the House: In which specious Things are held forth, of the Goodness of God to the People of these Nations, with Intimation of what our Endeavours should be for their Good, stirring them up earnestly to Prayer and seeking of God; which seemed to be well relished by all good People.

Then there was a Proceed to choose the Council of State, of the Number of thirty-one Persons, which accordingly was done. The Powers and Instructions read and passed. It so fell out that the great Grievance of Tithes was taken on and debated three or four Days, but with little Success; for whereas all the House, for the most Part, were sensible that it was a Grievance fit to be removed, the Difference was, some would not give Way to the Remove of it, till some other Thing were provided to be set in the Room of it; others would have it removed as a Grievance in the first Place, and then to make Provision as God should direct. In the Debate, Difference was made betwixt Impropriators and that which was otherwise; and all seemed free and willing that Impropriators should be satisfied the Value: And therefore, upon the choosing of a Committee for Tithes, only that of Incumbents was to be considered of.

The House, after much Time spent as afore, waved it till a further Time and better Leisure: Then the House was methodized into several Committees, for the better Dispatch of Business, so as none might be idle, but all employed in public Service. Beside the Council of State, six or seven Committees were chosen and set to work: *The Committee for the Army: The Committee for Prisons and Prisoners: The Committee for regulating the Law: The Committee for Justices and for the Poor: The Committee for public Debts: The Committee for the Scots and Irish Affairs: The Committee for Petitions:* Which Committees sat daily, and took great Pains Morning and Evening, almost every Day in the Week, to dispatch Business, and make Things ready for the House: And many Things were fitted and prepared, of which hereafter.

Mr. *Lilburn* about this Time petitioned the House, then his Wife petitioned, after some of *Buckinghamshire*, and also *Hertfordshire*, likewise some in and about *London*; lastly, some that called themselves young Men and Apprentices, who delivered a high and peremptory Petition in his Behalf; all which occasioned much Debate and Expence of Time: The young Men's Petition was voted scandalous, and they ordered to be taken into Custody, and accordingly six of them were committed; one in a few Days being sick, the House discharged him; the five petitioning, having been in Custody some Days, and having been something stiff, refusing to tell their Names, instead of being released,

released, were ordered to be sent to *Bridewell*, there to be kept to hard Labour; and accordingly they were sent, and kept there; and after some time they being some of them sick, and having petitioned twice, Four of the Five were, by Order of the House, released; the other remaineth Prisoner to this Day; the only high Piece of Justice the House did all the Time of their Sitting, and wherein there could not be much of Honour, for it was but as the Lion trampling on the Mouse: This Business of Mr. *Lilburn* receiving and answering the Petitions before-mentioned, concerning himself and the Apprentices Petitions for their Liberty, spent very much Time, and held many sharp Debates; some Members of the House earnestly moving to have had his Trial suspended, and the Act called in question, by which he was banished and made a Felon, that the Merit of the Cause might be looked into; which they professed again and again they did not do it so much in the Favour of Mr. *Lilburn*, as in the Right of themselves and their Posterities, and all *Englishmen*, which they judged highly concerned therein: But other Gentlemen of Note being very opposite, nothing came of the Whole, but Expence of Time, and Loss of the Love and Affections of many good People, whose Petitions were denied; his Trial going on, as some in the House had suggested, so it came to pass he was by the Jury acquitted, to the losing the Love of some, and to the Scorn and Contempt by others.

By this Time many Matters were fitted and prepared by the Committees, who made their daily Reports. The Council of State having the Preheminence to be first heard, divers Things were offered by them, some of which had been considered of by them in the Interval of Parliament: Many Things passed, and were dispatched, of what they reported, and which other Committees did likewise report, which spent not a little Time. Business came on so fast from Committees, which did cause striving which should be first heard, and much Time lost thereby. There were many particular Things ordered and dispatched by the House, as, *The relieving the Sufferings of many by Fires in many Parts of the Nation; some their Grievances redressed; some their Petitions and Desires granted; some had Obstructions in their Purchases removed by the House.* The Business of providing Monies (all other Things ever giving way to that) occasioned Expence of much Time, and great Debate of Ways and Means to that End: The Fights at Sea coming to Knowledge by Letters; the reading of them; the acknowledging God's Goodness, and praising his holy Name; the taking Care to provide for the Sick and Maimed; the relieving the Widows of such whose Husbands were slain, the honouring with Rewards the Chieftains and Commanders, with the bestowing several Sums of Money on the Widows and Children of such Captains as were slain in the Fight, in Consideration of their Loss of such Husbands and Fathers; all which were Things just and honourable, but not done without Expence of Time. The Dispatch of Ambassadors to foreign Parts, as to *Turkey* and to *Sweden*, their Letters of Credence, and Commissions signed and sealed; the Receipt of Letters from *Switzerland*, and other free States; the reading of them, and returning Answers, may be reckoned into the Expence of Time. The Council of State chosen a second Time by the Box or Glass, where every one

one put in his Paper of Names, and those that had most Votes carried it, spent more Time than one whole Day.

To omit very many Things, toward the End of the House's Sitting, the Business of the Excise came on, where about three Days were spent in passing the Rates, particularly by Vote; the *Old and New Drapery, Hats, Caps, and Tobacco-pipes* were by Vote exempted from the Duty of Excise; the Bill following, in order of the Rates, was very large, of about eighty Sheets of Paper, spent one whole Day in the Hearing of it read; and there appeared so many Snares and Difficulties in it, as to Trade, as was judged no way fit to be put on a People that expected Freedom at the Price of their Blood and Treasure, by them spent in the late War; whereupon it was, by general Consent, waved and laid aside: There were divers Bills prepared by several Committees, some of which were read in the House, and others offered to have them read; but other Business hindered, as, *A Bill for constituting a Committee for Advance of Trade; A Bill for Work-houses, and providing for the Poor. Divers Bills for the Regulation of the Law, and making of it less chargeable to the People, and more expeditious.*

There were several Acts passed by the House, in Time of their Sitting. The Particulars here follow, *viz.*

1. An Act for the Committee of the Army, and Treasurers of War.
2. An Act for constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing the Admiralty and Navy.
3. An Act for settling the Court of Admiralty; much Time spent in fixing on Judges.
4. An Act for taking away Fines on original Writs, which was, as some knowing Gentlemen of Worth in the House affirmed, to the Saving of the People of this Commonwealth, an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds *per annum*, only Ten or Twelve Thousand Pounds thereof coming to the State.
5. An Act touching the several Receipts of the Revenue and Treasuries of the Commonwealth, and the bringing them into one Treasury.
6. An Act for Marriages, and the Registering of them; as also Births and Burials: Much Time spent in the Debate about Marriages, there being many Niceties and difficult Cases relating to that Subject.
7. An Act for the more speedy bringing in of the Arrears of the Excise, and settling Commissioners to that End.
8. An Act concerning the Planters of Tobacco in *Gloucestershire*, and elsewhere.
9. An Act to continue the Receipt of the Excise till the 29th of *December* last.
10. An Act additional and explanatory for the Sale of the remaining Fee-Farm Rents, and finishing the whole Business.
11. An Act for settling *Ireland*, and making it a Part of the Commonwealth, and satisfying the Adventurers and Soldiers with Lands; which Act being very large and comprehensive, took many Days Debate before it could be passed as a Law.

12. An

88 *A Third Collection of T R A C T S on all Subjects.*

12. An Act for the Relief of Creditors and poor Prisoners : The Fruit of it hath shewed the Worth of it, three hundred poor starving Souls having been freed thereby, in and about *London* ; a Law so just and honourable, as *England* hath few better, which passed not without serious Debate.

13. An Act for Accounts, and clearing public Debts, and for the Discovery of Fraud and Concealment of any Thing due to the Commonwealth.

14. An Act empowering the Committee of the Army to state and determine the Accounts of all Soldiers and others employed by them, for Moneys by them received from the 26th of *March*, 1647, until the 25th of *July*, 1653.

15. An Act for Redress of Delays and Mischiefs, arising by Writs of Error, and Writs of false Judgment in several Cases.

16. An Act for repealing of a Branch of an Act of the late Parliament, intituled, *An Act for subscribing the Engagement* ; which was much to the Ease and Profit of the People, and to the Loss of the Lawyers.

17. An Act for the regulating the Making of Stuffs in the County of *Norwich* and *Norfolk*.

18. An Act for a High Court of Justice ; cost indeed but one Day's Time the Reading, Debate, and passing for a Law, by reason of the great Haste some Gentlemen made, pretending great Danger to themselves and the Commonwealth, so as no Reasons could prevail to have it recommitted as some desired, or that the Acts for Treasons might be read, that the Commissioners were to proceed upon, as others moved to have them ; nor yet that the Bill might be ingrossed, being to be a Law that concerned Life ; for then it could not have past till the next Day, when some that were perceived that Day absent, being praying at the *Black Friars*, might be present, and hinder, as it is likely to be feared, the passing of it ; which had they done, they had saved much the Credit of the Council ; for to wise Men it seemed a very weak Piece, and Experience hath (Thanks be to God) shewn there was not that sudden Danger as some Gentlemen suggested, that did not let to say (in answer to those that would have had it ingrossed against the next Morning) *That they knew not but by that Time they might have their Throats cut.*

19. An Act for Deofforistation and Improvement of the Forests, and of the Honours, Manors, Lands, and Tenements within the Limits and Perambulations of the same, heretofore belonging to the King, Queen, and Prince ; a very large Act, and comprehensive in the Particulars ; wherein the old Farmers of the Custom-house, that lent the old King Money to make War with the *Scots*, were admitted to have their old Debts made public Faith to double on, to the Sum of Two Hundred Seventy-six Thousand Pounds, to the End to be sure to have Money against the Spring : It was complied with, and some very eminent and wise Gentlemen made others believe there was no question but the Money would be provided ready against the Times, though other Members of less Note, told the House what they thought, even as it is come to pass.

20. An Act, confirming to the Purchasers of Sir *John Stowel's* Lands, what they had purchased of the State.

21. An

21. An Act for an Assessment at the Rate of One Hundred and Twenty Thousand Pounds a Month, for six Months, from the Twenty-fifth of *December*, One Thousand Six Hundred Fifty and Three, to the Twenty-fourth of *June* then next ensuing, for the Maintenance of the Armies and Navy of this Commonwealth, being a very large Act, and that which took up many Days in the Debate and passing of it, there being a Desire, if possible, it might have been to have abated something of that Sum, and that it might be laid equally: Many Votes passed, and very sharp Debates, by reason of the great Inequality that was evident in the laying of the Tax, some Countries bearing beyond their Proportion, and some much less, which made the Burthen more grievous than otherwise it would be: When after many Days spent in the modelizing of the Bill, and it came to be passed, some Gentlemen gave their Reasons why they could not give their *Yea* to pass it for a Law, for the Unrighteousness that was in it (and something else) which had been laid forth in the Debate. The great Inequality betwixt County and County, City and City, Hundred and Hundred, and so of particular Estates, some paying but two or three Shillings in the Pound, and others four or five; yea, some ten or twelve Shillings for their real Estate, beside what they paid for their personal; in which, some of *London* passionately complained of their being over-rated, they paying Eight Thousand Pounds a Month, the fifteenth Part of the whole Assessment of the Commonwealth; when, as they with great Confidence affirmed, that they were not the fortieth Part of the Commonwealth in Value, as their Case now was. The Act ingrossed, and the Question being put, the *No's* (as to the making it a Law that very Day) had they been prosecuted to the Pole, had hazarded the passing of it; it having been earnestly pressed, that it might be amended at the Table, or recommitted to be amended against the next Day.

A Gentleman that first moved to have the House give up that Morning they were dissolved, made this one of his Reasons why he could sit no longer with his Fellows, because of their dealing so disingenuously with the Army, some other Gentleman having spoken to the same Account; but as to this, those that gave their *No's* in the Vote against the then passing of the Bill upon the Account before, can say, they never were in Arms against the Parliament and Army, nor were ever in *Oxford*, or any other Garrison that stood in Opposition to them. And for their constant cordial Affection to them, they may safely say, without boasting, they have been but a very little behind them that have been the highest and best affected in the Nation, whatever those Gentlemen please to say. To endeavour to have the Assessment equally laid and borne, tended much to the Army's Good rather than Hurt, whereby they might continue to enjoy the Love and Affection of the People unto them.

22. An Act for the continuing of the Privileges and Jurisdiction of the County of *Lancaster*.

23. An Act touching Idiots and Lunatics.

24. An Act for enabling Commissioners of Parliament for compounding with Delinquents to dispose of two Parts of the Lands and Estates of Recusants, for the Benefit of the Commonwealth.

An Act that cost much Time in the Debate of it; for that some Gentlemen fearing it amounted to the Toleration of Popery, did strongly oppose it, and caused it to be so modelized, as that it was never like to attain the End aimed at, as some then declared; of which Experience now can best declare and speak.

25. A second Act for the constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing of the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.

26. An Act for the better and more effectual Discovery of Thieves and Highwaymen.

There was also a Bill brought in and read, and debated for the Uniting of *Scotland* to the Commonwealth of *England*, as a Part of it, with equal Privileges, which spent two or three Days Debate in a grand Committee of the whole House, before it was ordered to be ingrossed, being a Thing of very great Weight and Concernment; being ingrossed, it lay ready on the Table to be read and passed: But the *Highlanders* putting the Country into Distemper, it was not put to be passed for a Law while the House continued.

By this Time it will appear the House was not altogether idle, nor at a Stand in their Work, so as there was Need to have them dissolved on that Score: Indeed, much more might have been done and proceeded in, if there had not been something that did let. The two great Grievances of the Law and Tythes, had such Friends in the House, as that, when either of those Things came into Debate, the House was as divided into two Parts; the one very indulgent, still pleading and making Defence in their Behalf; the other endeavouring the Redress of them. *Great Counsels agree not in all Things presently*; yet is that no good Ground of their Dissolution: That the House was not idle, nor at a Stand, nor in an Incapacity to do the Work of the Nation, though so divided as aforesaid, may, beside what appeareth already, be further taken Knowledge of by these ensuing Votes, which follow.

There were Four great Votes that passed in the Time of the Sitting of the House, which some Interests were much displeased at, and they passed not without great Debate.

First, A Vote for abolishing and taking away the Court of Chancery.

Secondly, A Vote for a new Body or Model of the Law.

Thirdly, A Vote to take away the Power of Patrons to make Presentations.

Fourthly, That innocent negative Vote of not agreeing with the Report of the Committee for Tythes, touching what they reported, as the best Way to eject scandalous, prophane, and ignorant Ministers, &c. upon which followed presently the Dissolution of the House.

A little of each of these, because of the great Dust that is raised, to the Blinding of some, and enraging of others, against them that fought not themselves, but the Good of the Commonwealth in general, and no private or particular Interests.

First, For the *Chancery*; it was looked on as a great Grievance, one of the greatest in the Nation, so many horrible Things were affirmed of it by Members of the House, as those that were, or had a mind to be Advocates for it, had

had little to say on the Behalf of it; and so at the End of one Day's Debate, the Question being put, it was voted down.

For Dilatories, Chargeableness, and a Faculty of letting Blood the People in the Purse Veins, even to their utter perishing and undoing, as by what was spoken and affirmed at the Debate, that Court may compare (if not surpass) any Court in the World. It was confidently affirmed, by knowing Gentlemen of Worth, that there were depending in that Court, Twenty-three Thousand Causes: That some of them had been there depending five, some ten, some twenty, some thirty Years or more: That there had been spent in Causes, many Hundred, nay Thousands of Pounds, to the Ruin, nay utter undoing of many Families: That no Ship almost (to wit, Cause) that sailed in the Sea of the Law, but first or last putting into that Port; and if they made any considerable Stay there, they suffered so much Loss, as the Remedy was as bad as the Disease: That what was ordered one Day, was contradicted the next; so as in some Causes there had been been five hundred Orders, and far more, as some affirmed: That when the Purses of the Clients began to be empty, and their Spirits a little cooled, then by a Reference to some Gentlemen in the Country, the Cause so long depending, at so great Charge, came to be ended, so as some did look on it as it now is, as a Mystery of Wickedness, and a standing Cheat.

How sad a Thing is it, that after such Appearances of God in the Land, such a Court, in such a way of Practice, should be continued, to greaten the Retainers to it, and Practisers in it, by the Ruin of others, eating the Fat and Sweat of other Men's Labours and Estates. It is to be hoped such Wickedness is not long lived. How did good People rejoice when they heard of that Vote, and how sad and sorrowful were the Lawyers and Clerks, for the Fear of the Loss of their great *Diana*, may be remembered! with their great Joy in making Bonfires, and drinking Sack, when they were delivered from their Fears by the Dissolution of the late Parliament.

The Committee for the Regulating of the Law, in pursuance of the Vote, brought in a Bill for the taking away the said Court: But for that there was not Provision made for the future, and for the Causes then depending, altogether it was opposed by those Gentlemen that had no mind it should be taken away; and so it came to be waved and laid aside, and the Committee ordered to bring in a Bill that might do all.

The Members of that Committee having many of them occasion to be absent in the Country, in fetching up and settling their Families before Winter, nothing was done till toward the Term, when a Bill was brought in and read in the House: That was looked on by many as the washing of the Blackamoor, or pruning or lopping evil Branches, where Three or Four in a little time will come instead of one cut off. Upon Debate, it came to the Question, and was carried in the Negative, and cast out.

Then shortly after another Bill was brought in and read, which to very many seemed to be a setting up of two Courts, rather than a casting down one, and an establishing of the *Chancery*, rather than taking it away; some Gentlemen of great Note of the Long Robe, had a Hand in it, that it is likely will

never spoil their own Trade ; the Bill by very many, after a long and sharp Debate, was judged short of the End aimed at ; and being put to the Question, it passed in the Negative, and was also cast out ; at which some of those Gentlemen aforesaid, were very much displeased.

The Term by this Time was begun, and the People not eased, as was hoped would have been ; at which those Members that carried the Vote for putting down that corrupt Court, were sorely vexed and troubled, who took little Delight to come through the Hall, and to see the corrupt Trade going on. Some of them moved to have had the Court suspended for three Weeks or a Month, till something might be done in it ; but it was not consented unto, or thought fit ; and so the Term and Trade of the Law went on, and the Committee went to work again : And by this Time, some other Members of that Committee, that were not such great Zealots for the upholding of that Court, were come to Town, so as the Bill was modelized and prepared, which they of the Committee thought would answer the End, and be to the Liking of the House ; in which was provided for the taking down the Court, and for the Dispatch of the Causes depending, and providing for the future in a summary Way, so as any ordinary Cause might be determined and ended for twenty or forty Shillings, and in a very short Time, and much Strife and going to Law prevented.

But the House being full of Business, there was no Opportunity to tender it, and so they let it alone till a fitter Time and more Leisure.

If a Copy of that intended Bill were printed, it might be judged what their Intentions were, for that after it was got in and twice read in the House in one Day.

The second Vote, which was for a new Body of the Law, passed not without a large Debate. The Clerk in drawing up the Question, put the Word *Body* instead of *Model*, which some Members, for the passing of the Vote before and after, desired to have altered ; but others, Lovers of the Law as now it is, opposed the Alteration of the Word, being very angry at the Vote, and so it went as it was, with some seeming Disadvantage, by means of the Word *Body*, which some of those aforesaid, being angry, would needs fancy, and accordingly reported, as if it were intended to destroy the Law, and take away the Laws we had been fighting for all this While as our Birthright and Inheritance.

And such a Noise was made about it, that made many believe that the House was modelized of Monsters, rather than Men of Reason and Judgment.

There were very sober and moderate Gentlemen, in the Account of all Men, that concurred heartily in this Vote, such as upon whom little Blemish will stick.

The Reasons, or some of them, that were alledged in the Debate producing this Vote, was the Intricacy, Uncertainty, and Incongruity in many Things with the Word of God and right Reason, in the Laws as now they are.

First, Whereas the Laws ought to be easy, plain, and short, so as they that were to be subject to them, and have Benefit by them, might be able to know and understand them in some good Measure.

They

They are now so voluminous, and thereby intricate and uncertain, dark and concealed, as few are able to come to the Knowledge of them, those of the Profession of the Law differing in very many Cases, what the Law is, and being of several Opinions about this and the other Thing: And then how should others, though highly concerned, be able to understand them, and their Interest therein contained, there being so many Law-Books of great Bulk, so many old musty Records, Reports, and Book-Cases, as that after the Time spent in School-Learning, the rest of the Time of the Flower of a Man's Years, would be little enough to read them over and peruse them.

And beside, those Records and Book-Cases are very ill Guides or Lights to go by; for who knoweth the Circumstances that did attend them, which alters oft-times the whole Case? Who knoweth whether in those Cases, Bribery did not make the Judgment, or the Powerfulness of some great Man, or the Love or Hatred of the Judge, or the Negligence and Corruption of the Advocate? And besides, in those Law-Cases, some Precedents are directly contrary to others; and an Advocate or Counsel alledgeth one Case or Report, and another another; and then the Judge followeth which he pleaseth: How arbitrary is the Law in this Case? And at what Uncertainty are the great Interests and Properties of Men?

Beside, how various are the Customs, which notwithstanding passeth for Law? usually unknown but to some old Men of the Place, which though it be never so unrighteous and unreasonable, *Time out of Mind* carries it. How bulky and voluminous are the Statute-Books! and of so great a Price as few are able to buy them, and so large that few can spare Time to read them, to know their Right, and how they are concerned in them; and yet they must be judged, and stand or fall by them. And many times some old musty Statute of a hundred Years old and more imprinted, is found and made Use of by some crafty Lawyer, to the undoing of an honest Man that meant no Hurt, nor knew any Thing at all of the Danger. Upon something held forth to this Effect, the Vote was carried for a new Body or Model of the Law, and a Committee chosen to that End, who met often, and had the Help of some Gentlemen of Worth, that have deserved well of their Country, being true Patriots; who liked well the Thing, as very useful and desirable, it being not a destroying of the Law, or putting it down, as some scandalously reported, but a reducing the wholesome, just and good Laws into a Body, from them that are useless and out of Date; such as concerned the Bishops and holy Church (so called) and were made in favour of Kings, and the Lusts of great Men, of which there are very many; the Law of God being eyed, and right Reason looked unto in all, there being some of the Laws that are contrary to both; as the putting of Men to Death for Theft, the sparing of the Lives of Men for Murder, under the Notion and Name of Manslaughter, a Term and Distinction not found in the righteous Law of God; and that unreasonable Law, that if a Waggon, or Cart, &c. driven by the Owner, or some other, with never so great Care and Endeavour, fall and kill any Person, the Owner, though it were his own Son or Servant could no way help it, shall lose his Horse and Waggon, by the prophane and superstitious Name of *Deodand*; and the Owners

ers of the Goods shall lose them also upon the same Account, though they were as innocent as *Abel*. Other Instances might also be given.

The Way the Committee took in order to their Work, which must needs be elaborate, was by reducing the several Laws to their proper Heads, to which they did belong, and so modelizing or embodying of them, taking Knowledge of the Nature of them, and what the Law of God said in the Case, and how agreeable to right Reason they were; likewise how proportionable the Punishment was to the Offence or Crime; and wherein there seemed any Thing either deficient or excessive, to offer a Supply and Remedy, in order to rectifying the whole. The Committee began with Criminals: Treason being the highest, they considered the Kinds; what was meet to be adjudged Treason in a free Commonwealth, and what was meet to be the Punishment of grand and petty Treason: Then they proceeded to Murder, the Kinds of it, and what was to be so adjudged, and the Punishment thereof. The like they intended concerning Theft; and after to have ascertained and secured Property, as also the executive Part of the Law, so as a Person should not need to lose or part with one Property, to secure and keep another, as now it is; Persons being forced to lose or part with the Property of their Cow, to keep the Property of their Horse; and one Piece or Parcel of Land, to preserve and keep another. Which Body of Law, when modelized, was to be reported to the House to be considered of, and passed by them as they should see Cause; a Work great, and of high and great Esteem with many, for the great Fruit and Benefit that would come by it; by which means the great Volumes of Law would come to be reduced into the Bigness of a Pocket-book, as it is proportionable in *New-England*, and elsewhere; a Thing of so great Worth and Benefit as *England* is not yet worthy of, nor likely in a short Time to be so blessed as to enjoy. And this being the true End and Endeavour of those Members that laboured in that Committee, it is submitted to every godly (and rational) Man in the Nation, whether (as is most falsely and wickedly reported, and charged upon Persons acting in so much Love to their Country) their Endeavours tended to destroying the whole Laws, and pulling them up by the Roots.

The third Vote was the taking away of Patrons Presentations, which Thing is one of the strong Holds of Satan: At the passing of this Vote some Gentlemen were greatly offended, pretending it was a destroying and taking away Property: The Gentleman that moved first to have the House dissolved, made this one of his great Reasons why he could sit no longer with his Fellows, being very conscious, like those that stumble at a Straw, and yet leap over a Block; to the Mint and Cummin, and neglect the great Things of the Law. This Vote, after a sharp Debate was carried in, in which very sober Gentlemen concurred, such as are not blemished as Sectaries or Levellers, though they had of this Kind of Property themselves, some two or three a-piece, that out of Conscience, for the better Advance of the Knowledge of the Gospel, and Interest of the Lord Christ, they were willing to part with their Right herein.

The

The Nature of this Property may be a little minded, because of the great Outcry that is every where made, Oh the Parliament-men, many of them are such as would destroy all Property! as if they had none themselves, when as, though all of them had not very bulky Estates, yet they had free Estates, and were not of broken Fortunes, or such as owed great Sums of Money, ten thousand Pounds and more, and those to whom they were so in Debt knew not how to get a Penny of it, but stood in need of Privilege and Protection, as formerly it hath been. The Nature of this Property looked into and considered, will appear to be partly of an earthly, and partly of spiritual Nature; these two mixed and twisted together, make up this Right or Property, of having Power to present a Person to be Minister there. To have the earthly, or civil advantaged Tithes, and Offerings, and Glebe-land, if there be any; and to have the more religious, or spiritual Right and Interest, the Cure and Care of Souls, of all living within that Circumference called a Parish, and to have the Right to officiate to God and Man there: And is not this Property worth the standing for? to be Lord Patron, so as he may open the Door to whom he pleaseth, and be sure he let in such a one as will comply, and serve his Interest, and wink at his vicious Courses, and not vex and disquiet his Greatness by telling him of his Faults, as some time *John Baptist* did *Herod*; or as those, which profanely they call Puritans, and Sectarian Ministers use to do.

But seeing to sell this Property, were no less than the Sin of Simony, what worldly Advantage can he make of it? Thus, if the Church be full (so they blasphemously call it) Christ being the only Fulness of the Church, and not some ignorant, prophane and lazy Priest; that is a miserable Fulness, with which some Churches (so called) are filled: In such a Case of Fulness, the Lord Patron may sell the Reversion for a considerable Sum of Money, to some one or other that hath sent his Son to *Oxford*, or *Cambridge*, to learn the Art of Logic and Philosophy, by which Craft he may know how to get his Living another Day; and so the old Incumbent dying, this young Artist cometh to be presented one, to enter and take Possession, and so to enjoy his Portion his Father provided for him: The Glebe, the Tithes, and Oblations, together with the Care and Cure of Souls, and Right of officiating to God and Man there, for this his Father bought, and purchased for him, and who shall take it from him. But if the Church be empty, that is, of a Priest, then all his Property amounteth but to a Shadow, unless it be sure to put in one that, being beholding to him, shall be sure to serve him, and to forbear his Lusts; or else marry his Kinswoman, or his Wife's Gentlewoman or Chambermaid, in Consideration of being presented to be settled there: But can this Work of Darknes, and Root of Iniquity abide the Light, or look in the Face, without blushing the glorious Light of the Gospel that now shineth in this our Horizon? Is not this Property a Relic of the Merchandize of the great Whore, *Rev. xviii. 3.* that buyeth and selleth amongst other Wares the Souls of Men? What a sad Account have the most of these Proprietors, these Presenters and Presented to make, for the many thousand Souls that have perished by their Means?

But

But doth that Gentleman that made this one of his Reasons, as before, why he could sit no longer with his Fellows to do the Work of the Commonwealth, think indeed, and is it really his Judgment, that a Parliament, or supreme Authority, have nothing to do to meddle with Property, so as it should be so great an Offence to meddle with the airy Property of Presentations? Sure upon Consideration he and those Gentlemen that were so offended, cannot but think otherwise. That the Parliament may, for a common Good, meddle with, and take away Property, of a higher Nature than Presentations, and of higher and more nigh Concernment; especially, when particular Men's Property is prejudicial to common Good, so as the whole is profited by the Loss of particular Persons, he surely was one of them that gave his Yea for the passing of the Bill for the monthly Assessment, notwithstanding it meddled with Property, even the fifth Part of the yearly Revenue and Income of most Men; and sure he cannot but think they might do it in order to pass like Good, without any destroying Property; though many are as unwilling to part with it as those Gentlemen can be to part with their Property of Presentations.

Was it a destroying Property, in his Judgment, for the former Parliament to take into their Hands, and to sell away the Lands of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, which they enjoyed as their Properties, with many Rights and Privileges not inferior to Presentations, which some of them had never made Forfeiture of, by acting against the Parliament?

Was the taking the five and twentieth Part of Persons Estates for the Good of the whole, a destroying Property? Indeed some said so then; but we know what they were accounted for so saying, no less than Malignants.

Surely those Gentlemen will not so say of the Instrument or Model of new Government, or those that made it, as they do of those that passed that Vote, notwithstanding it takes two hundred thousand Pounds *per annum* for the carrying of it on.

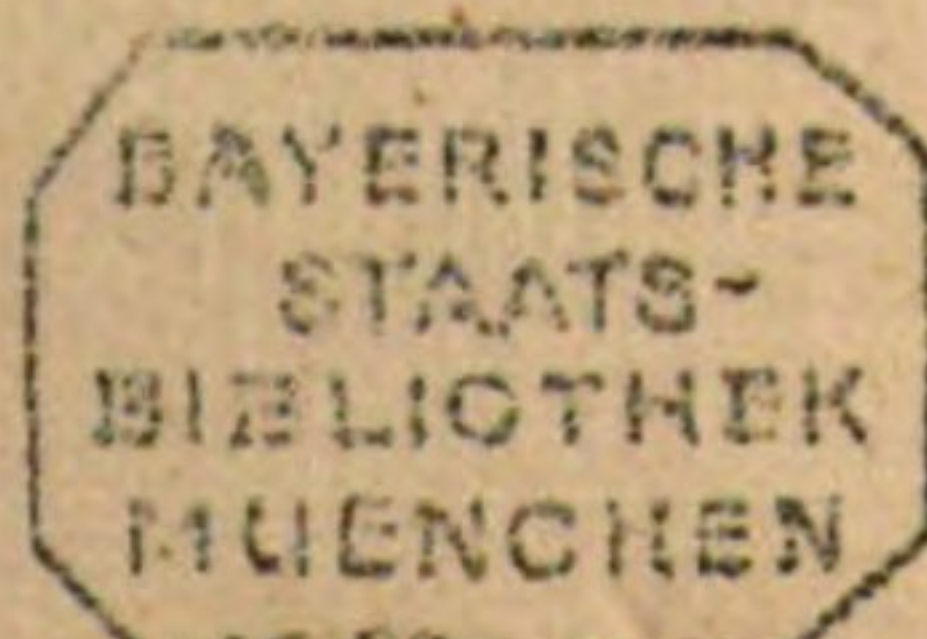
The former Parliament they did not reckon that they went beyond their Power, nor that they overthrew Property, when they passed the Act for the draining of the Fens, giving away very much of the Lands (the chiefest Property) of the Owner, to the Undertakers, in order to public Good.

The fourth Vote, whereupon followed the Dissolution of the Parliament, was that harmless Negative, of not complying with the Report of the Committee, touching what they offered as the best Way to eject ignorant, prophane, and scandalous Ministers, and encouraging them that are good, &c. of which two Things, and so an End of this Discourse: *First*, Of the Proceed to it, and in the Debate of it; and then that which followed after it till the House was dissolved. The Proceed was shortly thus: After the aforesaid Vote had passed, and some of the Gentlemen of the House were in Readiness to offer the Bill, the Committee for Tithes to counter-work, and keep that off, as some thought, did on *Monday* Morning offer this Report, and many were for the taking of it on; others were against the meddling with it at that Time, some moving to have the Bill taken in concerning Presentations, some to fall on Things of more present Concernment, as the Bill for uniting *Scotland* to *England*. Reasons were offered on every Side, and after one of the
Clock

Clock the House rose and nothing fastened on. The next Morning those that were for the Report to be taken in the Day before, moved again, and the other not opposing, it was taken in, but not without being put to the Vote, whether the House would take it in, which was carried in the Affirmative; and so the Debate began, and continued Day after Day, till after one of the Clock each Day, the Speaker being aged, and not able to sit longer. The Debate was managed day by day with very great Seriousness, many Arguments and Scriptures being alledged.

The House being evenly poised, and great Attendance being given by the Members, waiting the Time of the Vote, and though any Member might, by the Rules of the House, have spoken every Day so long as the Debate continued, yet such was the Modesty shewed, that hardly any on all the five Days spake twice, very little of Heat or Passion being shewed all that Time, only one Gentleman or two that were for the Report, seeing themselves and their Party so engaged, flew out a little, complaining of the Expence of Time, to have given a Check to the going on of the Debate: But the Orders of the House being called for, by some of the other Side, to the Speaker, he declared it to be the Right of every one to be heard, and that the Question could not be put so long as any would speak to it; withall those Gentlemen were told of their Restlessness to take on the Debate, and how now they wanted Patience to wait the Issue of it; after three or four Days, a Member that was against the Report, offered an Expedient, but was not accepted: At last on *Saturday* toward Noon the Question grew near, as did also the End of the Parliament, some Members that were against the Report having not spoken, and essaying to speak, were persuaded to forbear, who only gathered the Issue and Result of the whole, and left it to the House; which was, whether upon the whole this in the Report was the best Expedient for that End? which some on the other Side, that were for the Report, perceiving the Stress of the Question put there, moved that the Word *best* might be put out; but it was not admitted, having been in the Report all the Time of the Debate: So about one of the Clock the Vote passed, and upon dividing the House, was carried in the Negative. A Debate of that Nature and Length, in so great a Council, hardly ever passed with such Soberness and little Heat or Passion: The Business was in *statu quo*, as to any one's being either better or worse, the Report was laid aside, for that the first Part of it, whereon the other Part depended, was rejected; to wit, that the best Way to eject ignorant, prophane, and scandalous Ministers, and to encourage them that are good, was by sending certain Commissioners impowered to do it, as at full length hath been put forth in Print already. There was at the Passing this Vote 115 Members, whereof 54 were for the Affirmative, and 56 for the Negative, and two Gentlemen Tellers for each Side, and the Speaker, which make up that Number.

To go about to tell of the Arguments insisted on, from the Scriptures, and from Experience, and other Reasons of a prudential Consideration, would be too tedious; that this Vote, that hurt no Body, should occasion such wonderful Displeasure and Outcry every where, is at least wonderful: If Men were asked (as *Micah* was) what aileth them? they would hardly be able to tell so



well as he did : Is it not much, when as godly sober Men, in discharge of their Duty and Trust, for the Glory of God, and Good of their Country, should leave their Habitations, Relations and Enjoyments, spend their Time and Means to serve their Country, and be so rewarded with scandalous and false Reports, and to have Judgment of high Condemnation passed on them upon Hearsay, without the least Shew of Proof ? Is it not much that Men of Learning, Leaders and Teachers of others, that would be esteemed godly orthodox Divines, Ministers of Christ, and Preachers of his Gospel, should be of such a Spirit and Strain, so unlike Christ and the Gospel, as to utter such Speeches in Pulpits, and elsewhere ? that they, meaning those that complied not in the aforementioned Vote, and voted in the other, were the arrantest Rogues and Villains that ever the Earth bore ; that their Design was worse than the Gunpowder Treason ; that they would have destroyed the Magistracy and the Ministry, the Law and the Gospel, &c. that it were well if one of ten of them were hanged up, and then there would be happy Days. Might not Enquiry be made, what is the Matter of this their so great Rage and Displeasure ? who hath done them wrong ? No Question but they would say, Oh they would have destroyed all the Ministers, good as well as bad, and overthrown the Gospel ; for so they frequently say : Heinous Crimes indeed ! But how doth it appear ? Only thus ; they were against those Grievances of the Law and Tithes, and would have had those taken away ; and they would not concur with the Report of the Committee in order to the settling of Tithes, that being in the Bottom of the Report ; so as by these Men's Logic and Conclusion, those two Grievances of the Law and Tithes (which these so reproached laboured to have taken away) are the Magistracy and Ministry ; the corrupt Law, or Corruption of the Law, are the Magistracy ; and Tithes, they are the Ministry, yea more, the Gospel also : But alas, Magistracy can stand without such horrible Corruptions of Law, and the Ministry without Tithes, as it is in other Countries where there is neither of them. But the Belly hath no Ears, and therefore no more shall be said.

The aforementioned Vote passing as it did, those Gentlemen that missed of their Expectations, and were crossed of having their Wills, greatly fearing, as it seemeth, it would go ill with those corrupt Interests of the Lawyers and Clergy, which they endeavoured to support, they took the Pet, and were exceeding wroth divers of them ; and that Afternoon and the next Day (being the Lord's Day, a Day fitter for better Employment) they took Counsel with and among themselves, holding Cabals, and there consulting the Overthrow and Dissolution of the House, which was, as they had declared to all the World, the supreme Authority or Magistracy, the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* : Is it not much that Gentlemen pretending so high to Wisdom and Godliness, for missing and having their Wills in a Vote carried in the Negative, should be induced thereby presently to take on such desperate Counsels and Resolves, and to draw others into them ignorantly, forgetting, as it seemeth, what they had solemnly declared before God, and all the World ; to wit, that the House was the supreme Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*, which Commonwealth God had highly honoured, and made famous throughout

throughout the World; forgetting also their Severity against malapert Words given in a Petition, because it was the supreme Authority: What might such Counsels, Resolves, and Actings merit by their own Law? Had they no Charity in them towards their Fellows, because crossed in that poor Vote? Had they lost, or laid aside the Fear of God, that they could thus venture to overthrow Magistracy, even the greatest in the Commonwealth, the Parliament and supreme Authority, to the endangering the whole Cause? The Members that they were so angry with, and have so reproached, as being against Magistracy and Ministry, because that poor negative Vote was carried against their Wills, may say to them as *Jebu* said to the Rulers of *Samaria*, 2 *Kings* x. 9. *Ye are righteous.* Indeed they voted in the Affirmative in those former Votes, in the Negative in these last Votes concerning Triers: But who consulted and put in Practice the Overthrow and Dissolution of the Parliament and supreme Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*? Having slept upon their Counsels, they are of the same Mind still, and address themselves to put it in Execution, rising early and coming betimes to put in Practice their Design, which was to dissolve and put to an End the Parliament of the Commonwealth of *England* in their own Esteem, and being come, they feared not to begin with Prayer to God the Searcher of Hearts, and then proceed to declare their Purpose, and the Reasons of it, laying Load upon their Fellows in Way of Blame, that were less guilty of Evil than themselves, uttering Words that could not but astonish any good Soul of a dying Parliament, charging their Fellows that were for the removing of the great Grievances of the Law and Tithes, that they followed their own Wills, nay their own Lusts, Words not fit to be spoken in a free Council, and that might have been more truly said of themselves; when those of the other Side, that knew nothing of their Design, offered to speak, telling them it was no Time to debate, only one Patriot of those that were zealous for the Remove of those afore-mentioned great Grievances, stood up and got Audience, speaking against what they had moved, intimating the good Bills that were in Readiness to be brought in for the People's Good, and protesting before God, Angels and Men, against what they had moved, and others of the same Party standing ready to do the like, who called to the Speaker to be heard, those Gentlemen, without hearing their Fellows, or admitting the Debate, or putting the Question, rose up out of their Places to be gone, and others in Simplicity followed, as once many did after *Abshalom*, 2 *Sam.* xv. 11. not knowing any Thing at all, but how they performed their Trust the World may judge.

The Speaker forgetting the Duty of his Place, though he was earnestly called unto to keep the Chair, he left it; and the Sergeant, as if he had been of Council, took up the Mace, and carried it before him, though he was spoken unto to the contrary, as in like manner did the chief Clerk; and thus in an irruptious Way going out of the House, without any Adjournment or Vote, left sitting thirty-four or thirty-five Members in the House, whether those that so went away were a greater or a lesser Number, as is more likely, but is hard to be determined, though it be thought by some there were not seventy so early in the House. Those that went out of the House, going toward *Whitehall*,

met some coming to the House, who seeing them go in that Manner, thought they had adjourned thither, and so went along with them; others they sent for up and down where they could find them, to come to them to the Horse Chamber, where they were: Those in the House immediately betook themselves to consider what they had to do, being so deserted of their Fellows; and telling over their Number, they found themselves but thirty-four or thirty-five, which could not make a House, forty being the least Number that might act in a parliamentary Way. And as they were going to consider among themselves, a Colonel and Lieutenant Colonel of the Army entered the House, and desired them to depart: The Members desired them to withdraw, for that they as Members of Parliament had Warrant to be there, and if they had Warrant to put them out, they wished them to shew it; but not many Words passed, but they went back and opened the Doors, and brought in the Soldiers with their Muskets, and then the Gentlemen rose and went out, which was done before the other were half-way at *Whitehall*, and some so put out of the House, went after to *Whitehall*, to see what they were there doing, and found them in the Horse Chamber, preparing a Writing of Surrender of their Power back into his Hands, from whom they had received it. If they had been his Council, and not Legislators, or a Parliament, much might have been in it; it was three or four Lines written in four or six several Papers, that so the Gentlemen might the more easily read and see what it was, which then the Clerk ingrossed in Parchment, and then they signed it by subscribing their Names, as many as would, first the Speaker, and then others according to their Quality. It may be wondered at, that so great a Power should be passed by so low and little an Instrument. Some Gentlemen went three or four Days after, and set their Hands to it: They that subscribed it did it on several Grounds and Reasons; some did it knowingly to dissolve the House, before dissolved by the Soldiers, and their disorderly going away, which they had plotted and resolved before; some because some eminent Persons of their Party did it before them, expecting by that Means to have been rid of some of the other Party at the least, and they to have been continued in Power without them, wherein they were deceived, and not a little vexed; some therein looked no further than at their own Quiet, and to be rid of a troublesome Employment; some that they might not be thought Lovers of Power and Dignity; and some out of Weakness, and Fear of the Loss of some worldly Enjoyment, which they have sufficiently repented and been sorry for since.

But how weak an Act, and contrary to their Trust it was, for those that professed themselves to be Legislators, had made Laws, and levied Money by way of Tax upon the People, as the Parliament and supreme Authority of the Commonwealth of *England*; as clothed with their Power, so easily, and without their Knowledge or Consent, whom they pretended to represent in Parliament, to give up, or give away their Power, which was none of theirs to give, but at the most to use for their Good; to do it without Debate or Consideration, in so weighty a Case; to do it when the Parliament was dissolved by themselves and the Soldiers, and they but in the Capacity of singular Persons; to give it up, as much as in them lay, into the Hands of one single Person,

Person, and that against a standing Law then in being, not repealed: Was it not in Effect to render all the People of *England* Slaves? as would easily be granted by their own Party, if they had so delivered to *Charles Stuart*; were ever Men so weak, rash, and inconsiderate; so out-witted, or carried away with Passion and Spleen against their Fellows, because they endeavoured to remove those Grievances of Tythes and the Law, which the People of this Nation groan exceedingly under? But, might not the Validity of this Act of theirs be queried? If a Jury should give up their Verdict so, or deliver over their Trust to others, would it be counted valid? But so it was, and so they did; and so an End of that Parliament that sat five Months and three Days as the supreme Power of the Commonwealth of *England*, whom God preserve.

And so an End of this Relation and Discourse, with the calling to Mind the Saying of the Psalmist, *Psalms xi. 4. 7. If the Foundations be destroyed, what can the Righteous do? The righteous Lord loveth Righteousness, his Countenance doth behold the Upright.*

An exact NARRATIVE of the Attempts made upon the Duke of *Gloucester*: Being the Extract of divers Letters, written out of *France* to Persons of Quality in *England*, and published for the Satisfaction of all true Protestants.

Printed in the Year 1655.

S I R,

Paris, Novemb. 7. 1654.

THERE are newly come to my Notice some untoward Passages, whereby one of our great Pledges hath been exposed to the Hazard of his Religion; which my Pen is very loth to impart, were it not for Prevention, lest being impossible to be concealed in *England*, it might be represented by others either more desperate, or more faulty than yet it is in Truth.

The King, when he went away from hence was over-intreated by his Mother to leave the Duke of *Gloucester* with her; which, to content her in some Things, whom he could not please in divers others, he consented to grant her that Request, upon Promise, that she would not force him to change his Religion, and so Conditions of Liberty of Prayers, &c. were established: But of late they do (some say by the *French* Court's Instigation) press it very hard, and even profess an Attempt of it. Mr. *Montagu*, Lord Abbot of *Nanteuil*, &c. and his Instruments have gotten him, under Pretence of weaning him from from young *French* Gallants Company (that on Occasion of being in the same Academy, were indeed grown but too kind to him) to *Pontoise*, and after a Week's Stay there, his Tutor coming on Business to *Paris* for

for one Night (whether they had designed this Absence of his, or only did make use of it, I cannot tell) they all set upon him with Motives Spiritual and Temporal to become a Roman Catholic : The Spiritual ones, such as the Subject would afford, little and many, more trusting on Number than Weight, he and (his only Help then) Mr. *Griffin* answered with the best Skill they had, and with much more Resolution and Metal, both of them, than you can imagine, and rejected the Temporal ones with Contempt, and with the Danger of incurring the King's Displeasure, who had both given him a Charge, and engaged his Mother, that there should be no Change in Religion laboured for : But to both, the Duke added a Complaint, that they should offer to assault him, with either of those Considerations in the Absence of his Tutor, who was fittest to judge of their Proposals.

When he came therefore, the Shock was renewed, and sustained so firmly, that the Stay at *Pontoise* was sooner ended than we hoped for. To our great Content, we see our young Prince again frequent and constant at the same Devotions with us, but complaining much, he should be troubled by his Father's and Brother's Subjects, especially to become of another Religion, than they and his Conscience directed him to keep to.

But the Queen now must appear to own the Thing, and to profess, that she cannot but labour to have her Son shewed the right Way to Heaven ; and though she promised he should not be forced by her, yet to have that Way proposed to him she found requisite ; and since Mr. *Lovell* (his Tutor) had expressed he could not, nor must not, see him so assaulted, and therefore pressed the Forbearance of such Discourses in the Duke's Presence, being ready to satisfy any one himself, she would put him into another Governor's Hands for a while at least ; and so under Mr. *Montagu's* Wing he is carried to Mr. *Croft's* House, being contrary to his own earnest Intreaty, hurried away on *Saturday*, and not suffered to stay till *Monday*, though he pleaded hard for it, upon want of a warm Coat, and there he must tarry till *Monday* Sevensnight after : Mean while no Body with him that might help his Resolution, save Mr. *Griffin* of his Bed chamber, a young Gentleman, though an old Servant of his (once my Lord of *Manchester's* Page) who is indeed zealous against their Design, even with Resolution to quit the Service, if any Change should happen, but his Years and Breeding make him not invincible as to himself ; and if he yield any considerable Assistance to his Master, must be left behind too, the next remove at least.

They have sent Notice of these Streights to the King and Duke of *York* long since ; but 'tis carefully provided, that the Duke of *York* must not come home yet ; and when he does prepare to come, if they cannot find themselves Conquerors and secure, they will (rather than hazard the Loss of this Prey) not scruple to encloister him from any Heretic's View whatsoever.

In such a Case as this, you cannot presume enough of the Zeal and Indignation the little Prince has against his Usage here ; against the Wrong done him by the Council that left him in such dangerous Hands ; against every obtruded Servant of that Pack about him ; against his new Governor, himself crossing him in divers Things, even of lesser Moment, as if he were the only
English,

English, whom Experience hath taught, how narrowly Men ought to watch against Usurpation ; in fine, he apprehends his Danger seriously, and the Honour of resisting most nobly and heroically, both for Resolution of Endeavour, and for Confidence of Success : That, and the Odds of the Cause, and God's Power to perfect Praise *ex ore infantium*, is almost the only Hopes we have.

Let us have yours, and all good Protestants Prayers for this Confessor ; who as he sees (unmoved) an evident Want of all Things fit for a Gentleman of better Sort, slighted of the *French* Court, his Mother's Frown and endless Importunity before him, if he be not perverted ; so I doubt not is now under the New Discipline and Manage of their Spiritual, or rather Ecclesiastical Falconers, who will not ever cease Watching and Dieting, &c. and whatever else is necessary to bring this young Eaglet to stoop and vail, and to do all Things at their Lure, and even to take Hood too, if Need be : For, they that make such a Court-work of every little Child's, and discontented, debauched Servant's Conversion, will spare none of their little or great Arts to get this noble Bird of so Royal a Wing, as being the only one of that Airy they hope for now, having lost so much Pains on the Two former, and so fit to awe and dare lesser Birds by ; of which there are Wagers laid of no few or mean ones already.

I foresaw this unmeasured Excursion before-hand, and was therefore so loth to write at all ; and the Truth is, I can neither *scribere* nor *non scribere* till this Crisis be over : Though I foresee what News this will be in *Gath*, furnishing the Parliament with a ready Answer, when the next bold Man asks, What have the poor Gentlemen done abroad ? And there are sagacious Souls that would never understand till now, the Reason why the Parliament decreed to send him abroad, e'er he was out-grown the Danger of Perversion : But certainly they that pretend to have true Protestant Hearts, and will for either Fear or Love of Money, suffer the *Defenders of their Faith* to be led into the Wilderness of Want, and prepare them with Hunger for the Devil's Temptations of turning any Stone to get Bread, do deserve the Lash of Persecution, which in Time may justly light upon them, if God and they do not timely prevent it.

Paris, 25 Novemb. 1654.

By former Letters you may perceive how they prevailed with the Queen to take the Duke out of his Tutor's Hands, hurrying him first to *Pontoise*, and then to Mr. *Croft's* House : During which, as fully as they possessed him, every Hour, and much less Parts of the Day, one or other of the Bees ever humming about him ; yet at Night he had one that lay in his Bed-chamber, who entertained him more to his Heart's Desire, and (like *Penelope's* Web) unspun (as well as they could, two little young Things, some few Years above Thirty between them) whatever had past in Public, or the Day before.

And, indeed, they did well to spend and improve their Nights in this manner ; for when once they were up (as his Grand-father said of my Lord of *Carlisle*, he was in perpetual Torments, Eatings, Huntings, Dancings, Visits, Journeys, Entertainments of Males and Females, so) our little Duke
was

was continually tortured with Arguments finely embellished with *True Church, Roman Catholic Church; to be of the King of France's, and his Mother's Religion; being made a Cardinal; to become that King which must restore what Henry the Eighth took away*, and the Appendices.

However, he was not so strictly looked unto at first, but that there might be now and then stolen into his Hand a comfortatory Letter from his Friends at *Paris*; but these Shifts were to last but for a while: A terrible Ferule was polished for him, and such a one, as the Awe of it kept him from flat rejecting and affronting his new Governor *Montagu*, lest he being thoroughly vexed, might resign him up into the Jesuits Hands; to whose College the Duke knew himself destined within a few Days, even by Violence itself, if Relief came not from *Germany*.

And now, when all his Stock of Replies (which my Friend tells me, were hugely ingenious, and indeed solid, such as one would say, could not be in those Years but *ex traduce*) were spent, and his last Refuge of peremptory Silence, and upbraiding them for pressing their Sophisms on such a one as he was, while the Dean his Tutor and Friends were declined basely, grew stale Helps; behold, a grave Friend of his Father's, Sir G. R. comes with a Letter in his Pocket from the King, and was indeed admitted to see him and talk with him before Witnesses; but so far from Possibility of Privacy, that he was fain to leave the Letter behind him to be conveyed at an opportuner Occasion into his Hand. That Letter, says my Intelligencer, begins and ends so Brother-like, so Christian-like, so King-like, that he hath set my Longing on Fire to hear it. 'Tis promised me I shall, and when I do, I shall be careful to present you with that Jewel.

It puts me in mind of the strict Command he left with him at parting; of the monstrous Injury to his Conscience; to his State; to his Family; the Vanity of their Motives; the Emptiness of their Promises; the more Eligibleness of any Degree of Suffering; God's Promises, whose Love he must reckon to lose, as well as his so loving a Brother's, if he were perverted by any Inticings whatsoever: And to make all he said more valuable, that he would reflect on their dead Father's last Charge, which he solemnly gave him, with the Intail of his Blessing annexed.

In fine, he closed his Instructions with that which would have been severe enough alone: That if he either changed his Religion, or put himself into the Jesuits College, he had the last Letter from him, and must never look to see *England*, or his Face again: And that if (which God forbid) their Business miscarried, the whole Ruining of their Family, and all the Nation's too, must lay the Mischief at his Door, as the great Cause of it.

Now, no sooner had he read this threatening Comforter, but he hugged it in his Bosom, and with all possible Speed transcribed a Copy of it for his Mother, sending it forthwith to her; and begging her Leave to come to *Paris*, both upon those Commands of the King, and upon the News of his Brother's being come from the Army. Of this the Answer was, she could not cease wishing his so great and eternal Good; but she would not force him; but wished him to hearken to what Mr. *Montagu* should further deliver
unto

unto him ; and that was, That he would be willing to go to the Jesuits College however, where he should have strange Freedom in every Thing : But all would not persuade on the one Side, nor secure on the other, till most welcomely, about ten Days since, my Lord of *Ormond* came from *Germany* with Letters, and Instructions to boot ; to second with a Duplicate, and new Charges by Word of Mouth, the Force of the former Letters. His Business (namely, the setting free of this young Prince) was of high Concernment, else so great a Person would never have been spared from his Master at such a Time, in so ill a Season of Weather, to take so long and dangerous a Voyage just upon the dissolving of the Armies, who had beset all Ways, and robbed all Convoys ; and had he staid but four Days longer, he might as well have staid four Years, it would then have been too late to have done any Good.

But now the Duke is returned to his old Prayers, and to old Faces, to whom he tells such Stories of his Adventures as (he says) has made him almost mad : But others say, have made him much wiser than a longer Time and better Tutors could easily have done.

Nov. 28.

Since the Duke's Return to the Palace-Royal, his Brother's Company, and the Exercise of his own Religion, he has met with many Assaults : Obedience to his Mother in all Things possible, engaged him not to refuse whom she set over him, and sent about him ; and though she has promised him some Respite for a while at least, in respect to his Brother's straight Charge, yet she finds enough that pursue a truceless War. How he answers all their Variety of smooth and sharp Assaults, 'tis very pretty to hear ; and did not the Post's Interruption give me Suspicion, that our Letters keep not their Days to you, no more than yours to us, I should send you constantly the Proceedings in the Business.

But if there be not strange unnatural Carriage used, we shall enjoy his Concurrence in Communion with us, as we do every Day, and which will most vex them, on *Sunday* next at Church at the Resident's House, which he is resolved shall not be neglected or omitted upon any Persuasion whatsoever, tho' that be not in the Number of those Things which he is fortified for by the King's Letter ; for he has a serious Indignation against them that have with so many Wiles hindered him (indeed by plain moral Violence, which no Intreaty, no Policy of his could either prevent or mollify) so many *Sundays* from *Paris*, and at the Reports which were begotten between lying Tongues and credulous Ears, that he was already turned, upon no other Ground of his giving, but bare being away from Church ; which could no way be effected but by hurrying him out of Town ; nor could that be obtained of him without establishing a new Governor upon him ; which Thing so indirectly trenching on Religion, he could not have refused, without disobeying his Mother : Yet the Advantage of that, as it was really great against the poor Youth, produced so great a Pledge to the Roman Party, that the Curates in divers Churches gave Thanks for his Reconciliation a *Sunday* or two ago ; so that they will be now exposed to Disrepute of their Parishioners, and Mockery of

the Adversary, the first *Sunday* of their supposed Profelyte's appearing at our Church, which is likely to kindle no small Wrath amongst them; and therefore we stand in Fear of some shrewd Crisis between this and *Sunday Morning* as near as it is. I do not mean of Hazard, but of greater Violence of Assault.

He has been on his Visit at the *Louvre*, and passed those Piques already, though both Queen and Cardinal jointly, and both severally, have pressed him, that he is now to obey his Mother since his Father's Death; and they cannot find any Occasion he should have to regard other Directions. Here he thought he had most Need of his Brother's Letter, which enjoined him Silence in any Disputes: But Manners would not suffer him to say nothing, and much less to say what he could have done, of the Inconvenience of preferring Mother's Commands before his Sovereign's; but it would have been too hot; and therefore glad he was to come off that Brunt, with a general Promise of Dutifulness to his Mother, as much as any Son in the World could or ought to use; and a Protestation, that it was ever a Thing abhorred of him to hearken to any Counsel to the contrary: And besides, that the very getting off was a Triumph, he made great Prize of their Promise, that it was but for his greater Good, and the Advantage they should have of higher doing him Good, that they looked upon the Hopes of his Change of Religion: They knew however that they ought to look on him as a Child of *France*, of whatsoever Religion he was.

There was besides, a Passage which he was not very free of relating; yet it came out: That there had been a Promise between the Crowns, articulated upon at the Marriage Treaty of his Father and Mother, That the Queen should have the bringing up of all the Children till twelve Years of Age, in Lieu and Compensation of which being so notoriously violated, it was but Reason and great Condescension, that the Third Son should be intirely committed to her Disposol; especially she being in *France*. You will easily grant it out of the Sphere of his Age, to reply to such high Assaults; it was highly enough for his Honour, that he was thought fit to be so pleaded with; but that it wrought not with him, is a Sign of God's great Vigilancy over him, and a Pledge that he has a Blessing for him.

In fine, all these Addresses abroad, and others renewed at home, gave such a Testimony of his Firmness, that the Queen on *Saturday Morning* took him apart from all his and her Servants, and very seriously bemoaned her Case with his too, in that the earnest Desire of his and the whole Family's Good met with such Difficulties as should put her to use such Severity with him: She could not but pity him, as wearied already with so many Persuasions; and truly, the tender Affection she ever had for him, and had constantly shewed to him, could not but make herself weary of such tedious Courses; therefore she was resolved to make a sudden End; and for that Cause charged him to retire himself, and give one Hearing more to Mr. *Montagu*, and afterwards to lay her and his Words seriously to his Heart, and bring her an Answer full and final e'er Night. What the particular Proposals she made were, may come out hereafter. At the first Appearance of this intended Privacy with

with him, he very dexterously contrived an Opportunity to speak to his Servant *Griffin*, to seek out my Lord of *Ormond* to be ready to speak with him, by then he might come from his Mother, which is a fair Omen; but the Post must not be presumed on, &c.

Decemb. 2.

You were left, I think, at the State of Things on *Saturday* Morning, and was come to the Charge the Queen had given him to attend her alone. The Duke had, in the little Interim of clearing the Room, sent *Griffin* for my Lord of *Ormond* presently to be with him, or at least so soon as the Queen had done; and it was but prophetic Providence; for the Queen's Business was of so great Import, as might require it well: She began with all Sweetness possible, repeated the manifest Signs of her great and tender Affection for him, and how much it grieved her, that that very Love itself should compel her to proceed now with such seeming Severity: She presumed he was weary of it, and truly so was she too; therefore, for his Ease-sake, she would shorten his Time of Trial; and therefore proposing all the Good she aimed at in this Design of her's, and the Duty he owed her, and the Disability of the King to maintain him, &c. she wished him to withdraw presently, and sequestering himself from any Diversion, after he had given Mr. *Montagu* the Hearing for a while, to ponder seriously what she and he had said, and bring her his final Answer e'er Night.

The Duke obeyed, for reply then he must not; goes to his Chamber. Mr. *Montagu* comes, presses, is refused; but after an Hour's Discourse retires, begs to be sent for again when my Lord of *Ormond* was come, within an Hour; if not, he must come of himself: But my Lord of *Ormond* comes, no *Montagu* sent for, or comes for two Hours. The Marquis and the Duke soon resolved what should be answered; spent the Time only in ordering Circumstances for the Manner:

After these three Discourses, it was Time for a young Prince to have a little Breath, and therefore he retires to a Lady's Chamber on the other Side, where he might give his Ears a little Ease; and if he must hear more, that it might be less material Discourse, therefore chuses one that would beat no more upon that Theme: No sooner is he gone, but Mr. *Montagu* comes; misses him; hunts up and down for him; chides him for being off his Station of Pensiveness; for not having sent for him.

Well, Sir, says the Duke, *my Task is done; I have resolved. What did my Mother bid more? there is Time enough to tell:* And so it was, as it proved to be; for the Answer was such, that the Entertainment it had, was, *A Charge to see her Face no more:* Which Sentence was no sooner pronounced, but executed with *French* Haste. Out he must; and then he that had nothing but Amazement to reply with, had now a Cue to speak on, and beg the parting Blessing at least, till he could prevail for her Pardon. It will not be; out he must; and so full of Tears and Astonishment, to find out his Brother he goes, and they share the Sorrow, till Youth and Night parts them by Drowsiness.

But the Edict, that it may not seem scenical, or *in terrorem*, goes forth to all the Officers of the House, neither to provide nor lend any Necessary, ei-

ther to spend, or so much as to use. While the young Innocent slept soundly, and, upon the Advantage Sorrow had given, long in the Morning, dreaming but of one Task at most, stealing a Blessing of his Mother, either by Sister's or Brother's Intercession, or stealing at least a Means of begging it e'er she went to her Monastery, or himself to Church, a much longed-for (and often wrangled-for) Contentment: But instead of a Mother, he is admitted to no Converse on her Side, but of a Step-tutor, who again solicits; aggravates the Peril of his Mother's Anger, knowing indeed more than the little Duke did of it (as Causes can prophesy, and Counsellors know all that was already.) *Now was the Time, if ever, says Montagu. Get to her this very present Instant, (almost Sermon-time) she has easier Proposals for you; but I cannot name them now. The Duke answers, Then will I; wherever I go, I must have not a Quiet only for a while, but the Exercise of my Religion; neither her Proposals, and less yours, promise that.*

The Coach went now by with his Mother for the Nunnery; the Back-side whereof made him warm. Mr. Montagu need not aggravate the Sadness of the Spectacle, which as appeared afterwards, was more like the last remote View, than the Child could think of. He answered, *Such as it is, I may thank you for, Sir; and 'tis but Reason, what my Mother says to me I say to you. I pray be sure I see you no more, and so shewed his Back:* And to the last Question, *Whither are you going, good Sir?* The Duke answered (over the Shoulder) *To Church;* where he was indeed somewhat sadder than became the Cheerfulness of the rest of the Congregation; but e'er Night we all pardoned him, finding much of its Cause the Story which we knew not then, and besides that, a great deal of Augury which he could expressly then know; for after Sermon he had a (No Sunday) Thought lay on him to find a Dinner; to the Cook's he must send; neither Meat, Wine, Bread, Napkin, nor Diet to be had else, so heavy, so general the Proscription.

Yet after Evening Prayer, he hoped one Interval of Content, by his Mother's Absence to go see his Sister. The News of his Adventure frights her, poor Child, into Tears and Shrieks; and though the Visitant was by his Servant named a Gentleman only, yet she starts up, and cries out, *Oh God, my Brother! Oh me! my Mother! I am undone for ever! What shall I do?* Not one among her Attendants, old or young, could answer her but in Tears and Shrieks as impotent. The poor Duke attends. The Messenger dissembles their Postures till he was got farther off. E're long home was the Queen come, and how full by this time she was of his Reply to Mr. Montagu, a new Advance of the Sentence shews: A Groom comes up at Eight or Nine at Night, to know what he should do with the Duke's two Horses. The Comptroller was come with a Charge to put them out instantly. The Clown pleaded, *To-morrow would be Time enough; now 'twas too late.* With a great Oath or two, the young Comptroller replies, *Yes, and I shall be out of my Place e're Morning.*

The Resolutions on Monday, of the Duke, were to give Way to this Passion; and in order to it, since his verbal Pass was given him on Saturday Night, *Do what you please, only see not my Face;* he would not be so near his Mother

Mother (all the while he was providing Necessaries wanting for a *German Journey*) but retire to Mr. *Croft's* House a while, a little out of the Way, whence he might beg a Grant to be admitted to take Leave. The Queen hears of this also; checks *Crofts* for now seeming willing to receive him, whom she has often commanded to invite. The like Penalty almost lay on him if he lent him his House: He tells the Duke, and submits however to his Pleasure. The Duke thanks him; but would not displease her so much; and so resolves, after Dinner, when the Queen of *France* was to come (and it would be uncomely for him to be in the House, and not wait on her, as in his Mother's Lodgings he might not) to go over the Water and visit my Lord *H.* but even in that, there would be a Danger to the good Lord from *London*; yet considering there was great Odds between his and his Brother's Presence, he adventured, though the Deliberations made it somewhat over-late; but there grew on an Occasion, that the next Night he was to lie there also, for there was no longer staying in the Palace-Royal.

The Lord and his Lady cannot refuse (a double Exile, for his Father's and his own Religion, and for his own Crime, Loyalty) to admit such a Guest, while he can provide for his Voyage; for which 'twas presumed he could find but two Horses, and the Relics of his new-given 10*l.* for the monthly Privy-purse.

We were last Night in some Apprehensions too of Danger, by reason of the Situation of the House, alone in the utmost Fauxbourgs, from either the Zealots, Welwillers to the horribly and notoriously Disappointed, or from the Disrelish of the Courts that might happen: But all is well to Day, saving that his Abode there is not yet so known, but that divers of each *French* Religion think he removed from the Palace to the Jesuits College; all Things being there so confidently ready long ago, and the Desires of both Queens so concentrically tending to that Design, even since the peremptory Commands of his Brother from *Cologne* triplicated to him, and seconded with divers since.

December 5.

On *Monday* the Queen had not forgot her severe Threat and Interdict to the Duke; yet having taken all the Courses she could find in her own Sphere, had it seems engaged the Queen of *France* to try once more her Authority with him: But the Expectation of her coming to the Palace was diversely interpreted; some imagined it was to make the Duke's Peace; some that she might retract his Resolution by fresh Assaults; some to shew him how little he must look for the Favour of their Presence: But his Highness could not endure the Uncouthness of his Confinement to his Chamber, nor cared much to hazard the Sight of the Queen of *France*, he had been so fearfully assaulted of late.

But so it was, that so soon as she came she sent her Son the Duke of *Anjou* to visit him, who returned with News he was not at home. The Queen of *France* sent then his Governor to enquire where he was; and having heard, sent him immediately over to the Lord *H.* to labour to bend him to the Queen's Resolution for him, and the Jesuits College was vehemently pressed again.

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To the King's contrary Command, the Marquis, (Duke of *Anjou's* Governor) replied with the greatest Advantage of his own Parts, that it belonged to the Queen to dispose of her Son since his Father's Death entirely; he disputed, whether he was in his Brother's Power, only for being his Sovereign? And the Discourse growing now somewhat publicker, and the Lords joining in with the Duke, the Marquis had now his Match; and the debating that ill-favoured Nicety of Authority between Queen Mother, and Brother King, was so agitated by the *English*, that the *French* Gentleman, a Man of huge Parts indeed, was put out of Hopes of prevailing in his Errand. The Queen, in Confidence of her Envoy, expects he should bring her home entire News of the Change of the young Prince's Mind, and till almost Eight, she tarried for him there; but the Report of the Discourse did soon satisfy her no Alteration could be made in his Resolutions.

The next Day therefore a Report is raised, how uncivilly the Queen of *France's* Message was received with Affront, and the last Step of Alienation and Distance, between the Queen and her Son, came to the Height. The great Palace of Cardinal *Richlieu* is not big enough for these two great Hearts, extracted from *Henry* the IVth.

Since his Departure, all Things are better than we imagined, save that the Presumption they had of him heretofore is not yet worn away. It lasted to my Knowledge till *Thursday*, in so great a Strength of Tumour, that one of the *French* Ministers assured an *Englishman* that came to visit him, that the Duke was for certain in the Jesuits College. The Duke had made a Resolution, that would have confuted the very Relics of that Mistake, by an Intention to have come every Day to Prayers to us; but because that might perchance have aggravated the Heat, and looked like a fresh Affront, it was advised to be omitted.

We begin now, since I began Writing, to be assured the Passion begins to abate. The Queen, they say, has condescended to give him Leave to go with my Lord of *Ormond*, and it is hoped may admit him to beg her Blessing, which makes my Letter somewhat the shorter; and I presume you will be content to go to the Burying of past four Circumstances, as soon as may be, with the Vindication of the Duke's sincere and heroic Constancy.

The humble PETITION and ADVICE, presented unto his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR, by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aſſembled at the Parliament begun and held at *Westminster* the 17th Day of *September*, 1656, and there continued until the 26th Day of *June* following, and then adjourned unto the 20th of *January*, 1657. As alſo their humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice, preſented unto his Highneſs in the ſame Parliament; together with his Highneſs's Conſent unto the ſaid Petitions, when they were reſpectively preſented.

Printed in the Year 1657.

To his Highneſs the LORD PROTECTOR of the COMMONWEALTH of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereto belonging.

WE the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, taking into our moſt ſerious Conſideration the preſent State of theſe three Nations, joined and united under your Highneſs's Protection, cannot but in the firſt Place, with all Thankfulneſs, acknowledge the wonderful Mercy of Almighty God, in delivering us from that Tyranny and Bondage, both in our Spiritual and Civil Concernments, which the late King and his Party deſigned to bring us under, and purſued the effecting thereof by a long and bloody War; and alſo, that it hath pleaſed the ſame gracious God to preſerve your Perſon in many Battles, to make you an Inſtrument for preſerving our Peace, although environed with Enemies abroad, and filled with turbulent, reſtleſs and unquiet Spirits in our own Bowels, that as in the treading down the common Enemy, and reſtoring us to Peace and Tranquillity, the Lord hath uſed you ſo eminently, and the worthy Officers and Soldiers of the Army (whoſe Faithfulneſs to the common Cauſe, we and all good Men ſhall ever acknowledge, and put a juſt Value upon: So alſo, that he will uſe you and them in the ſettling and ſecuring our Liberties, as we are Men and Chriſtians, to us and our Poſterity after us, which are thoſe great and glorious Ends which the good People of theſe Nations have ſo freely, with the Hazard of their Lives and Eſtates, ſo long and earneſtly contended for: We conſider likewise the continual Danger which your Life is in, from the bloody Practices both of the malignant and diſcontented Party; (one whereof, through the Goodneſs of God, you have been lately delivered from) it being a received
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Principle amongst them, that no Order being settled in your Life-time for the Succession in the Government, nothing is wanting to bring us into Blood and Confusion, and them to their desired Ends, but the Destruction of your Person; and in case Things should thus remain at your Death, we are not able to express what Calamities would, in all human Probability, ensue thereupon, which we trust your Highness (as well as we) do hold yourself obliged to provide against, and not to leave a People, whose common Peace and Interest you are intrusted with, in such a Condition as may hazard both, especially in this Conjunction, when there seems to be an Opportunity of coming to a Settlement upon just and legal Foundations: Upon these Considerations we have judged it a Duty incumbent upon us, to present and declare these our most just and necessary Desires to your Highness.

I. That your Highness will be pleased, by and under the Name and Stile of *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*, to hold and exercise the Office of chief Magistrate of these Nations, and to govern according to this Petition and Advice in all Things therein contained, and in all other Things, according to the Laws of these Nations, and not otherwise; That your Highness will be pleased, during your Lifetime, to appoint and declare the Person who shall, immediately after your Death, succeed you in the Government of these Nations.

II. That your Highness will, for the future, be pleased to call Parliaments, consisting of two Houses (in such Manner and Way as shall be more particularly afterwards agreed and declared in this Petition and Advice) once in three Years at furthest, or oftener, as the Affairs of the Nation shall require, that being your Great Council, and in whose Affection and Advice, yourself and this People will be most safe and happy.

III. That the ancient and undoubted Liberties and Privileges of Parliament (which are the Birthright and Inheritance of the People, and wherein every Man is interested) be preserved and maintained; and that you will not break or interrupt the same, nor suffer them to be broken or interrupted; and particularly, that those Persons who are legally chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in Parliament, may not be excluded from sitting in Parliament to do their Duties, but by Judgment and Consent of that House whereof they are Members.

IV. That those who have advised, assisted or abetted the Rebellion of *Ireland*, and those who do or shall profess the Popish Religion, be disabled and made incapable for ever to be elected, or to give any Vote in the Election of any Member to sit or serve in Parliament: And that all and every Person and Persons, who have aided, abetted, advised or assisted in any War against the Parliament, since the First Day of *January*, One Thousand Six Hundred Forty-one (unless he or they have since borne Arms for the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of his or their good Affection to the Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same;) and all such as have been actually engaged in any Plot, Conspiracy, or Design, against the Person of your Highness, or in any Insurrection or Rebellion in *England* or

or *Wales*, since the sixteenth Day of *December*, One Thousand Six Hundred Fifty-three, shall be for ever disabled and made incapable to be elected, or give any Vote in the Election of any Member to sit or serve in Parliament. That for *Scotland*, none be capable to elect, or be elected to sit or serve in Parliament, who have been in Arms against the Parliament of *England*, or against the Parliament in *Scotland*, before the First Day of *April*, One Thousand Six Hundred Forty-eight, (except such as have since borne Arms in the Service of the Parliament of *England*, or your Highness, or given other signal Testimony of their good Affection) nor any that since the said First Day of *April*, One Thousand Six Hundred Forty-eight, have been in Arms, or otherwise aided, abetted, advised or assisted in any War against the Parliament of *England*, or your Highness, except such as since the First of *March*, One Thousand Six Hundred Fifty-one (Old Stile) have lived peaceably, and thereby given Testimony of their good Affection to the Parliament and your Highness.

Provided, that nothing in this Article contained, shall extend to put any Incapacity upon any *English* or *Scotch* Protestants in *Ireland*, either to elect or be elected to serve in Parliament, who before the First Day of *March*, One Thousand Six Hundred Forty-nine, have borne Arms for the Parliament or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same: That all Votes and Elections given or made contrary, or not according to the Qualifications aforesaid, shall be void and of none Effect: And that if any Person or Persons so incapable as aforesaid, shall give his or their Vote for Election of Members to serve in Parliament, all and every such Person or Persons so electing, shall lose and forfeit one Year's Value of his and their respective real Estates, and one full third Part of his and their respective personal Estates; the one Moiety thereof to your Highness and the other Moiety to him or them who shall sue for the same in any Court of Record by Action of Debt, Bill, Complaint, or Information, wherein no Essoign, Wager of Law, or Protection shall be allowed: And that the Persons who shall be elected to serve in Parliament, be such, and no other than such, as are Persons of known Integrity, fearing God, and of good Conversation, and being of the Age of Twenty-one Years, and not such as are disabled by the Act of the seventeenth Year of the late King, entitled, *An Act for disenabling all Persons in holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority, nor such as are public Ministers, or public Preachers of the Gospel*: Nor such as are guilty of any of the Offences mentioned in an Act of Parliament bearing Date the Ninth of *August*, One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty, entitled, *An Act against several Atheistical, Blasphemous, and Execrable Opinions, derogatory to the Honour of God, and destructive to human Society*; no common Scoffer, nor Reviler of Religion, or of any Person or Persons for professing thereof; no Person that hath married or shall marry a Wife of the Popish Religion, or hath trained, or shall train, up his Child or Children, or any other Child or Children under his Tuition or Government, in the Popish Religion, or that shall permit or suffer such Child or Children to be trained up in the said Religion, or that hath given or shall give his Consent that his

114 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Son or Daughter shall marry any of that Religion; no Person that shall deny the Scriptures to be the Word of God, or the Sacraments, Prayer, Magistracy and Ministry to be the Ordinances of God; no common Prophaner of the Lord's Day, nor prophane Swearer or Curser, no Drunkard or common Haunter of Taverns or Ale-houses. And that these Qualifications may be observed, and yet the Privilege of Parliament maintained, We desire that it may be by your Highness's Consent ordained, That Forty-one Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or any Fifteen or more of them, shall be authorized to examine and try, whether the Members to be elected for the House of Commons in future Parliaments be capable to sit, according to the Qualifications mentioned in this Petition and Advice: And in case they find them not qualified accordingly, then to suspend them from sitting until the House of Commons shall upon hearing of their particular Cases, admit them to sit; which Commissioners are to stand so authorized for that End until the House of Commons, in any future Parliament, shall nominate the like Number of other Commissioners in their Places; and those other Commissioners so to be nominated in any future Parliament, to have the same Powers and Authorities: That the said Commissioners shall certify in Writing to the House of Commons, on the first Day of their Meeting, the Causes and Grounds of their Suspensions of any Persons so to be elected as aforesaid: That the Accusation shall be upon the Oath of the Informer, or of some other Person: That a Copy of the Accusation shall be left by the Party accusing, in Writing under his Hand, with the Party accused, or in his Absence at his House in the County, City or Town for which he shall be chosen, if he have any such House, or if not, with the Sheriff of the County, if he be chosen for a County, or with the chief Magistrate of the City or Borough for which he is chosen: And that the Number of Persons to be elected and chosen to sit and serve in Parliament, for *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and the Distribution of the Persons so chosen within the Counties, Cities and Boroughs of them respectively, may be according to such Proportions as shall be agreed upon and declared in this present Parliament.

V. That your Highness will consent, That none be called to Sit and Vote in the other House, but such as are not disabled, but qualified according to the Qualifications mentioned in the former Article, being such as shall be nominated by your Highness, and approved by this House; and that they exceed not Seventy in Number, nor be under the Number of Forty (whereof the *Quorum* to be One and Twenty) who shall not give any Vote by Proxies; and that as any of them do die, or be legally removed, no new ones be admitted to Sit and Vote in their rooms, but by Consent of the House itself: That the other House do not proceed in any Civil Causes, except in Writs of Error, in Cases adjourned from Inferior Courts into the Parliament for Difficulty, in Cases of Petitions against Proceedings in Courts of Equity, and in Cases of the Privileges of their own House: That they do not proceed in any criminal Causes whatsoever, against any Person criminally, but upon an Impeachment of the Commons assembled in Parliament, and by their Consent: That they do not proceed in any Cause, either Civil or Criminal, but according

ing to the known Laws of the Land, and the due Course and Custom of Parliament: That no final Determinations or Judgments be by any Members of that House, in any Cause there depending, either Civil, Criminal or Mixed, as Commissioners or Delegates, to be nominated by that House; but all such final Determinations and Judgments to be by the House itself; any Law or Usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. That in all other Particulars which concern the Calling and Holding of Parliaments, your Highness will be pleased, That the Laws and Statutes of the Land be observed and kept; and that no Laws be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, or new Law made but by Act of Parliament.

VII. And to the End there may be a constant Revenue for Support of Government, and for the Safety and Defence of these Nations by Sea and Land, We declare our Willingness to settle forthwith a yearly Revenue of Thirteen Hundred Thousand Pounds, whereof Ten Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Navy and Army, and Three Hundred Thousand Pounds for the Support of the Government, and no Part thereof to be raised by a Land-Tax; and this not to be altered without the Consent of the Three Estates in Parliament; and to grant such other Temporary Supplies, according as the Commons assembled in Parliament shall from Time to Time adjudge the Necessities of these Nations to require: And do pray your Highness, That it be declared and enacted, That no Charge be laid, nor no Person be compelled to contribute to any Gift, Loan, Benevolence, Tax, Tallage, Aid, or other like Charge without common Consent by Act of Parliament, which is a Freedom the People of these Nations ought by the Laws to inherit.

VIII. That none may be added or admitted to the Privy-Council of your Highness, or Successors, but such as are of known Piety, and undoubted Affection to the Rights of these Nations, and a just Christian Liberty in Matters of Religion, nor without Consent of the Council to be afterwards approved by both Houses of Parliament, and shall not afterwards be removed but by Consent of Parliament, but may in the Intervals of Parliament be suspended from the Exercise of his Place by your Highness, or your Successors, and the Council, for just Cause; and that the Number of the Council shall not be above One and Twenty, whereof the *Quorum* to be Seven, and not under: As also, that after your Highness's Death, the Commander in Chief, under your Successors, of such Army or Armies as shall be necessary to be kept in *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, as also all such Field-Officers at Land, or Generals at Sea, which after that Time shall be newly made and constituted by your Successors, be by Consent of the Council, and not otherwise: And that the standing Forces of this Commonwealth shall be disposed of by the chief Magistrate, by Consent of both Houses of Parliament, sitting the Parliament; and in the Intervals of Parliament, by the chief Magistrate, by the Advice of the Council: And also, that your Highness and Successors will be pleased to exercise your Government over these Nations by the Advice of your Council.

IX. And that the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners of the Great Seal of *England*, the Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury there, the Admiral, the chief Governor of *Ireland*, the Chancellor, Keeper or Commissioners

of the Great Seal of *Ireland*, the chief Justices of both the Benches, and the Chief Baron in *England* and *Ireland*, the Commander in Chief of the Forces in *Scotland*, and such Officers of the State there, as by Act of Parliament in *Scotland*, are to be approved by Parliament, and the Judges in *Scotland* hereafter to be made, shall be approved of by both Houses of Parliament.

X. And whereas your Highness, out of your Zeal to the Glory of God, and the Propagation of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, hath been pleased to encourage a Godly Ministry in these Nations, We earnestly desire, that such as do openly revile them or their Assemblies, or disturb them in the Worship or Service of God, to the Dishonour of God, Scandal of good Men, or Breach of the Peace, may be punished according to Law; and where the Laws are defective, that your Highness will give Consent to such Laws as shall be made in that behalf.

XI. That the true Protestant Christian Religion, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and no other, be held forth and asserted for the public Profession of these Nations; and that a Confession of Faith, to be agreed by your Highness and the Parliament, according to the Rule and Warrant of the Scriptures, be asserted, held forth, and recommended to the People of these Nations, that none may be suffered or permitted by opprobrious Words or Writing, maliciously or contemptuously to revile or reproach the Confession of Faith to be agreed upon as aforesaid: And such who profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ his Eternal Son, the true God, and in the holy Spirit, God co-equal with the Father and the Son, one God blessed for ever; and do acknowledge the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the revealed Will and Word of God, and shall in other Things differ in Doctrine, Worship, or Discipline, from the public Profession held forth; Endeavours shall be used to convince them by sound Doctrine, and the Example of a good Conversation: But that they may not be compelled thereto by Penalties, nor restrained from their Profession, but protected from all Injury and Molestation in the Profession of the Faith, and Exercise of their Religion, whilst they abuse not this Liberty to the Civil Injury of others, or the Disturbance of the public Peace; so that this Liberty be not extended to Popery or Prelacy, or to the countenancing such who publish horrible Blasphemies, or practise or hold forth Licentiousness or Prophaneness under the Profession of Christ: And that those Ministers or public Preachers, who shall agree with the public Profession aforesaid, in Matters of Faith, although in their Judgment and Practice they differ in Matters of Worship and Discipline, shall not only have Protection in the Way of their Churches and Worship respectively, but be esteemed fit and capable, notwithstanding such Difference (being otherwise duly qualified and duly approved) of any Trust, Promotion, or Employment whatsoever in these Nations, that any Ministers who agree in Doctrine, Worship and Discipline with the public Profession aforesaid are capable of: And all others who agree with the public Profession in Matters of Faith, although they differ in Matters of Worship and Discipline as aforesaid, shall not only have Protection as aforesaid, but be esteemed fit and capable (notwithstanding such Difference, being otherwise duly qualified) of any Civil Trust,

Trust, Employment, or Promotion in these Nations: But for such Persons who agree not in Matters of Faith with the public Profession aforesaid, they shall not be capable of receiving the public Maintenance appointed for the Ministry. Provided, That this Clause shall not be construed to extend to enable such Ministers or public Preachers, or Pastors of Congregations; but that they be disenabled, and they are hereby disenabled to hold any civil Employment, which those in Orders were or are disenabled to hold, by an Act, intituled, *An Act for disenabling all Persons in holy Orders, to exercise any Temporal Jurisdiction or Authority.* And that your Highness will give your Consent, That all Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Clauses in any Law, Statute and Ordinance, so far as they are contrary to the aforesaid Liberty, be repealed.

XII. That all Acts and Ordinances of Parliament made for the abolishing of Archbishops and Bishops, and for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, and other Offices and Titles of, or belonging to, any Cathedral, or Collegiate Church or Chapel; and for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments, unto any or either of them belonging; or for the Sale or other Disposition of the Lands, Rents, and Hereditaments of the late King, Queen, or Prince; or of the Lands of Delinquents, Fee-farm, or other Rents, Forest Lands, or any of them; or any other Lands, Tenements, Rents, or Hereditaments, lately belonging to the Commonwealth, shall no way be impeached, but that they do remain good and firm: And that the Security given by Act and Ordinance of Parliament, for any Sum or Sums of Monies, by any of the said Lands, the Excise, or by any other public Revenue; and also the Securities given by the public Faith of the Nation, and the Engagement of the public Faith for Satisfaction of Debts, may remain firm and good, and not be made void by any Pretence whatsoever.

XIII. That all and every Person and Persons, who have aided, abetted, advised or assisted in any War against the Parliament, since the First Day of *January*, 1641 (unless he or they have since borne Arms for the Parliament, or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of his or their good Affection to the Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same) and all such as have been actually engaged in any Plot, Conspiracy, or Design, against the Person of your Highness, or any Insurrection or Rebellion in *England* or *Wales*, since the Sixteenth of *December*, 1653: And for *Scotland*, that all and every Person and Persons, who have been in Arms against the Parliament of *England*, or against the Parliament in *Scotland*, before the First Day of *April*, 1648 (except such as have since borne Arms in the Service of the Parliament of *England*, or your Highness, or given other signal Testimony of their good Affection) and every Person or Persons, that since the said First Day of *April*, 1648, have been in Arms, or otherwise aided, abetted, advised, or assisted in any War against the Parliament of *England*, or your Highness, (except such Persons who having been in Arms, or otherwise abetted, advised, or assisted in any War against the Parliament of *England*, or your Highness, since the First Day of *April*, 1648, and were not in Arms against the Parliament of *England*, or against the Parliament of *Scotland*, before the First Day of

118 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

of *April*, 1648, and have since the First Day of *March*, 1651, (Old Stile) lived peaceably, and thereby given Testimony of their good Affection to the Parliament, and your Highness) be made incapable for ever, of holding or enjoying of any Office or Place of public Trust in these three Nations, or any of them.

Provided, that nothing in this Article contained, shall extend to put any Incapacity in this Article mentioned, upon any *English* or *Scotish* Protestants in *Ireland*, who, before the First Day of *March*, 1649, have borne Arms for the Parliament, or your Highness, or otherwise given signal Testimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and continued faithful to the same.

XIV. And that your Highness will be pleased to consent, that nothing in this Petition and Advice contained, nor your Highness's Assent thereto, shall be construed to extend to the dissolving of this present Parliament; but that the same shall continue and remain, until such Time as your Highness shall think fit to dissolve the same.

XV. And that nothing contained in this Petition and Advice, nor your Highness's Consent thereunto, shall be construed to extend to the repealing or making void of any Act or Ordinance which is not contrary hereunto, or to the Matters herein contained; but that the said Acts and Ordinances not contrary hereunto, shall continue and remain in Force, in such manner as if this present Petition and Advice had not at all been had or made, or your Highness's Consent thereunto given.

XVI. And that all Writs issued out of the *Chancery*, and all Writs and Patents of the Justices of the one Bench, and of the other, Barons of the *Exchequer*, Commissioners of Oyer and Terminer, Goal Delivery, and Justices of the Peace, and all other Commissions, Patents, and Grants, made and passed under the Great Seal of *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, shall stand good and effectual in the Law, notwithstanding this Petition and Advice, or your Highness's Assent thereunto, or any Law, Statute, or Custom to the contrary; and that all Writs, and all Commissions, Indictments, Informations, Process, Actions, Suits, Bills, or Plaints, taken out, or now depending in any Court of Record at *Westminster*, or any other Court of Record in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, or in the Town of *Berwick* upon *Tweed*; and all Process, Pleas, Demurrers, Continuances, and Proceedings, in every such Writs, Indictments, Informations, Actions, Suits, Bills, and Plaints, shall be returnable, stand good and effectual, and be prosecuted and sued forth, in such Manner and Form, and in the same State, Condition and Order, the Stile and Test of Proceedings, after passing of these Presents, being made conformable thereunto, this present Petition and Advice, or your Highness's Assent thereunto, or any Law, Custom or Usage to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding: And that any Variance that shall be occasioned by reason thereof, touching any the said Writs, Process, or Proceedings, in the Name, Stile, Test, or otherwise, shall not be in any wise material as concerning any Default or Error to be alledged or objected thereunto.

XVII.

XVII. And that your Highness and your Successors, will be pleased to take an Oath, in such Form as shall be agreed upon by your Highness and this present Parliament, to govern these Nations according to the Law.

And in case your Highness shall not be satisfied to give your Consent to all the Matters and Things in this humble Petition and Advice, that then nothing in the same be deemed of Force, to oblige the People of these Nations in any the Particulars therein contained.

And these our Desires being granted by your Highness, we shall hope (through the rich Mercy and Goodness of God) that it will prove some Remedy to those Dangers, Distractions and Distempers which these Nations are now in, and be an effectual Means to remove those Jealousies and Fears which remain in the Minds of many Men concerning the Government of this Commonwealth; and thereby we shall be enabled and encouraged with all Cheerfulness, to the Settling of such Things which shall be further necessary for the Good of these Nations, and be most ready to join with you in promoting the Work of Reformation, happily begun by your Highness, the regulating Courts of Justice, and abridging both the Delays and Charges of Law Suits, and apply ourselves to such other Courses and Counsels as may be most like to heal our Breaches and Divisions, and to restore these poor Nations to a Union and Consistency with themselves, and to lay a Foundation of further Confidence between your Highness and them, to the Rejoicing of the Hearts of our Friends, and Terror of our Enemies.

Which Petition being presented the 25th Day of May, 1657, his Highness's Answer thereunto was read by the Clerk of the Parliament in these Words,

The LORD PROTECTOR doth consent.

To his Highness the LORD PROTECTOR of the COMMONWEALTH of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging:

The humble additional and explanatory Petition and Advice of the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses, now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth.

W Hereas upon the humble Petition and Advice of the said Knights, Citizens, and Burgeses now assembled in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, lately presented and consented unto by your Highness, certain Doubts and Questions have arisen, concerning some Particulars therein comprised; for Explanation whereof, may it please your Highness to declare and consent unto the Additions and Explanations hereafter mentioned, and may it be declared with your Highness's Consent,

In the Fourth Article.

That such Person and Persons as invaded England, under Duke Hamilton, in the Year 1648, or advised, consented, assisted, or voluntarily contributed unto that

that War, and were for that Cause debarred from public Trust by the Parliament of *Scotland*, be incapable to elect, or be elected, to sit and serve as Members of Parliament, or in any other Place of public Trust, relating unto the fourth and thirteenth Articles in the Petition and Advice, excepting such as since have borne Arms for your Highness, or the Parliament, or have been admitted to sit and serve in the Parliament of this Commonwealth, and are of good Life and Conversation, or such as shall hereafter be declared by your Highness, with the Advice of your Council, to have given some signal Testimony of their good Affection and Continuance in the same.

That the Proviso in the said fourth Article be explained thus, *viz.* That such *English* and *Scotish* Protestants, (who since the Defection of the Earl of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Inchiquin*, and before the first Day of *March*, 1649,) have borne Arms for, and ever since continued faithful to, the Parliament, or your Highness, or have otherwise (before the said first Day of *March*, 1649,) given signal Testimony of their good Affection to this Commonwealth, and have ever since continued faithful to the same, shall not be debarred or deemed incapable of electing, or being elected to serve in Parliament.

And whereas in the said fourth Article, public Ministers, or public Preachers of the Gospel, are disabled to be elected to serve in Parliament; it is hereby explained and declared to extend to such Ministers and Preachers only as have Maintenance for Preaching, or are Pastors or Teachers of Congregations.

In the said fourth Article,

That instead of Commissioners to be appointed by Act of Parliament to examine and try, whether the Members to be elected for the House of Commons, in future Parliaments, be capable to sit according to the Qualifications mentioned in the said Petition and Advice, there shall be the Penalty and Fine of One Thousand Pounds laid and inflicted upon every such unqualified Member (being so adjudged) by the said House of Commons, and Imprisonment of his Person until Payment thereof.

And that the ensuing Clauses in the said Article, *viz.* *We desire that it may, by your Highness's Consent, be ordained, That Forty and One Commissioners be appointed by Act of Parliament, who, or five, or more of them, shall be authorised to examine and try, whether the Members to be elected for the House of Commons, in future Parliaments, be capable to sit, according to the Qualifications mentioned in this Petition and Advice; and in case they find them not qualified accordingly, then to suspend them from sitting, until the House of Commons shall, upon hearing their particular Cases, admit them to sit; which Commissioners are to stand so authorised for that End, until the House of Commons, in any future Parliament, shall nominate the like Number of other Commissioners in their Places: And those other Commissioners, so to be nominated in any future Parliament, to have the same Power and Authority: That the said Commissioners shall certify in Writing to the House of Commons, on the first Day of their Meeting, the Cause and Grounds of their Suspensions of any Person so to be elected as aforesaid: That the Accusation shall be upon Oath of the Informant, or some other Person: That a*

Copy

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 121

Copy of the Accusation shall be left, by the Party accusing, in Writing under his Hand, with the Party accused, or in his Absence, at his House in the Country, City, or Town, for which he shall be chosen, if he have any such House, or if not, with the Sheriff of the County, if he be chosen for a County, or with the chief Magistrate of the City or Borough for which he is chosen, shall not be put in Execution, or made use of, but shall be void, frustrate, null and of none Effect, and shall be so construed and taken to all Intents and Purposes whatsoever, any Thing contained in the said Petition and Advice to the contrary notwithstanding.

In the fifth Article.

That the Nomination of the Persons to supply the Place of such Members of the other House as shall die, or be removed, shall be by your Highness and your Successors.

In the seventh Article.

That the Monies directed to be for the Supply of the Sea and Land Forces, be issued by Advice of the Council; and that the Treasurer or Commissioners of the Treasury, shall give an Account of all the said Money to every Parliament.

That the Officers of State and Judges, in the ninth Article of the said Petition and Advice mentioned, shall be chosen, in the Intervals of Parliament, by the Consent of the Council, to be afterwards approved by the Parliament.

That your Highness will be pleased, according to the Usage of former chief Magistrates in these Nations, and for the better Satisfaction of the People thereof, to take an Oath in the Form ensuing:

I DO, in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to the uttermost of my Power and Understanding, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same; and that to the utmost of my Power, I will endeavour, as chief Magistrate of these Three Nations, the Maintenance and Preservation of the Peace and Safety, and of the just Rights and Privileges of the People thereof; and shall in all Things, according to my best Knowledge and Power, govern the People of these Nations according to Law.

That your Highness's Successors do, before they take upon them the Government of these Nations, take an Oath in the Form aforesaid.

That all such Persons who now are, or shall hereafter be of the Privy-Council of your Highness or Successors, before they, or either of them do act as Counsellors, shall respectively take an Oath, before Persons to be authorised by your Highness and Successors for that Purpose, in the Form following:

I A. B. do in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian Religion in the Purity thereof, as

122 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same: And that I will be true and faithful to his Highness the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, as chief Magistrate thereof, and shall not contrive, design, or attempt any Thing against the Person or lawful Authority of his said Highness, and shall keep secret all Matters that shall be treated of in Council, and put under Secrecy, and not reveal them but by Command or Consent of his Highness, the Parliament, or the Council, and shall in all Things faithfully perform the Trust committed to me as a Counsellor, according to the best of my Understanding, in order to the good Government, Peace and Welfare of these Nations.

That the same Oath be taken by the Members of your Highness's Council of Scotland and Ireland.

That every Person who now is, or hereafter shall be a Member of either House of Parliament, before he sit in Parliament, shall, from and after the first Day of July, 1657, take an Oath before Persons to be authorised and appointed by your Highness and Successors for that Purpose, in the Form following:

I A. B. do, in the Presence, and by the Name of God Almighty, promise and swear, That to the uttermost of my Power, in my Place, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed Protestant Christian Religion, in the Purity thereof, as it is contained in the holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the Profession and Professors of the same, and that I will be true and faithful to the Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging, as chief Magistrate thereof, and shall not contrive, design, or attempt any Thing against the Person or lawful Authority of the Lord Protector, and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a Member of Parliament, the Preservation of the Rights and Liberties of the People.

That your Highness would be pleased, in convenient Time, before the next Meeting of this Parliament, to cause several Summons, in due Form of Law, to be issued forth to such Persons as your Highness shall think fit (being qualified according to the humble Petition and Advice of the Parliament, whereto your Highness hath consented) to sit and serve as Members in the other House of Parliament; by which Summons the said Persons shall be respectively commanded to be, and personally to appear at a certain Place and Time, to be appointed by your Highness, to give their Advice and Assistance, and to do such Things concerning the great and weighty Affairs of this Commonwealth, as to the other House of Parliament doth appertain by the said humble Petition and Advice.

That the Persons so summoned and assembled together, shall be, and are hereby declared to be the other House of Parliament; and shall, and may without farther Approbation of this House, from such Time of their Meeting, proceed, to do and perform all such Matters and Things as the other House of Parliament

Parliament ought to do and perform, and shall and may have, and exercise, all such Privileges, Powers and Authorities, as the other House of Parliament ought, by the aforesaid humble Petition and Advice to have and exercise, the said humble Petition and Advice, or any Thing therein contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Which Petition being presented the 26th Day of June 1657, his Highness's Answer thereunto was read by the Clerk of the Parliament in these Words,

The LORD PROTECTOR doth consent.

A Time-Serving SPEECH, spoken once in Season,

By a Worthy Member of Parliament,

And now thought fit to be re-printed, to prevent the Occasion of having it re-spoken.

Printed in the Year 1680.

Mr. SPEAKER,

THIS Day's Debate is but too clear a Proof that we *Englishmen* are right Islanders, variable and mutable like the Air we live in. For (Sir) if that were not our Temper, we should not be now disputing, whether after all those Hazards we have run, that Blood we have spilt, that Treasure we have exhausted; we should not now sit down just where we did begin, and of our own Accords submit ourselves to that Slavery, which we have not only ventured our Estates and Lives, but I wish I could not say, our Souls and Consciences, to throw off. What others (Sir, think of this Levity, I cannot tell, I mean those that steer their Consciences by Occasions, and cannot lose the Honour they never had: But truly (Sir) for my own Part, I dare as little not declare it to be my Opinion, as others more prudential dare avow it to be theirs, that we are this Day making good all the Reproaches of our Enemies, owning of ourselves Oppressors, Murderers, Regicides, Subverters of that which now we do not only acknowledge to have been a lawful Government, but by recalling it, confess it now to be the best; which (Sir) if it be true, and that we now begin to see aright, I heartily wish our Eyes had been sooner open, and for three Nations Sake, that we had purchased our Conviction at a cheaper Rate. We might (Sir) in forty-two, have been what we thus contend to be in fifty-nine, and our Consciences have had much less to answer for to God, and our Reputations to the World.

But, Mr. Speaker, I wish, with all my Soul, I did state our Case to you amiss, and that it were the Question only, whether we would voluntarily relapse into the Disease we were formerly possessed with, and of our own Ac-

cords take up our old Yoke, that we with Wearing and Custom had made habitual and easy, and which (it may be) 'twas more our Wantonness than our Pressure, that made us throw it off. But this (Sir) is not now the Question: That which we deliberate, is not, whether we will say we do not care to be free, we like our old Masters, and will now be content to have our Ears bored at the Door Posts of their House, and so serve them for ever; but (Sir) as if we were contending for Shame as well as Servitude, we are carrying our *Ears to be bored* at the Doors of *another House*; a House (Sir) without Name, and therefore it is but congruous it should consist of Members without Family; a House that inverts the Order of Slavery, and subjects it to our Servants; and yet, in Contradiction to Scripture, we do not only not think that Subjection intolerable, but are now pleading for it. In a Word, Sir, it is a House of so incongruous and odious a Composition and Mixture, that certainly the grand Architect would never have so framed it, had it not been his Design as well to shew to the World *the Contempt he had of us*, as to demonstrate *the Power he had over us*.

Sir, that it may appear, that I intend not to be so prudent, (as far as my Part is concerned) as to make a voluntary Resignation of my Liberty and Honour to this excellent Part of his late Highness's last Will and Testament, I shall crave, Sir, the leave to declare, in a few Particulars, my Opinion of this Other House; wherein I cannot but promise myself to be favourably heard by some, but patiently heard by all: For those *Englishmen* that are against this House, will certainly, with Content, hear the Reasons why others are so too; those Courtiers that are for it, give me Evidence enough to think that in Nature there is nothing which they cannot willingly endure.

First, Sir, as to the Author and Frammer of this House of Peers, let me put you in Mind, it was he, that with reiterated Oaths, had often sworn *to be true and faithful to the Government without it*; and not only sworn so himself, but had been the chief Instrument both to draw and compel others to swear so too. So, Sir, that the Foundation of this noble Fabric was laid in Perjury, and was begun with the Violation and Contempt, as well of the Laws of God as of the Nation. He, Sir, that called Monarchy *Antichristian* in another, and indeed made it so in himself. He that voted a House of Lords *dangerous and unnecessary*, and truly made it so in his Partisans: He that with Fraud and Force deprived you of your Liberty when he was living, and entailed Slavery upon you at his Death; 'tis he, Sir, that hath left you these worthy Overseers of that his last Will and Testament; who, however they have behaved themselves in other Trusts, we may be confident they will endeavour faithfully to discharge themselves in this. In a Word, Sir, had this other House no other Fault but its Institution and Author, I should think that original Sin enough for its Condemnation: For I am of their Opinion that think, that for the Good of Example, all Acts and Monuments of Tyrants are to be expunged and erased, that, if possible, their Memory might be no longer lived than their Carcasses. And the Truth is, their good Laws are of the Number of their Snares, and but base Brokage for our Liberty.

But,

But, Sir, to impute to this other House no other Faults but its own, you may please, in the first Place, to consider of the Power which his Highness hath left it, according to that *bumble Petition and Advice*, which he was pleased to give Order to the Parliament to present unto him. For, Sir, as the *Romans* had Kings, so had his Highness Parliaments amongst his Instruments of Slavery; and I hope, Sir, it will be no Offence for me to pray that his Son may not have them so too. But, Sir, they have a *Negative Voice*, and all other Circumstances of that arbitrary Power, which made the former House intolerable; only the Dignity and Quality of the Persons themselves is wanting, that our Slavery may be accompanied with Ignominy and Affront. And now, Mr. Speaker, have we not gloriously vindicated the Nation's Liberty? have we not worthily employed our Blood and Treasure to abolish that Power that was set over us by the Law, to have the same imposed upon us without a Law? And after all that Sound and Noise we have made in the World, of the People's legislative Power, and of the Supremacy and Omnipotency of their Representatives, we now see there is no more Power left them, but what is put in the Ballance, and equalled by the Power of a few Retainers of Tyranny, who are so far from being of the People's Choice, that the most Part of them are only known to the Nation by the Villainies and Mischiefs they have committed in it.

In the next Place, Sir, you may please to consider that the Persons invested with this Power, are all of them nominated and designed by the Lord Protector (for to say, *by him and his Council*, hath, in effect no more Distinction, than if one should say, *by Oliver and Cromwell*.) By this Means the Protector himself, by his own and his Peers Negative, becomes, in effect, two of three Estates; and by Consequence, is possessed of two Parts of the legislative Power. I think this can be a Doubt to no Man, that will but take the Pains to read over that fair Catalogue of those noble Lords; for certainly no Man that reads their Names, can possibly fancy for what other Virtues or good Qualities such a Composition should be made Choice of, but only the Certainty of their Compliance with whatsoever should be enjoined them by their *Creator*. (Pardon, Sir, that Name, for 'tis properly applicable, where Things are made of nothing.) Now, Sir, if in the former Government, Increase of the Nobility was a Grievance, because the new Nobility having fresh Obligations to the Crown, were the easilier led to Compliance with it; and if one of the main Reasons for Exclusion of the Bishops out of the House of Lords was, because that they being of the King's making, were, in effect, so many certain Votes for whatever the King had a-mind to carry in that House, how much more assured will that Inconvenience now be, when the Protector, that wants nothing of the King, but, in every Sense, the Title, shall not only make and nominate a Part, but of himself constitute the whole House? In a word, Sir, if our Liberty was endangered by the former House, we may give it lost in the other House; and it is, in all Respects, as advantageous and secure for the Liberty of the Nation, which we come hither to redeem, to allow this Power and Notion to his Highness's Officers, or Council, nay, his very Chaplains, as to his other Creatures and Partisans in his Other House.

Now

Now, having considered, Sir, their Author, Power and Constitution, give me leave to make some few Observations, though but in general, of the Persons themselves that are designed to be our Lords and Masters, and let us see what either the extraordinary Quality or Qualifications are of these egregious Legislators, which may justify their Choice, and prevail with the People to admit them, at least, into equal Authority with the whole Representative Body of themselves. But what I shall speak, Sir, of their Quality, or any Thing else concerning them, I would be thought to speak with Distinction, and to intend only of the major Part. For I acknowledge, Mr. Speaker, the Mixture of this other House to be like the Compositions of Apothecaries, who are used to mix something of Relish, something grateful to the Taste, to qualify their bitter Drugs, which else, perchance, would be immediately spit out, and never swallowed. So, Sir, his Highness, of deplorable Memory to this Nation, to countenance as well the want of Quality as Honesty in the rest, hath nominated some, against whom there lies no other Reproach, but only that Nomination; but not, Sir, out of any Respect to their Qualities, or Regard to their Virtues, but with Regard to the No Quality, to the No Virtues of the rest; which truly, Mr. Speaker, if he had not done, we could easily have given a more express Name to his other House than he hath been pleased to do. For we know a House designed only for Beggars and Malefactors, is a *House of Correction*, and termed so by your Law. But, Mr. Speaker, setting those few Persons aside, who, I hope, think the Nomination a Disgrace, and the ever coming to sit there a much greater; can we, without Indignation, think on the rest? He that's first in their Roll, a condemned Coward, one that out of Fear and Baseness did once what he could to betray your Liberties, and does now the same for Gain: The second, a Person of as little Sense as Honesty, preferred for no other Reason but his No Worth, his No Conscience; except that his cheating his Father of all he had, was thought a Virtue by him, who, by sad Experience, we find hath done as much for his Mother, his Country: The third, a Cavalier, a Presbyterian, an Independent; for a Republic, for a Protector, for every thing, for nothing, but only that one thing, *Money*. 'Twere endless to run through them all, to tell you, Sir, of their Lordships of seventeen Pound Land a Year of Inheritance; of their Farmer Lordships, Draymen Lordships, Cobler Lordships, without one Foot of Land, but what the Blood of *Englishmen* hath been the Price of; these, Sir, are to be our Rulers, these the Judges of our Lives and Fortunes; to these we are to stand bare, whilst their pageant Stage Lordships deign to give us a Conference upon their Breeches. Mr. Speaker, we have already had too much Experience, how insupportable Servants are, when they become our Masters: All Kind of Slavery is miserable in the Account of all generous Minds; but that which comes accompanied with Scorn and Contempt, stirs every Man's Indignation, and is indured by none, whom Nature does not intend for Slaves, as well as Fortune.

I say not this, Mr. Speaker, to revile any Man with his Meanness; for I never thought either the Malignity or Indulgence of Fortune to be (with wise or just Men) the Grounds either of their ill or their good Opinion. Mr. Speaker,

Speaker, I blame not in these Men the Faults of their Fortune any otherwise, but as they make them their own. I object to you their Poverty, because it is accompanied with Ambition; I mind you of their Quality, because they themselves forget it; so that 'tis not the Men I am angry with, but with their Lordships; not with Mr. *Barkstead*, or Mr. *Goaler* (Titles I could well allow him) but with *The Right Honourable, our singular and good Lord Goaler*. 'Tis this Incongruity, Mr. Speaker, I am displeased with.

So, Sir, that though we easily grant Poverty and Necessity to be no Faults, yet we must allow them to be great Impediments in the way of Honour, and such as nothing but extraordinary Virtue and Merit can well remove. The Scripture reckons it among *Jeroboam's* great Faults, that *he made Priests of the meanest of the People*; and sure it was none of the Virtues of our *Jeroboam* (who hath set up his Calves too, and would have our Tribes come up and worship them) that he observed the same Method in making of Lords.

One of the few Requests the *Portugals* made to *Philip* the Second of *Spain*, when he got that Kingdom (as his late Highness did this) by an Army, was, *That he would not make Nobility contemptible, by advancing such to that Degree, whose Quality or Virtue could be no way thought to deserve it*. Nor have we formerly been less apprehensive of such Inconveniencies ourselves. It was in *Richard* the First's Time, one of the Bishop of *Ely's* Accusations, that Castles and Forts of Trust he did *obscuris & ignotis hominibus tradere*, put in the Hands of obscure and unknown Men; but we, Mr. Speaker, to such a Kind of Men are delivering up the Power of our Laws, and in that the Power of all.

In the 17th of *Edward IV.* there passed an Act of Parliament for the degrading of *John Nevil*, Marquis *Montagu* and Duke of *Bedford*. The Reason expressed in the Act, *Because he had not a Revenue sufficient for the Maintaining of that Dignity*; to which was added, *That when Men of mean Birth are called to high Estate, and have no Livelihood to support it, it induceth Briberies, Extortions, and all Kinds of Injustices that are followed by Gain*. And in the Parliament of 2 *Carol.* the Peers, in a Petition against *Scotish* and *Irish* Titles, told the King, *That 'tis a Novelty without Precedent, that Men should possess Honours where they possess nothing else; and that they should have a Vote in Parliament, where they have not a Foot of Land*. But if it had been added, Sir, *Or have no Land but what is the Purchase of their Villanies*, against how many of our new Peers had this been an important Objection? To conclude, Sir, it hath been a very just and reasonable Care, amongst all Nations, not to render that despised and contemptible to the People, which is designed for their Reverence and their Awe: Which, Sir, bare and empty Title, without Quality or Virtue, never procured any Man any more than the Image in the Fable made the *As's* adored that carried it.

After their Quality, give me Leave, Sir, to speak a Word or two of their Qualifications; which certainly ought in Reason to carry some Proportion with the Employments they design themselves. The House of Lords, Sir, are our Kings hereditary great Councils; they are the highest Court of Judicature; they have their Part in judging and determining of the Reasons of making new Laws, and of abrogating old: From amongst them we take
our

our great Officers of State ; they are commonly our Generals at Land, and our Admirals at Sea. In Conclusion, Sir, they are both of the Effence and Constitution of our old Government ; and have besides the greatest and noblest Share in the Administration. Now, certainly, Sir, to judge according to the Dictates of Reason, one would imagine some small Faculties and Endowments to be necessary for the Discharging of such a Calling ; and those such as are not usually acquired in Shops and Warehouses, nor found by following the Plough : Now, what other Academies most of their Lordships have been bred in but their Shops ? what other Arts they have been versed in, but those which more require good Arms and good Shoulders, than good Heads, I think, Mr. Speaker, we are yet to be informed ? Sir, we commit not the Education of our Children to ignorant and illiterate Masters ; nay, we trust not our very Horses to unskilful Grooms. I beseech you, Sir, let us think it belongs to us to have some Care into whose Hands we commit the Management of the Commonwealth ; and if we cannot have Persons of Birth and Fortune to be our Rulers, to whose Quality we would willingly submit, I beseech you, Sir, for our Credit's and Safety's Sake, let us seek Men (at least) of Parts and Education, to whose Abilities we may have some Reason to give way. If, Sir, a Patient dies under a Physician's Hand, the Law esteems that not a Felony, but a Misfortune in the Physician ; but if one that is no Physician undertakes the Management of a Cure, and the Party miscarries, the Law makes the Empiric a Felon, and sure, in all Men's Opinion, the Patient a Fool. To conclude, Sir, for great Men to govern, 'tis ordinary ; for able Men, 'tis natural : Knaves many times come to it by Force and Necessity, and Fools sometimes by Chance ; but universal Choice and Election of Fools and Knaves for Government, was never yet made by any who were not themselves like those they chose.

But methinks, Mr. Speaker, I see, ready to rise after me, some Gentlemen that shall tell you the great Services that their new Lordships have done the Commonwealth ; that shall extol their Valour, their Godliness, their Fidelity to the Cause ; the Scripture too (no doubt) as 'tis to all Purposes, shall be brought in to argue for them ; and we shall hear of the *Wisdom of the poor Man that saved the City*, of the *not many wise, not many mighty* ; Attributes I can no way deny to be due to their Lordships. Mr. Speaker, I shall be as forward as any Man to declare their Services, and acknowledge them ; though I might tell you, that the same Honour is not purchased by the Blood of an Enemy, and of a Citizen : That for Victories in Civil Wars, till our Armies march through the City, I have not read that the Conquerors have been so void of Shame as to triumph. *Cæsar*, not much more indulgent to his Country, than our late Protector, did not so much as write public Letters of his Victory at *Pharsalia*, much less had Days of Thanksgiving to his Gods, and anniversary Feasts for being a prosperous Rebel, and given Justice, and his Country the worst.

But, Sir, I leave this Argument, and to be as good as my Word, come to put you in mind of some of their Services, and the Obligation you owe them for the same. To speak nothing, Sir, of one of my Lords Commissioners
Valour

Valour at *Bristol*, nor of another noble Lord's brave Adventure at the *Bear-Garden*; I must tell you, Sir, that most of them have had the Courage to do Things, which (I may boldly say) few other Christians durst have so adventured their Souls to have attempted: They have not only subdued their Enemies, but their Masters that raised and maintained them; they have not only conquered *Scotland* and *Ireland*, but rebellious *England* too, and there suppressed a malignant Party of Magistrates and Laws: And that nothing should be wanting to make them indeed compleat Conquerors (without the Help of Philosophy) they have even conquered themselves. All Shame they have subdued, as perfectly as all Justice. The Oaths they have taken, they have as easily digested, as their old General could himself: Public Covenants and Engagements they have trampled under Foot. In Conclusion, so entire a Victory they have over themselves, that their Consciences are as much their Servants as, Mr. Speaker, we are.

But, Sir, give me Leave to conclude with that which is more admirable than all this, and shews the Confidence they have of themselves and us: After having many Times trampled on the Authority of the House of Commons, and no less than five Times dissolved them, they hope for those good Services to the House of Commons, by the House of Commons to be made a House of Lords.

I have been over-long, Sir, for which I crave your Pardon; therefore, in a Word, I conclude. I beseech you let us think it our Duty to have a Care of two Things: First, that Villainies be not encouraged with the Rewards of Virtue. Secondly, That the Authority and Majesty of the Government of this Nation be not defiled and exposed to Contempt, by committing so considerable a Part of it to Persons of as mean Quality as Parts.

The *Thebans* did not admit Merchants into Government, till they had left their Traffic ten Years: Sure 'twould have been long before Coblers and Dray-men would have been allowed. If, Sir, the Wisdom of this House shall find it necessary to begin where we left, and shall think we have been hitherto like the Prodigal, and that now when our Necessities persuade us, *i. e.* that we are almost brought to herd it with Swine, now 'tis high Time to think of a Return: Let us, without more ado, without this motly Mixture, even take our *Rulers as at the first*, so that we can be but reasonably secured to avoid our *Counsellors as at the Beginning*.

Give me Leave, Sir, to release your Patience with a short Story *Livy* tells us: There was a State in *Italy*, an Aristocracy, where the Nobility stretched their Prerogative too high, and presumed a little too much upon the People's Liberty and Patience; whereupon the Discontents were so general and so great, that they apparently tended to a Dissolution of Government, and the turning of all Things into Anarchy and Confusion. At the same time, beside these Distempers at home, there was a potent Enemy ready to fall upon them from abroad, that had been an Over-match for them at their best Union, but now in these Disorders, was like to find them a very ready and very easy Prey: A wise Man, Sir, in the City, that did not at all approve of the Insolency of the Nobility, and as little liked popular Tumults, bethought himself of

this Stratagem to couzen his Country into Safety. Upon a Pretence of Counsel, he procured the Nobility to meet all together; which, when they had done, he found a Way to lock all the Doors upon them; goes away himself, and takes the Keys with him: Then immediately he summons the People; tells them, That by a Contrivance of his, he had taken all the Nobility in a Trap: That now was the Time for them to be revenged upon them for all their Insolencies: That therefore they should immediately go along with him, and dispatch them. Sir, the Officers of our Army, after a Fast, could not be more ready for the Villainy than this People were; and accordingly they made as much Haste to the Slaughter as their Lord Protector could desire them: But, Sir, this wise Man I told you of, was their Lord Protector indeed: As soon as he had brought the People where the Parliament was sitting, and when they but expected the Word to fall to the Butchery, and take their Heads: *Gentlemen*, says he, *Though I would not care how soon this Work of Reformation were over; yet in this Ship of Commonwealth we must not throw the Steersmen over-board, till we have provided others for the Helm: Let us consider, before we take these Men away, in what other Hands we may more securely trust our Liberty, and the Management of the Commonwealth:* And so he advised them, before the putting down of the former, to bethink themselves of constituting another House. He begins and nominates one, a Man highly cried up in the popular Faction, a confiding Man, one of much Zeal, little Sense, and no Quality. You may suppose him, Sir, a zealous Cocker. The People, in Conclusion, murmured at this, and were loth their Fellow Mutineer, for no other Virtue but mutinying, should come to be advanced to be their Master, and by their Looks and Murmur sufficiently expressed the Distaste they took at such a Motion. Then he nominates another as mean a Mechanic as the former: You may imagine him a bustling rude Drayman, or the like. He was no sooner named, but some burst out a laughing, others grew angry and railed at him, and all detested and scorned him. Upon this, a Third was named for a Lordship, one of the same Batch, and every way fit to fit with the other Two. The People then fell into a confused Laugh and Noise, and enquired if such were Lords, who (by all the Gods) would be content to be the Commons.

Sir, let me be bold (by the good Leave of the other House and yours) to ask the same Question? But, Sir, to conclude this Story, and with it, I hope, the Other House: When this wise Man I told you of, perceived they were now sensible of the Inconvenience and Mischief they were running into, and saw that the pulling down their Rulers, would prove in the End, but the setting up of their Servants, he thought them then prepared to hear Reason, and told them, *You see, saith he, that as bad as the Government is, we cannot, for any Thing I see, agree upon a better: What then, if after this Fright we have put our Nobility in, and the Demonstration we have given them of our Power, we try them once more, whether they will mend, and for the future behave themselves with more Moderation?* That People, Mr. Speaker, were so wise as to comply with that wise Proposition, and to think it easier to mend their old Rulers,

Rulers, than to make new. And I wish, Mr. Speaker, we may be so wise
o thin k so too.

England anatomized, her Disease discovered, and the Remedy prescribed: In a Speech by a Member of the (so called) Parliament.

MR. SPEAKER,

I Am not (I fear) the only Person that comes hither hopeless of doing any other Good (or Good any other Way) than by opposing Ill, and endeavouring to hinder the Designs of those, who have brought the Lives, Liberties, and Estates of the People of three Nations, to have no other Support, than a Government without any Basis or Foundation. Although, I hope, we have not any of us so naturalized ourselves in the Devil's Dominions, by our habitual Crimes, as not to return to the Light of Reason. Sir, I should willingly be silent, could the Voice and Cries, Complaints and Groans, of the many Thousands in these Nations (that have felt, and feel, the Weight of the Oppressors) be heard. But whilst they are not heard, or not regarded; and others (as unconcerned for them, and too much for themselves) pursue not the Trust reposed at their Elections to sit here, *Nolo meam perdere*: I will not, must not, dare not, stifle my Reason, barter my Conscience, nor lose any Opportunity of declaring what I am, and think others should be. And when Religion and Law, the two Pillars of a Commonwealth, have *Samson's* Shoulders (the Power of the Sword) set to pull them down, sit as a calm Spectator. You know well, Sir, that it is the Part of such as are called, to consult the Concernments of the Republic; *semper vigilare & populorum suscipere curam*, according to that Encomium of *Hector* by *Livy*, *Nocturnu vigilans & reipub. providens, &c.* But he that sleeping doth nothing, is more commendable (or rather less culpable) than he that waking doth amiss. Give me therefore Liberty, in discharge of myself, and as concerned for others, to be your Remembrancer of the Occasion and Business, for which we that now sit (and others, that, for aught I know, have as much Right as ourselves to sit here) were at first convened. And if it appear (as questionless 'tis too obvious) that we have degenerated or deviated, gone contrary to, or, at least, walked out of the good Road-way, to the Peace, Security, and Advantage of the three Nations; I am unwilling to believe, that any Man (out of a Supposition that it is too late) will yet longer defer to return, and experience to himself, that, *Nihil est commodius vel tutius via Regia*. Mr. Speaker, I shall not so much as question, whether those sitting here, are, or are not, a Parliament. But sure I am, that many useful Members (if it were such) are wanting to compleat this Body; and as sure, that it were safest and best to join the Head

to the Members. The Constitution of Parliaments was to consult and advise with the King, for the Government of his Subjects ; to that Purpose were we called hither : And how far we have prosecuted that, all *Europe*, yea, the whole World, is made Judge. Let us make some Retrospection, and take a short Survey of the Transactions by and amongst us, since our first Meeting. We sate not long before our inconsiderate Folly and Arrogancy gave the King just Cause to absent, and to decline our Actings. It did not then (to some) but hath since (to all) appeared, that there were two great Designs of two Sorts of Persons sitting in the House ; one of which (as in Charity I do believe of many that were then Members) was, to purge the Council of the King, and to reclaim the Insolence, and Over-haughtiness of the Bishops and Clergy : The other, that which hath been since fatally effected, the Destruction of them all. How to distinguish these Persons yet, I know not ; there being many Members (doubtless) still in being, (and some, I hope, sitting here) that were then, and yet continue, hearty Lovers of their King and Country. But all, or most of us, without Distinction, are too guilty ; some by acting, others by cowardly suffering that dismal Tragedy to be acted. I need not prompt your Intellects, in the Nature of those horrid Crimes we all have Cause to mourn for : I fear, too many understood too well, and acted deliberately and resolvedly what was intended, to attain to what they proposed. The Sum of all is plain, that out of Pretensions to Zeal for God, Love to Religion, Allegiance and Duty to our King, and Care for our Country, we caused so many Thousands to be murdered, so many Families to be ruined, the King (whom we promised and protested we would make a glorious Prince) to be betrayed and beheaded, his Queen banished, his Royal Children exposed to the Mercy of Strangers, Religion discountenanced, the Church defaced, the Laws violated, Men's Persons imprisoned, their Estates confiscate and sold ; and all this to serve our own base Ends, to enrich ourselves, and to advance Libertinism, Anabaptism, Quakism, and Papism. Mr. Speaker, I wish these were not undeniable Truths ; but such we all know they are : And yet such, as some, notwithstanding, can add to their Confidence in committing, the Impudence of justifying and defending them, asserting their Right and Authority by their Power and Violence ; though it be as ridiculous to wise Men to maintain an Authority in the Subject of dethroning and deposing their Sovereign, as 'tis prophane and damnable to intrench upon the Prerogative of Heaven. And if the King be, *sicut vicarius Dei, & minister in terra*, how dare any but the great Emperor and Deputer of that Viceroy, undertake or design his Removal ? It was, Sir, no doubt, just Cause of Sadness upon the Spirits of all honest Persons that had been too eminent in the Prosecution of what received so ill Success, to have that little Power or Possibility they had of retrieving what, before the Murder of our late King, seemed possible to be recovered, wrested from them, by the Force and Violence of the then and now Pretenders to Reformation, having no other Warrant than their rebellious Swords, which hath been the only Corrilium they have used, like the unskilful Physician, *omnium oculos sanare*. And when afterwards some were left sitting, that were seriously sensible of their Miscarriages, and endeavoured to evidence
their

their Remorse, by resettling and reducing what they found wholly out of Frame; then for some few self-interested, irreligious, sacrilegious Persons, by meer Supremacy of Power, to inforce their Dissolution, and give Way to the Succession of corrupt, anabaptistical, jesuitical Sect of People, to introduce an absolute arbitrary Government, without Rule or Law, save only that of the Wills of the Legislators, that altered as their Occasions and Advantages prompted. What must it then be to us, if there be any here (as God forbid the contrary) that dare be honest, to see the Tragedy continued, acting and acted for so many Years together; and when we now pretend an Authority, and have thereby Opportunity to become Men again (having hitherto appeared to the universal Spectators, as Beasts, Wolves, Tygers, and a mere Antrophagi, devouring, and causing one another to be devoured) and to demonstrate how fully sensible we are of our fatal and damnable Errors, to find the People ready to be intangled in another Labyrinth, out of which, 'tis evident to all rational Capacities, there is no Clue to conduct us, but that Thread of Government, which hath been rashly cut in sunder. Mr. Speaker, I must not waste your Time, nor need not (I think) speak much of this Subject, all of us having too great Testimony in ourselves of the sad Truths I mention. But, Sir, I beseech you, let us not amidst our Ills be so desperate, as to believe ourselves altogether unsafe, without attempting greater. No, let us rather take up the *nunquam sera*; and whilst some Possibility remains of such a compensatory Restitution, as may render us capable of Mercy, do something may procure it. I cannot boast the Art, whereto some here pretend, of Preaching, although I may more justly now assert a legal Call, to preach Repentance (evidencing my own by a free Confession) than they to ascend the Pulpit, and become Umpires of Scripture, without other Warrant, than what they collect by Abuse of that Part on't, which teacheth them to provide for those of their own Household, which they have done so successfully, that they have inverted the Text, and are worse than Infidels. But, Mr. Speaker, I shall beg your Consideration only of two Things; first, of the Condition wherein we, and the three Nations now are; and, if I may speak my own Thoughts freely, I hope I shall speak some of yours too in them. 'Tis not unknown, that we were sometimes the Wonder of the World, famous for Good, though now for Evil, and our Nation so glorious, and happily enriched with Fruitfulness, Peace and Plenty, and governed by such wholesome Laws, that those in League with us, loved and honoured us, and our Enemies envied and admired us: And now we are become so hatefully ridiculous, that we are past the Benefit of Love or Pity, and are, and must be, looked on by all (save such as By-respects seduceth) as a People without a Government, or Governors: And what Consequence may be from thence expected, is easily inferred from the fatal Diffensions and general Misfortunes of those People we read of, when there was no King in *Israel*. I may, Sir, challenge the best and most critical Etymologist, to give the Government we now are under (if we have any) a significant Christian Name. I am confident none, or very few here can think (whatever it may be expedient for us at present to say or declare) that it is a parliamentary Government, every Man rational, having so much
natural

natural Logic about him to evince the contrary. Parliaments were never heard of before Kings, nor never made, legally called, or constituted, but by the King. If then there be no King, what follows? *Cessante causa, cessat etiam effectus.*

But suppose an Impossibility, that there was a Parliament in *England* which did survive the King that caused it; yet, was it not dissolved, and legally too, notwithstanding the Act we dote on, that it should not be dissolved but by Act of Parliament? However, others may truly expound that Act of Force, a Wrong; we are estopped by our Assent, to say it was illegal. Was the standing at the Parliament-house Door, before the late King's Death, and with Violence denying Entrance to Men duly chosen by their Country, imprisoning their Persons, and appointing a certain Number of their own to sit, and directing them to enact what they had designed, and nothing else; Was that lawful? Were those Persons then left a compleat Parliament? and, were the rest lawfully secluded? And, is it not as lawful for the same Persons, by the same Power, when those sitting begun (or were feared) to be too honest for their Purposes, utterly to annihilate and dissolve them? I beseech you, Sir, let us not befool ourselves into an Opinion of cheating the Eyes of the World with a Mask that every one may see through. But finding now our Constitution, and the State of our Maladies, let our next Consideration be, how, with the skilful Physician, to restore our own and the People's Health, so manifestly impaired, and become almost incurable. To which Purpose, Sir, it will not be amiss to consult, whether many, yea, most (now) that undertake to prescribe Remedies, are fit Persons to administer this Kind of Physic. It is a Rule more consonant to Reason, in all Trials at Law or Equity, that Persons concerned in any Cause depending, shall not have Power to assert, by their own Testimony, their Right or Interest, much less to adjudge their own Properties: And, how much more unreasonable and unjust is it, that those Persons who are become Purchasers, and possessed of the Estates and Inheritances of the Person whose Title, upon no other Ground, is oppugned, to be Judges of his Right and Interest, and to give Laws, by no other Authority, than what is founded upon Rebellion and Treasons? And what Justice can be expected from Men, that have no Rule but their carnal and diabolical Principles, to guide their partial Agitations to their own present Advantages?

Mr. Speaker, I could wish that more of us, than I fear there are, were of *Menander's* Judgment, and could be persuaded that *Honestius & tutius est pauperem esse quàm injustè divitem*; and that (sure) would deter us from adventuring upon temporal Gain, by an eternal Loss, and from digging into the Mines of other Men's Treasure, by Murders, Thefts, Rapines, Treasons, and Rebellions, which must inevitably determine in our own and the People's Destruction. Let us cast our Thoughts a little upon the Fate of *Ziba*, *Architophel*, *Abfalon*, *Adonijab*, *Adoram*, *Judas*, and others, amongst the many Traitors in holy Writ; of *Perseus*, *Gracchus*, *Cataline*, *Decius Brutus*, *Trebonius*, *Milo*, *Cæpio*, *Marcus*, *Lollius*, *Bessus*, and others in History abroad; and *Straw*, *Cade*, *Tiler*, *Cromwell*, and others at home: And let us not dare to pursue their hellish Stratagems, unless we would willingly suffer the same Destiny.

We

We have, Sir, by sad Experience, at too dear a Rate, bought and learned the Knowledge of our Errors, and how unsuitable the Government we pretend to is, unto the Constitution of these Nations, having introduced nothing but Confusion, and opened the Gap to all Licentiousness, confirming that for Truth which others heretofore have found, that *Multos imperitare malum*.

Sir, I shall instantly make an end (for this time) of speaking, and heartily desire we all would now begin some seasonable Acting; And by way of Prevention (lest too soon it become too late to do what now we may, and That be forced from us, which now, by making a Virtue of the Necessity incumbent on us, we may with Advantage offer) speedily lay by our private Interests and re-assume the public Spirits befitting us; recall our King, re-settle the Government under him, bear that *durus sermo*, freely to surrender what any of us have detained from him, and join together with him in a firm Establishment of the Church and State, Law and Religion; that the Land may once more flourish, and the Honour, Plenty, and Prosperity of the People be again revived: And that we (now) should be persuaded thus to do, I find no Reason to despair, having such violent Inducements, by the Opportunities abroad and at home now tendered us. The sickly Reign of Treason, in all Probability (whether we will or not) coming near its Period, can we, Mr. Speaker, be so sottish, or bewitched in our Security so much, as to believe our scarlet Sins have not ere this reached Heaven, and that the great Avenger of Blood will not soon overtake us, unless we fly to the Sanctuary of penitential Expiation? No, Sir, be we assured, if Men concerned should cease to act their Duties, Heaven itself, by some Miracle, would create a Way to such an eminent Justice. It is for want of this the Nations mourn? for this the silent Sighs of the immured Prisoners, the longing Wishes of our unjustly banished Countrymen, the afflicted Mothers Lamentations for their murdered Sons; the pitied Wants of the innocent unsuspecting Infants, of their undone Parents, do invoke Heaven. In fine, the Voice of God commands, and all good Men desire it; let none therefore dare to contradict it.

ENGLAND's CONFUSION : Or, A true and impartial Relation of the late Traverses of State in *England*; with the Counsels leading thereto : Together with a Description of the present Power ruling there by the Name of a Parliament, under the Mask of *The Good Old Cause*.

Written by one of the few *Englishmen* that are left in *England*.

Judg. xix. 30. *And it was so, that all that saw it said, There was no such deed done nor seen from the day that the children of Israel came up out of the Land of Egypt unto this day : Consider of it, take advice, and speak your mind.*

Rom. ii. 1, &c. *Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man ! whosoever thou art that judgest ; for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self, for thou that judgest dost the same thing.*

2 Tim. iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *This know also, that in the last days perilous times shall come. For men shall be lovers of their own selves, covetous boasters, proud, blasphemers, disobedient to parents, unthankful, unholy : Without natural affection, truce breakers, false accusers, incontinent, fierce despisers of those that are good : Traitors, heady, high-minded, lovers of pleasure more than lovers of God : Having a form of godliness, but denying the Power thereof ; from such turn away.*

Gal. ii. 18. *If I build again the things which I destroyed, I make myself a transgressor.*

The Second Impression, with new Additions.

Printed in the Year 1659.

IT is not unknown to any that have not been wilfully blind, with what a high Hand of arbitrary Power the late Protector *Oliver Cromwell* swayed the Scepter of these three Nations for the Space of five Years, and laid the best Foundations his short and troublesome Reign would give Leave to have continued his Posterity in the same unlimited Dominion ; declaring, when Death summoned him to account (if we may credit the greatest of our present Rulers) his eldest Son *Richard* his Successor in his usurped Dominion, and leaving his Son *Henry* Lord Lieutenant, or Viceroy of *Ireland*, and his Daughter *Fleetwood*, married to the Commander in Chief under him of the Army (which they had very far new modelled for their Turn) and the most probable Competitor for Succession to the Protectorship. Now, that subtle *Lambert* was upon Discovery, his active undermining Spirit removed from all Places of Trust, and Opportunities of doing Mischief.

In

In this Posture of Affairs was *England*, and the Dominions thereof, when the Lion was forced to quit his Prey; of whom I will say no more, because he is gone to his own Place; and where I can speak no Good of the Dead, I hold it almost a Duty to say no Evil.

The Protector being interred among the Kings and Queens at *Westminster* (at a vaster Charge than had been used upon like Occasions in the richest Times) Death giving him that Honour which he had aspired to, but durst not embrace in his Life-time; his Son *Richard*, an honest private Gentleman, well beloved in *Hampshire*, the County where he lived, ascended the Throne by the Invitation and Encouragement of *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Sydenham*, the two *Jones's*, *Thurloe*, and others the Relations and Confidants of his Father, and by the Contrivance of the Court, received Congratulations (prepared at *Whitehall*) from most of the Counties, Cities, and chief Towns of *England*, and from the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, with Engagements to live and die with him; Addresses from the Independent Churches, by Doctor *Goodwin* and *Nye*, their Metropolitans, and was indeed worshipped by many as the rising Sun in our Horizon.

This Introduction being made to the transferring the Government of these Nations from the *Stewarts* to the *Cromwells*, it was conceived by those who had proceeded thus far, that a general Convention, or Parliament, wisely chosen by Influences from Court, would easily swallow what had been so well prepared to their Hands. And accordingly it was resolved by the Junto before-mentioned, that a Parliament should be called to meet the Twenty-seventh of *January* last, and (by Pretence of restoring the People to their antient Way of Elections, but really) that the Court might command the more Votes, the Boroughs had Writs also sent to them, and the Elections were all made in the antient Way, only thirty Members were called by Writs from *Scotland*, and as many from *Ireland*, according to the late Combination of the three Nations into one Commonwealth.

This new Kind of Parliament being met at the Time and Place appointed, God had so well ordered the Elections, notwithstanding the Practices of Men, that their *English* Spirit quickly appeared both against Impositions from Court and Army: And though their Counsels were at first interrupted with an Act of Recognition of the Protector, prepared and brought in by the Court, which took up the first Fortnight of their Time upon the very Point of Recognition, yet they were at length extricated from that Difficulty, by the Expedient of an honest Gentleman, in passing these Votes on *Monday* the 14th of *February*, 1658, without any Division or Negative.

Resolved,

That it be Part of this Bill to *recognise* and declare his Highness *Richard*, Lord Protector and chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging.

Resolved,

That before this Bill be committed, the House do declare such additional Clauses to be Part of this Bill, as may bound the Power of the chief Magistrate, and fully secure the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Li-

erties and Rights of the People : And that neither this, nor any other previous Vote that is, or shall be, passed in order to this Bill, shall be of Force or binding to the People, until the whole Bill be passed.

Their next Work was to appoint a Committee for Inspection into the Accounts and Revenue of the Commonwealth, which had been lamentably squandered and wasted ever since 1648, (when the major Part of the Parliament, called in 17 *Caroli*, was forcibly imprisoned and secluded by the Army and their Fellow-Members) and twelve Members versed in Matters of Account, whereof Mr. *Scowen* was in the Chair, were selected for this Work, and fully impowered for the Work they had in hand, in order to the retrenching and lessening the Charge of the Commonwealth.

On *Saturday* the nineteenth of *February* they proceeded in the Act of Recognition, and resolved,

That it shall be a Part of this Bill to declare the Parliament to consist of Two Houses.

And had afterwards several Days Debate by Order, concerning the Bounding of the *Chief Magistrate's* Power, and the Bounds and Powers of another House in relation to the former Votes, but could come to no Resolution thereupon, the Court Party sticking hard for the Powers given them by the Petition and Advice, and the honest Patriots of the House (whose weighty Reasons then convinced the Commonwealth Party now ruling to go along with them) denying it to be a Law, being obtained by Force, and Exclusion of above a hundred Members in the Year 1656, by which Force also the Purse was taken from the Commons, by settling a Revenue of thirteen hundred thousand Pounds a Year in Perpetuity of the Command of the single Person, and the ruling Members of the Other House, being most of them Officers of the Army and Courtiers ; which being allowed for Law, the People would have been absolute Slaves to their Power and Purse, stolen from the Commons, as aforesaid.

Whilst the Temper of the House was thus tried, and they appeared sufficiently to be *Englishmen*, divers of the Members of *Scotland* and *Ireland* joining with them in the same Resolutions ; by the joint Advice of the Court and Army Party, the Question of transacting with the Persons sitting in the Other House, as an House of Parliament, was set before them, upon pretended Grounds of Law and Necessity, and by Arguments of Force, and Interposition from the Army, and of Impossibility to proceed in any Thing without the said other House. This Attempt was as stoutly opposed for fourteen Days by the moderate honest Patriots of the House as the former ; the undoubted Right of the ancient Peers asserted, and all the said Grounds and Arguments confuted, except that of Force, which was not to take Place with any Thing like a free Parliament of *Englishmen* : But in the Close of the fourteen Days Debate, wherein much of the Honesty, Ingenuity and Courage of the *English* Nation did appear, (seeing all Affairs at a Stand till something were resolved in this Point) they came, in a very full House, to this well qualified-Resolution :

Resolved,

Resolved,

That this House will transact with the Persons now sitting in the Other House, as an House of Parliament, during this present Parliament: And that it is not hereby intended to exclude such Peers as have been faithful to the Parliament, from their Privilege of being duly summoned to be Members of that House.

The House of Commons (between the Protector, the Other House, and the General Council of Officers now summoned to meet at *Wallingford-House*) may well be conceived at this Time to have had a Wolf by the Ears, and (having shewed themselves *Englishmen* and not Slaves) had Reason to entertain wary Counsels, having some of their own Members undermining them without Doors; and foreseeing a Dissolution, though not knowing whether they should die a violent or natural Death, or have a mixed Kind of Decease, as it fell out afterwards: And therefore they resolved not to own them in the Other House as Lords, but called them, *The Persons now sitting in the Other House as a House of Parliament*; neither would they treat and confer with them, in the usual Way, as with the House of Peers; and therefore found out the new Word of *Transacting*: And not intending to have to do with them, but for a Trial, they limited the Time to be during this present Parliament, which they foresaw would not be long; and to muzzle the new inconsiderable Upstarts sufficiently (if they should take too much upon them) they asserted the Privilege of the ancient Peers as a good Reserve, if the Parliament should, by the Protector and Army be suffered, upon second Thoughts, to sit longer than was at first intended. And resolved also, that they would receive no Message from those Persons sitting in the other House, but by some of their own Number.

The House of Commons by this Time, had also by a Saving in a Vote concerning the Fleet, asserted their Interest in the Militia, and had under Consideration an Act for taking away all Laws, Statutes and Ordinances concerning the Excise and new Imposts, and concerning Customs, Tonnage and Poundage, after three Years; and had vindicated the People's Liberties, by setting Major-General *Overton* and Mr. *Portman*, and divers others (illegally committed by the late Protector) at Liberty without paying Fees, and declaring their Imprisonments and Detention illegal and unjust; and had their new Lord *Goalor Barkstead* and others at their Bar, under Question for the same. And had also a high Resentment of the illegal sending freeborn *Englishmen* against their Wills to the *Barbadoes* and other foreign Plantations, and to the Isles of *Guernsey* and *Jersey*, out of the Reach of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, and had appointed a strict Bill to be prepared for Remedy thereof. And had examined and discovered many other Grievances brought upon the People by the Officers and Farmers of Excise and others; and by Major-Generals, amongst which *Butler* was, for his insolent Actings and high Affronts to the Law and Courts of Justice, put out of the Commission of the Peace, and a Committee appointed to draw up an Impeachment against him. The Committee also for Inspection, before mentioned, had brought in and reported to the House, the State of the Accounts and Public, and of the Martial and Civil Lists in the

three Nations, by which it did appear, That the yearly Incomes of *England, Scotland and Ireland*, came to *Eighteen hundred sixty eight thousand seven hundred and seventeen Pounds* : And the yearly Issues to, *Two millions two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty Pounds* : So that *Three hundred thirty two thousand eight hundred and twenty three Pounds* of Debt incurred yearly, by the ill Management of double the Revenue that ever King of *England* enjoyed : And to maintain the unjust Conquest of *Scotland*, cost us yearly *One hundred sixty three thousand six hundred and nineteen Pounds* more than the Revenue it yields.

Many other Particulars were under their Consideration, as to the Religion and civil Rights of the People, too long now to be mentioned ; but, in short, to give them their Due, they did some Good whilst they sat, both to the Public and Particulars, and intended much more, and did no Hurt, gave no Offices nor Gratuities to themselves out of the Public Treasure, nor granted any Money from the People ; which is more than can be said of any Parliament in our Memory.

Proceeding thus successfully and hopefully, to the general Satisfaction of the People in the three Nations, who chose them ; the Protector, and chief Officers of the Army, who were jealous of one another before, and Competitors for Government, grew now jealous of the House of Commons also, who being the Representatives of the People, were become also their Minions and Favourites. It was therefore now thought seasonable to contend among themselves for the Power, before the People should recover it from them both : In order to which, the General Council of Officers kept their constant Meetings at *Wallingford-House*, and the Protector, with his Party, countermined them at *Whitehall*. The Result of the Officers assembling was, a Representation to the Protector, which was published by the Officers own Order, the seventh of *April* ; and the Day after a Copy thereof sent inclosed by the Protector, in a Letter to the Speaker of the House.

This Representation was like Lightning before Thunder, both to the Protector and the House ; for though it had some seeming fair Professions intermixed, it is written in such a canting equivocating Language, whereof the Sword was like to be Interpreter, that the Sting was easily visible through the Honey, and their former Actions and suitable continuing Honesty better credited than their Words.

Hereupon the Protector begins too late to think of securing himself from being surprized with their Compliments, and stands upon his Guard. And the Commons House, as became *Englishmen*, wisely and courageously resolved to let the Officers know that they took them still to be their Servants, though they had for too many Years ill deserved their Wages, rebelling and usurping the Government at their Pleasure ; and intending to try what they meant by the *Good old Cause*, which, as they seemed to represent it, smelt of Gunpowder and Ball, and whether the Repentance held forth in their said Representation were real or Military, passed these Votes on *Monday, April 18.*

Resolved,

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 141

Resolved,

That during the Sitting of the Parliament, there shall be no General Council or Meeting of the Officers of the Army, without Direction, Leave and Authority of his Highness the Lord Protector, and both Houses of Parliament.

Resolved,

That no Person shall have or continue any Command or Trust in any of the Armies or Navies of *England, Scotland, or Ireland*, or any the Dominions and Territories thereto belonging, who shall refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free Meetings in Parliament of any of the Members of either House of Parliament, or their Freedom in their Debates and Councils.

And the same time, to shew their Care of the Army, and to prevent Jealousies, they passed the following Votes.

Resolved,

That the House do presently take into Consideration the Ways and Means for Satisfaction of the Arrears of the Armies, and providing present Pay for them.

Resolved,

That Sergeant *Maynard*, the Attorney General, and Solicitor General do forthwith prepare an Act of Indemnity for all such as have acted under the Parliament and Commonwealth.

Whilst the House spent the rest of their Time in considering how to provide Money, without laying new Burdens on the People, great Contests grew between the Protector and the opposite Officers of the Army, both Sides keeping Guards Night and Day against one another, the Protector having, in Pursuance of the Votes of the House, forbidden the Meetings of the Officers.

In this divided Posture, Affairs continued till *Friday* the 22d of *April*, on which Morning early, *Fleetwood*, the Protector's Brother, *Desborough* his Uncle, and the rest of the mutinous Officers, carrying the greater Part of the Army after them, and the Protector's Party flinching, the Conquest was made without one Drop of Blood, (which was strange in so ancient, hereditary, just, and undoubted a Title) and the Protector forced to consent to a Commission and Proclamation ready prepared, giving *Desborough* and others Power to dissolve the Parliament, contrary to the best Advice, and his own Interest and Promise. And accordingly the same Day, the Black-Rod was sent twice to the House of Commons (from *Fiennes*, Speaker of the Other House) for them to come thither, but they admitted him not in, and much scorned the Motion, having ever looked upon that Mushroom House as the Lower House, and their own Creature, the Language being to send down to the Other House, when they sent the Declaration for a Fast, for a Trial of transacting with them: And therefore, understanding there were Guards of Horse and Foot in the *Palace-yard*, after some Motions made by Mr. *Knightly*, Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, and others, wherein Sir *Arthur* exceeded; That the House should first declare it Treason for any Persons whatsoever to put Force upon any Members of the House; and next, That all Votes, Acts, and Resolutions, passed by any Members of Parliament, when the rest were detained from, or taken out of the

the House by Force, should be null and void, and other Motions becoming *Englishmen*, to that End, judging themselves under a Force; and finding they were very unanimous, though near four hundred in the House, in the Things proposed, they resolved no Question, but adjourned till *Monday* Morning the twenty-fifth of *April*, and attended the Speaker, in Order, through *Westminster-Hall* to his Coach, in the Face of the Soldiery.

Now the Court (according to the Guise of the World in like Accidents) shrunk out of *Whitehall* into *Wallingford-House*: And *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, and the rest of the Officers, great and small, took the Government into their own Hands, the House of Commons being shut up, and Entrance denied to the Members when they came on *Monday* (even to Sir *Henry Vane* and Sir *Arthur Haselrig* themselves) according to Adjournment, the Court of Requests and all Avenues being full of Soldiers, who told the Members that they must sit no more.

After the Officers had new modeled themselves, cashiering *Whaley*, *Ingolby*, *Goffe*, and divers others of the Protector's Party, and restoring *Lambert*, *Haselrig*, *Okey*, and others displaced by Protector *Oliver*, and played with the Government for a few Days, and grew weary of it, the inferior Officers and the Pamphlets (that now flew about daily without Controul) carrying Things beyond the Intention of the chief Officers, who would have left the Protector a *Duke of Venice*, for his Father's Sake who raised them, and their Relation to him, which they had forgotten till now) they sent to some of their old Hackney Drudges of the Long Parliament then in *London*, who they knew would do any Thing, so they might be suffered to sit; and on the fifth and sixth Days of *May* had Conference with them, the last of which was at their never-failing Speaker, the Master of the Rolls's House in *Chancery-lane*, where both Officers, viz. *Lambert*, who had already gotten his old Place, and others with him, and Members, viz. Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, *Ludlow*, *John Jones*, Mr. *Chaloner*, Mr. *Scot*, and others, to the Number of twenty, solicited *William Lenthall*, Esq; to sit Speaker again, but he objected Scruples in Judgment and Conscience (which are not yet answered, nor never will): Nevertheless fifteen Articles between the Officers and some of the Members (who it seems over confidently undertook for the rest) being first agreed on at some of their Meetings, they resolved to meet in the House on *Saturday* the 7th of *May*; yet that they might do it by Surprise, they gave out that they would not sit till *Tuesday* the tenth of *May*: But the Itch of Ambition, and Lording it over the People, giving them no Quiet, on *Saturday* the 7th of *May* early, they met in the painted Chamber at *Westminster*, and to make up their Number, sent for the two chaste Cock Sparrows, the Lord *Munson* and Mr. *Henry Martin* out of Prison, where they were in Execution for Debt, and honest *Whitlock*, and *Lisle* of the Chancery Bench, and with this Addition, being two and forty in Number, the Chancery Mace for Haste being carried before them.

William Lenthall, Esq; their tender-conscienced Speaker, together with the said Lord *Munson*.

Henry Martin.

Mr.

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 143

Mr. *Whitlock*.

Mr. *Lisle*.

Temperate Mr. *Chaloner*.

Wife Alderman *Atkin*.

Trusty Alderman *Pennington*, who became *Executor de son tort* (to 7000 l. Estate of Sir *John Pennington*, who trusted him) before his Death.

Pedantic *Thomas Scot*, Successor to *Laud* both at *Lambeth-House* and the new Lordly Council-Board.

Hastily rich *Cornelius Holland*.

Single-hearted preaching Sir *Henry Vane*, now become old Sir *Harry*.

Prideaux, Attorney General to all Governments.

Smiling Sir *James Harrington*.

Levelling *Ludlow*.

Pembrochian *Oldsworth*, that made the Earl his Master's wise Speeches.

Vain-glorious hair-brained *Haselrig*, with Repentance like the Army's in his Conscience, and the Bishopric of *Durham* at his Back.

Sir *Thomas Middleton's* Man *Jones*.

Doting *Purefoy*, without Purity or Faith.

Colonel *White* the Lord *Fairfax's* Secretary, got before his Master.

Religious *Harry Nevill*.

Mr. *Say*, the famous Lawyer.

Mr. *Blagrove*, better known at *Reading* than here.

Colonel *Bennet*, Sir *Henry Vane's* little Second at Preaching.

Mr. *Brewster*, a Cypher to make up the Number.

Sergeant Wilde, best known by the Name of the *Wild Sergeant*.

John Goodwin, alias *Herb John*.

Mr. *Lechmore*, the Attorney General's Second at all Governments.

Augustin Skinner, a *Kentish* Christian.

Mr. *Downes*, another Cypher.

Mr. *Dove*, a Brewer of *Salisbury*, come to help in this new Brewing.

Mr. *John Lentball*, *William Lentball's* own Son.

Saloway, a smart prating Apprentice newly set up for himself.

Mr. *John Corbet*, such another Lawyer as *Miles*, and of his own Colour.

Mr. *Walton*, that will never forget his Son furnished Blacks for the Protector's Funeral.

Gilbert Millington the Church Snuffers, who desires no better Trade than scandalous Ministers.

Mr. *Gould*, newly married to get more, the Commonwealth being poor.

Colonel *Sydenham*, } a *Dorsetshire* Couple, in at all Governments, who had
Colonel *Bingham*, } rather talk than fight, and yet will venture to do any
thing, being backed with an Army, against the naked
People.

Colonel *Ayre*, whose Name fills his Head.

Mr. *Smith*, a Six-Clerk, that wishes he could write and read.

Colonel *Ingolsby*, that fought so well lately for the Protector, against *Fleetwood*: And,

Fleetwood,

Fleetwood, that holy Man, who so smoothly supplanted the Protector, that he persuaded him three Crowns were not worthy a drawn Sword, stole on the sudden into the House, the Invitation of the Army for the Sitting of the Long Parliament (as they call it) being first published in *Westminster-Hall*.

Upon Notice of their Sitting, there being double their Number, Members of the same Parliament in Town, and many of them in the Hall, to prevent the Mischiefs of a surreptitious packed Parliament, they agreed among themselves in the Hall (though they were doubtful that Parliament was dissolved) that about a Dozen or Fourteen of them should immediately go to the House; and the Persons that did so were these, *viz.*

Mr. <i>Ansley</i>		Sir <i>John Eveling</i>		Mr. <i>Clive</i>
Sir <i>George Booth</i>		Mr. <i>Gewen</i>		Mr. <i>Hungerford</i>
Mr. <i>Prynne</i>		Mr. <i>Eveling</i>		Mr. <i>Harley</i>
Mr. <i>George Montague</i>		Mr. <i>Knightley</i>		Mr. <i>Peck</i> .

Who, though with much ado they got into the Lobby, where they found (Mr. *James* and Mr. *John Harbert*) they were not suffered by the Officers of the Army to go into the House, though they disputed their Privilege of sitting (if the Parliament were yet in being;) but Reason, as well as the Laws, must be silent among Men of War; and therefore after they had fairly made their Claim, and found the House under Force, they retired, and resolved by Letter to acquaint the Speaker, and those Gentlemen assembled with him, what Usage they had received.

And accordingly, on *Monday* the 9th of *May*, they went to *Westminster*, where, understanding that there were no Guards upon the House, Mr. *Ansley*, Mr. *Prynne*, and Mr. *Hungerford*, went up to the House, and had free Admittance, receiving the Declaration of the 7th of *May* at the Door, which was published this Day; but Mr. *Ansley* walking afterwards into the Hall (the House not being ready to sit) to let the Members know, that though they were repulsed by Force, on *Saturday*, the House was open for honest Men this Day: At his Return, Captain *Lewson*, of *Goffe's* Regiment (as he confessed himself) and other Officers, denied him Entrance; he asking them, whether they were a Committee to judge of Members without Doors? they said No; but they were commanded by their superior Officers to let none in that had not sat till *April*, 1653. After some Reasoning the case with them, the Captain told Mr. *Ansley*, that if he would give his Parole to return without sitting, he might go in and speak with whom he pleased; so upon his Parole passed to the Captain, he was permitted to go in the second Time, and soon after returned, telling the Captain, as he came out, that he had kept his Parole, and wished he and the Soldiers would do the like. Mr. *Prynne* continued still there, and resolved so to do, since he saw there was Force again upon the House. The Discourse Mr. *Prynne* had within Doors, and how he made them lose that Morning, and adjourn, by reason of his Presence, without the Speaker's taking the Chair, you may expect from another Pen; and how he attempted to sit again in the Afternoon, but found there a Troop of Horse,

Horse, and two Companies of Red Coats, Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, and so bid them Farewel : Immediately after which, to prevent further Interruption in their Works of Darkness from honest Men, they barred the Door against three Parts of four of the Members of the House, by the following Vote :

Ordered,

That such Persons, heretofore Members of this Parliament, as have not sate in this Parliament since the Year 1648, and have not subscribed the Engagement in the Roll of Engagement of this House, shall not sit in this House till further Order of the Parliament.

Whereupon Sir George Booth, Mr. Ansley, Mr. Knightley, Mr. Prynne, and the rest who had agreed on a Letter to be sent to them, finding them in their old Temper of trampling the Privileges of Parliament under Foot, and judging without hearing, resolved to make no Application to them.

But a Copy of the Letter coming to my Hands, I judge it so worthy of the Persons that subscribed it, and of the public View, that I have here inserted it.

It was directed,

To WILLIAM LENTHALL, Esq; Speaker to the Members of the House of Commons now sitting at Westminster.

S I R,

WE the Persons subscribing, and others, Members of the House, coming to *Westminster-Hall* on Saturday the Seventh of this Month, understood that the Officers of the Army had, by their Declaration, dated the Day before, invited the Members of the Parliament to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, by Virtue of an Act of Parliament passed 17 *Caroli*, wherein are these Words : *And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That this present Parliament now assembled, shall not be dissolved, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that Purpose ; nor shall be at any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be likewise passed for that Purpose ; and the House of Peers shall not at any Time or Times, during this present Parliament be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or their own Order. And in like manner, that the House of Commons shall not at any Time or Times, during this present Parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves or their own Order. And that all and every Thing or Things whatsoever done or to be done for the Adjournment, Proroguing, or Dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void and of none Effect.* And having casual Notice immediately after, that yourself, together with the Lord Munson, Mr. Henry Martin, Mr. Chaloner, Mr. Heningham, Sir Peter Wentworth, Alderman Atkins, Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Blagrove, Sir Henry Vane, Mr. Purfery, and others, to the Number of Forty, or thereabouts, were privily met together in the *Painted Chamber*, and seen to pass thence with a Mace before you into the House, We did, not only out of Sense of Duty to our Countries, if that Parliament be not dissolved, but by the Persuasion of Mul-

titudes of honest, faithful, and well-affected People, minding us of our Trust, and that you wanted Number in the House for the public Service, resolve, That (in Regard of the great Croud) only about Fourteen of us (there being many more in the Hall) should presently go to the House; where, if they found free Admittance, the rest might follow; but getting, with much Difficulty, up the Stairs, we found the outward Door shut, and strictly kept; yet by Degrees we got into the Lobby, where we found the inner Door of the House guarded by Lieutenant-Colonel *Allen*, and other unknown Persons, Officers as it was said of the Army; who, though we pressed hard to get into the House, and urged their Incompatibility to judge of the Members without Doors, which, by the Privilege of Parliament, was proper only for the House, and how they were all obliged to preserve the Freedom, Rights, and Liberties of Parliament, the former Interruption and Forcing whereof, they had seemingly repented; and by your present sitting, by Virtue of the said Act of 17 *Car.* have published to the World the Injustice of their late dispersing us; yet by no Earnestness nor Arguments could we prevail, but were forcibly hindered by them from going into the House; and when some of us acquainted Major General *Lambert*, whom he met in the Lobby as we returned, of our Usage by the Officers, though he gave us civil Words, yet the Force was not removed; whereupon we withdrew ourselves, resolving to give you this Account thereof, that you may know, that though to yourselves you may seem to sit free, there is the same Force as we conceive continued at your Doors, which excluded, interrupted, and forced the major Part of the House in 1648.

And now having laid before you the Matter of Fact, and not being conscious to ourselves of having done any Thing in Breach of our Trust, or which may merit an Exclusion from public Councils, and duly weighing the sad Condition of these three Nations, and that in the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety, and that of the said House there are yet living at least three hundred Members, besides those that sat that Day, not being admitted to discharge our Trust, and to give our faithful Counsel for the Good of these distracted and divided Nations in the House, and to assert and vindicate our Innocence and faithful adhering to the *Good Old Cause*, as it was held forth by the Parliament's Votes, Declarations and Oaths, till we were forcibly excluded: We have thought it a Duty incumbent on us for ourselves, and the respective Counties, Places, and all the People for which we serve in this Way, to claim our own and the People's Right of having their Representatives freed from Force, and admitted to the House, unless it be legally dissolved, and unless in a parliamentary Way (by a full and free House, and not by any without Doors) any Thing can be charged against them to disable them, which we are ready, as Members in our Places, to answer, and quit our selves of. And having no more at present to say, but to desire that this our Claim may be communicated to the House, we remain,

Your loving Friends.

Westminster, May 9.

1659.

Thus

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 147

Thus you see (to the Grief of all that fear God) the same pretended Parliament as was sitting in 1653, (till the Protector *Oliver*, by the best Act of his Life, pulled them out of the House) sitting again upon a Declaration of the Army (whose Slaves they are) to do what they please, as Time will discover: And that you may see they can trust few but themselves, and are not charged (for all their feigned Repentance) they are already returned to the *Good Old Cause* of preferring one another, and their Friends to good Offices and Commands, and Counsellors Places, as appears by their Vote of the 9th of *May*, viz.

The Parliament doth declare, That all such as shall be employed in any Place of Trust or Power in the Commonwealth, be able for the Discharge of such Trust, and that they be Persons fearing God, and that have given Testimony to all the People of God, and of their Faithfulness to this Commonwealth, according to the Declaration of Parliament of the 7th of *May*, 1659.

And their Proceedings thereupon, whereby they have chosen of their own Members, for a Council of State, Twenty-one, viz.

Sir <i>Arthur Haselrig</i>	<i>Fleetwood</i>
Sir <i>Henry Vane</i>	Sir <i>James Harrington</i>
<i>Ludlow</i>	Col. <i>Walton</i>
<i>Jr. Jones</i>	<i>Nevill</i>
<i>Sydenham</i>	<i>Chaloner</i>
<i>Scot</i>	<i>Downes</i>
<i>Saloway</i>	<i>Whitlock.</i>

Whose several Characters you have before.

Hab. Morley, Squib-maker of the County of *Suffex*.

Sidney, who hath nothing of Sir *Philip* but the Name.

Col. *Thompson*, as wooden a Head as Leg.

Col. *Dixwell*, better known in *Kent* than trusted.

Mr. *Reynolds*, Half Bishop of *Winchester*, and whole Solicitor to the Infant Commonwealth.

Oliver St. Johns, late Sollicitor to the King, now Sollicitor to the Commonwealth, to be Chief Justice again; but they hold him to be *sanctus nomine non re*, and too great a Patron of the Law.

Haselrig remembers his and *Collingwood's* Case.

Mr. *Wallop*, a silent *Hampshire* Gentleman, much in Debt; fit indeed to be Counsellor, if he could advise the Commonwealth how to get out of Debt.

Of Persons without the House Ten, viz.

Bradshaw, President at the formal Murder of the King.

Lambert, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman, not born to *Wimbleton* House, but too crafty for them all, now old *Oliver* is gone.

Desborough, a Country Clown, without Fear or Wit.

Lord *Fairfax*, an Allay for *Lambert's* brittle Mettle.

Berry, the worst of the Major-Generals, except *Butler*.

148 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, a Gentleman too wise and honest to sit in such Company.

Sir *Horatio Townsend*, a Gentleman of too good an Estate to be hazarded with such a Crew.

Sir *Robert Honewood*, Sir *H. Vane's* Brother-in-law.

Sir *Archibald Johnson*, never advanced before the Marquis of *Argyll* till he came for *England*.

Josiah Barners, Fool of the Play.

Their next Work must be to vote Money answerable to the Dignities bestowed on themselves; they discontinued the Term (to the great Damage and Discontent of the People) because many Suits were depending against *Vane* and *Haselrig*; and if they rule on as well as they did when *Oliver* turned them out of Doors with the Brand of Knaves, Whoremasters and Drunkards, to the general Rejoicing of the People, no doubt we shall be a happy Nation; and what Esteem the People had of them, appears by the Elections to the last Parliament; wherein, though none but Persons well affected to Parliaments had Votes, and the Persons now sitting laboured hard to be chosen, very few of them were elected, the People generally looking upon them as Apostates from the *Good old Cause*; and therefore no Wonder they would have that Parliament, to which only they were chosen, never dissolved. I have now little more to do at present (honest and learned Mr. *Prynne* having saved much of my Labour) but to let the World see how they go about, by the Example of the Army, whose Apes they are, to cozen the People of their Religion, Laws, Liberties, Parliaments and Money, with a Rattle called the *Good old Cause*, which is a very Cheat, as you may see by the ensuing penitential Letter, of one better skilled in their Cheats than I am.

Mr. Hugh Peters's Letter, written to a chief Officer of the Army.

S I R,

Whereas the late Transactions of the Army have very sore afflicted me, and with *Heman, Psal. lxxxviii. 15.* have exceedingly troubled me, because of my Love to my native Country, and the Concernments thereof, I thought it my Duty, being under much bodily Weakness, to desire you to take and give Notice unto others, of these my Apprehensions ensuing.

1. Though called to speak to the Officers, I knew not their further Intentions.

2. When I heard of his Highness's distasting their Meetings, I went to three of the chief, and begged, as for a Penny, that they would not proceed in any Meeting, and did the same to other Officers I met withall.

The Dangers, I conceive, are these; because the Protector and the two Houses, as they were set, was the hopefulest Way in the whole World to settle these Nations, and the crossing thereof most dangerous, as now it appears, both in the Sin and Sorrow of it. As,

1. All the Army's Addresses to his Highness to live and die with him are broken, and their proclaiming of him every where slighted.

2. His

2. His Family, himself and Lady, being truly godly ; yea, such a Family of Godliness and Sobriety, not known in the Christian World, now broken, and the Son of *Jerubaal* not regarded.

3. The Authority of the best Parliament, and most freely chosen, trampled upon ; yea, such a Sort of Men gathered together, as would have been a Defence and Establishment against all Evils.

4. Nothing set up in their Place, an Enemy at the Door, a penurious soldiery, thousands of Poor perishing, that by this Time might have been paid, Widows and Orphans already dying in the Streets.

Trade gone, private Soldier grown Master, Law and Gospel dying, the whole Protestant Cause in the whole World overtottering ; how much Animosity, Discontent, and Self-Ends have prevailed herein, I know not ; but if the least Encouragement was taken, by any Word of mine, who was a Stranger to any Design, I do here profess my Sorrow and Grief for the least Occasion of it, and look upon the whole Business as very sinful and ruining, of which the Child unborn, and After-ages will be sensible ; and this I write from the saddest Spirit of a sick Man, and

Your loving Friend,

HUGH PETERS.

I know but one Expedient, which is,

That his Highness may be in the same Condition with his House and Family ; and that he be desired to call in as many of the late Parliament as are at Hand, to make up a House and Council, and Indemnity to pass, and so forthwith to settle Things. And for that which they call the *Good old Cause*, (I look upon it as a Cheat by the Jesuits put upon the Army) the which we enjoyed, it being Liberty and Peace.

Whitehall, May 10. 1659.

Thus far Mr. Peters.

But for a further Discovery of the Cheat obtruded upon the People by putting of the *Good old Cause*, I shall, to avoid large Recitals of Remonstrances, Votes and Declarations of Parliament, state the true *Good old Cause* in the House of Commons own Words, briefly out of their *Declaration of the 17th of April 1646*, at the End of the War, when they were full and free, which they caused to be affixed in all the Churches of *England*, to call God and Man to witness their Sincerity therein. And because the Title of it is very significant and comprehensive, take that at large, viz.

Die Veneris, April 17. 1646.

A Declaration of the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, of their true Intentions concerning the ancient and Fundamental Government of the Realm ; the Government of the Church ; the present Peace ; securing the People against all arbitrary Government ; and maintaining a right Understanding between the two Kingdoms of England and Scotland, according to the Covenant and Treaties.

The

The Preamble recites, how their good Intentions had been misrepresented by divers Declarations and Suggestions of the King, and thereby, and by other Practices, the Minds of many possessed with a Belief that there was no just Cause of the War; and that now they had succeeded in the War, they desired to exceed or swerve from their first Aims and Principles in the undertaking the War, and to recede from the solemn League and Covenant, and Treaties between the two Kingdoms, and that they would prolong these uncomfortable Troubles and bleeding Distractions, in order to alter the fundamental Constitution and Frame of this Kingdom; to leave all Government in the Church loose and unsettled, and themselves to exercise the same arbitrary Power over the Persons and Estates of the Subjects which that Parliament had thought fit to abolish, by taking away, *the Star-Chamber, High Commission, and other arbitrary Courts, and the exorbitant Power of the Council Table.*

Then they declare, in general, That they will settle Religion in Purity, according to the Covenant, maintain the ancient and fundamental Government of this Kingdom, preserve the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, lay hold on the first Opportunity of procuring a safe and well-grounded Peace in the three Kingdoms, and to keep a good Understanding between the two Kingdoms of *England and Scotland*, according to the Covenant and Treaties.

Then to give fuller Satisfaction, they declare particularly concerning Church Government, that they are for the Presbyterial Government, with a due Regard that tender Consciences, *which differ not in any Fundamentals of Religion*, may be so provided for as may stand with the Word of God and the Peace of the Kingdom.

Then they declare, that there was nothing they had more earnestly desired, nor more constantly laboured after, than a safe and good Peace (with the King) which is the just End of a just War; and here they assert the fundamental Constitution and Government of this Kingdom to be by King, Lords and Commons, which they will not alter.

Then they conclude, that the first and chiefest Grounds of the Parliament's taking up Arms in this Cause, was to suppress Attempts of introducing an arbitrary Government over this Nation, and protecting Delinquents, Enemies of our Religion and Liberties, by Force, from the Justice of Parliament, and declare that they will not interrupt the ordinary Course of Justice in the several Courts and Judicatories of this Kingdom.

This is the good old Cause the Parliament owned.

And therefore, let all that fear God in the three Nations consider whence they are fallen, even from the *Good old Cause* held forth in the Votes, Remonstrances, Declarations, Protestations, Vows and Oaths of the Parliament, published in Maintenance of our *Ancient and well tempered settled Government*, by *King, Lords and Commons*, to a *sneaking oligarchical Tyranny*, under the bare Name of, *The Good old Cause*; which is as changeable as the Addle-heads that contrive it, as oppressive as the corrupt Wills of licentious Men can make it, must be as arbitrary as the Army will have it, and shall be more fully decyphered, if they persist in it, which they never dare do, if the People, who yet seem to be in a Lethargy, remember their first Works, and be as resolute

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 151

to assert their *Religion, Laws and Liberties*, as these desperate Men of lost Fortunes and Reputations are bold to trample them under Foot, and make this great People (once famous through the World for *Valour, Wisdom, and Religion*) a Scorn and Derision to all that are round about us, and themselves *Monsters of Men*, by their Atheism, Apostacy, and Inconstancy.

I shall conclude with some Advice (now it is seasonable) to the Army, to the People of all Sorts and Degrees, and to the Members sitting at *Westminster*.

I. Faithful Advice to the Army.

1. Remember the Ends for which you were raised; *For Defence of King, Parliament, Religion, and Liberties*; that you were Servants to them and received their Wages, and were tied by Oaths to them.

2. Remember how in 1647, you were first by some of your ambitious Officers, most whereof are since dead, seduced to *rebel against and betray your Masters* (whom you accused falsely) and to refuse to disband when the War was ended, whereby you are become Oppressors and Robbers ever since, and *mere Janizaries*.

3. Remember how in *December 1648*, you rebelled the second Time against your Masters, and forcibly and traiterously, as well as perjuriously, broke the Parliament, imprisoning and driving away most of the faithful Members, keeping only a few that prostituted themselves, and the Rights and Liberties of the Kingdom, with the Lives of the King, Nobles, and Commons, to their own Ambition, and to your Lusts and Wills, as your Pensioners in the House, till *April 1653*, when you rebelled against them; and for their self-seeking and notorious Crimes and Miscarriages (printed then at large in your Declaration) you absolutely dissolved them, to the general Satisfaction of the People.

4. Remember how giddily and impiously your ambitious wicked Officers have led you, through horrid *Murders, Treasons, and Breach of Oaths*, from a happy settled Government under a King and Parliament; first, to a *ridiculous Commonwealth*, thence to a *new Kind of Protector*, thence to *Praise God Barebones's little Parliament*, thence to a *Protector with an Instrument of Lambert's making, but never in Tune*, thence to *Tyrannical Major Generals*, thence to a new Crotchet, called *the Petition and Advice*, thence to a *new Protector and two Houses of Parliament, whereof one was still-born*, thence to *build up the Things which you destroyed, whereby you have made yourselves Transgressors*, Gal. ii. 18.

Thus have you marched so fast from one Government to another, that the poor People wearied out, are fain to return home, and sit still in Amaze, abhorring your unstable ungodly Ways, and crying to God in secret, that he will at length restore unto *England, our Kings and Nobles as at the first, and our Judges as at the Beginning*, making it a quiet Habitation, which by your ungodly Courses hath been so long a howling WilderNESS, full of Birds of Prey, and Beasts that do devour.

I have no more to say to you, but that if your misleading Officers can reconcile your Actings since 1646, to the Scripture Rule, which you find in *Luke iii. 14.* by which all Christian Soldiers much more than Heathen are to walk, viz. *Do Violence to no Man, neither accuse any falsely, and be content with your*

152 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

your Wages ; then let them go for honest Men and count me mistaken : But if this Discourse of mine, by God's Blessing, becomes instrumental for the awakening your drowsy Consciences, to see your long Course of Sins and Provocations, and to repent ; then let me tell you your Work is short to make your selves and the Kingdom happy ; for, as you have lately gone six Years backward at one Step, viz. from this Time to *April 1653*, so if your Officers and you will but make one Step more, viz. from *April 1653*, to *December 1648*, to our *ancient long-experienced and fundamental Constitution of Government, by King, Lords and Commons*, you will justify your Repentance to be sincere, and render it famous to all the World, and deserve, and have Rewards from your Country, instead of Indemnity, which you now beg from every Power that sits.

2. *Advice to the People of all Sorts and Degrees.*

Delirant reges pleētuntur Achivi, your Rulers dote and go astray, but you suffer by it as well as they ; therefore strive to set them right ; and though they forget their Oaths and Promises, do you remember yours : Have you ever seen Quiet or Settlement since *the King was inhumanly murdered at his own Gate, and our ancient Government by King, Lords and Commons changed ? since our Covenant was counted an Almanack out of Date ?* This was one in 1648. Shall I persuade you to return whence you are fallen ? I need not. I know you are ready for it, and watch your Opportunity.

Let me only tell you the Time is now come ; for having tried all other Ways, insomuch that we are going round again, where we first turned aside. You see no Foundation to build upon but our ancient one, strive therefore for the restoring of *King, Lords and Commons*, that you may enjoy them and be happy. Remember how the Ministers and others of *London, Essex, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Lancashire, and other Counties*, gave their Testimony against the King's Death in 1648, and repent for that Blood with which the Land is defiled. Let those who so boldly, in their late mutinous *Representation* to the Protector, moved for a *Justification of the King's Death, and all Acts done in pursuance thereof*, know, that they may as soon pull the Stars out of God's Right Hand, as make those that fear his Name in *England*, justify such a horrid Impiety, for which God hath made us an unsettled People ever since, and hath given them and the Kingdom no Rest ever since ; nor will till they repent and do their first Works, and call all *the Members of the Long Parliament together to sit free*, that they, or a new Parliament, called by their Advice, may upon the secure Terms offered at the *Isle of Wight* by the King, and such further reasonable Additions as the Times may require, restore us to our *ancient Government*, and put an End to our Giddiness and Confusion, which destroys *Trade, encreaseth Poor, and threatens Ruin to our Religion and Laws.*

And let none be any longer deluded with the *Bastard Good Old Cause* now cried up by some, which is but the setting a self-seeking Generation of unstable bloody Men in supreme Authority ; who, as zealous as some of them seemed lately in the new dissolved Parliament for the Liberties of the People, think now, that by their Hypocrisy and Falshood, as well as Force, they have advanced themselves upon the Ruin of their Country, that the Work

is

is done: And though they have cried down a single Person, and another House, think you such Fools or Slaves that you will not take Notice that an armed General is a worse single Person, and such a co-ordinate Senate as they intend by the Proposals of the Army (which now are come to the House by way of Petition, as if they had not been agreed on before) *a worse Other House* than the last, which was the worst that *England* ever saw: And this *Rump* of a cashiered House of Commons, taken into Service again at Mercy, and new dressed by Sir *Henry Vane* (another single Person amongst them) worse than the late House of Commons, which was full and free, or than the *Long Parliament restored to its Freedom*, or than any other that may be chosen by the free Votes of your selves, and legally summoned to sit and decree our Settlement.

I shall say no more to you, but desire you to consider what I have said to the Army, with Hearts ready to forgive them, and pay them their Arrears with additional Rewards, if now at length they repent and restore our violated Government, and obediently submit to what they and the King shall ordain for the Settlement of these distracted, and no otherways to be cured Nations; for we see by Experience, that one Faction devours another, and will at length devour the People and their Liberties in the Ways of Sin and Guilt that we are in. Let all of you therefore insist on this, *That the Members of the Long Parliament, who have been unjustly imprisoned and secluded*, may be restored to discharge the Trust you have put in them, and then we may hope for Settlement, which we have tried almost eleven Years, that we cannot have without them: And if the Army shall again interpose and interrupt you in your sober and honest Endeavours for Settlement, let them find, by your vigorous appearing against them, that you know them to be the meanest of the People, and so few in Number, that they are not one in every Parish in *England*, and many single Parishes have ten Times their Number of People.

3. *Advice to the Members sitting at Westminster.*

1. Remember the Volumes of *Remonstrances, Declarations, Votes, Ordinances, Protestations, Oaths and Covenants*, wherein you as Members of that House, with others, have held forth to God and the World, the *Good Old Cause* you engaged in to be for the Defence of the King, Parliament, Protestant Religion, Privileges and Liberties of the People; and that you renounced all other Causes wherewith you were aspersed, and never owned any other till that in *March 1649*, after you had injuriously joined with the Army in forcing away the Majority of the House of Commons, and the whole House of Lords, you perjuriously apostatized from the *Good Old Cause*, and set up another of a *Commonwealth, or Free State*, opposite to it, and which you had ever formerly disowned as a Scandal cast on you when you were charged but with an Intention that way.

2. Remember, and be ashamed, that you have stuck at no Oaths, but have taken the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy, the Protestation, the Vow and Covenant, the solemn League and Covenant, the Engagement, the Recognition of Protector Oliver, the Oath to be true and faithful to Protector Richard*, and

154 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

have kept these contrary Oaths and Engagements all alike, and now do set Men of the same Stamp in Offices and Places of Trust, instead of Men of Courage, fearing God and hating Covetousness; but do not think all is well, when you have advanced yourselves and Friends; rather believe, that though returning to what you have so often sworn to maintain, you cannot so many of you be *Counsellors of State, Judges and Officers Military or Civil*, yet you may become honest Men and Christians, which will better become you, and bring you more Comfort and Peace at the last.

3. Remember, that though by Lyes and Subterfuges Men may be deceived and abused for a while, God is not mocked, *Gal. vi. 7.* but will, though he bear long, at length wound the hairy Scalp of such as go on in their Wick- edness, *Psal. lxxviii. 21.* and pierce you through with many Sorrows.

4. Consider how God had emptied us from Vessel to Vessel, and led us thorough a Wilderness of Changes these eleven Years of Apostacy, and gives no Settlement; return therefore to *December 1648*, where you forsook Settle- ment when it was offered by the King, and accepted by the Parliament; and in doing your first Works for King and Parliament in a full and free House, God will bless you and this Kingdom as at the first; and the present Protec- tor cannot but rejoice also to part with his Power upon those Terms which both he and his Brother the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland* must needs grudge to have wrested from him by you and his treacherous Relations.

I intended a Word also of Justification of Mr. *Prynne*, but that his *learned and seasonable Writings* praise him in the Gates, and carry such Evidence of un- deniable Truth with them, and so clear a Testimony (from a *Martyr for the People*) against the abominable Iniquity and horrid Impieties of this iron Age, that the railing *Rabsherkabs* of the Time in what they belch out against him do but as Dogs that bark against the Moon, and therefore I shall leave him to the Cure prescribed by God himself for such Tongues in the 120th *Psalms*, ver. 3, 4. *What shall be given unto thee? or, what shall be done unto thee thou false Tongue? sharp Arrows of the Mighty with Coals of Juniper;* and do depend, as I believe Mr. *Prynne* doth also, upon that Scripture Word, *That in due Time the Mouth of all Iniquity shall be stopt.*

The SPEECH and DECLARATION of his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, delivered at *White-hall* upon *Tuesday* the 21st of *February* 1659, to the Members of Parliament at their Meeting there, before the Re-admission of the formerly seclused Members into the Parliament House.

Ordered by his Excellency the Lord General, that this Speech and Declaration be forthwith printed and published.

WILL. CLARK Secretary.

Entered in the Stationers Hall according to Order.

Printed in the Year 1659.

The SPEECH of his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*.

GENTLEMEN,

YOU are not, I hope, ignorant, what Care and Endeavours have been used, and Means essayed, for healing the Breaches of our Divisions amongst ourselves; and that in order thereunto divers Conferences have been procured between you, though to small Effect: Yet having at length received fuller Satisfaction from these worthy Gentlemen that were seclused than formerly; I was bold to put you all to the Trouble of this Meeting, that I might open myself to you all, even with more Freedom than formerly. But lest I might be misapprehended or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed to Writing the Heads of what I intended to discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly to you all.

The DECLARATION of his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*.

GENTLEMEN,

IT appears unto me, by what I have heard from you and the whole Nation, that the Peace and happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next under God, lieth in your Hands. And when I consider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which I have Reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, and how great a Share of the Nation's Sufferings will fall upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a Settlement, I am in very good Hopes there will be found in you all, such melting Bowels towards these poor Nations, and towards one another, that you will become Healers and Makers up of all its woeful Breaches. And that such an Opportunity may clearly appear to be in your Hands, I

thought good to assure you, and that in the Presence of God, that I have nothing before my Eyes but God's Glory, and the Settlement of these Nations, upon Commonwealth Foundations. In pursuit whereof I shall think nothing too dear; and for my own Particular I shall throw myself down at your Feet, to be any Thing or nothing, in order to these great Ends. As to the Way of future Settlement, far be it from me to impose any Thing; I desire you may be in perfect Freedom; only give me Leave to mind you, that the old Foundations are by God's Providence so broken, that in the Eye of Reason, they cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the People of these Nations, that have engaged for their Rights, in Defence of the Parliament, and the great and main Ends of the Covenant, for uniting and making the Lord's Name one in the three Nations: And also the Liberty of the People's Representatives in Parliament will be certainly lost; for if the People find, that after so long and bloody a War against the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet at last he must be taken in again, it will be out of Question, and is most manifest, he may for the future govern by his Will, dispose of Parliaments and Parliament-men as he pleaseth, and yet the People will never more rise for their Assistance.

And as to the Interest of this famous City (which hath been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments, and unto whom I am, for their great Affection, so deeply engaged) certainly it must lie in a Commonwealth; that Government only, being capable to make them (through the Lord's Blessing the Metropolis and Bank of Trade for all Christendom, whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them above all others.

And as to a Government in the Church, the Want whereof hath been no small Cause of these Nations Distractions; it is most manifest, that if it be monarchical in the State, the Church must follow, and Prelacy must be brought in, which these Nations I know cannot bear, and against which they have so solemnly sworn.

And indeed moderate, not rigid, Presbyterian Government, with a sufficient Liberty for Consciences truly tender, appears at present to be the most indifferent and acceptable Way to the Church's Settlement.

The main Thing that seems to lye in the Way, is the Interest of the Lords, even of those Lords who have shewed themselves noble indeed, by joining with the People; and in Defence of those just Rights, have adventured their dearest Blood and large Estates. To that I shall only say, that tho' the State of these Nations be such, as cannot bear their sitting in a distinct House; yet certainly, the Wisdom of Parliament will find out such hereditary Marks of Honour for them, as may make them more noble in After-ages.

Gentlemen, Upon the whole Matter, the best Result that I can make at present for the Peace of these Nations, will be, in my Opinion, that you forthwith go to sit together in Parliament: In order,

1. To the settling the Conduct of the Armies of the three Nations, in that Manner as they may be serviceable to the Peace and Safety of them, and not to its own and the Nation's Ruin, by Faction and Division.

2. To

2. To the providing sufficient Maintenance for them ; that is, for the Forces By Land, and for the Navy by Sea, and all their Arrears of both, and other Contingencies of the Government.

3. To the appointing a Council of State, with Authority to settle the Civil Government and Judicatories in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to take Care, for the issuing of Writs, for the summoning a Parliament of these three Nations united, to meet at *Westminster* the 20th Day of *April* next, with such Qualifications as may secure the Public Cause we are all engaged in, and according to such Distributions as were used in the Year 1654. Which Parliament, so called, may meet and act in Freedom, for the more full establishing of this Commonwealth, without a King, single Person, or House of Lords.

4. To a legal Dissolution of this Parliament to make Way for Succession of Parliaments.

And in order to these good Ends, the Guards will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully both myself, and every the Officers under my Command, and (I believe) the Officers and Soldiers of the three Nations will spend their Blood for you and successive Parliaments.

If your Conjunction be directed to this End, you may part honourably, having made a fair Step to the Settlement of these Nations, by making a Way for successive Parliaments.

But I must needs say, that if any different Councils should be taken (which I have no Reason to fear;) these Nations would presently be thrown back into Force and Violence, and all Hopes of this much desired Establishment buried in Disorder, which the Lord, in his great Mercy, I hope, will prevent. And so God speed you well together, and unite your Hearts for the Preservation of Peace and Settlement of these Nations, to his own Glory and yours, and all our Comforts.

An A P O L O G Y in the Behalf of the Sequestred Clergy, presented to the High Court of Parliament.

By R. Mossom, Preacher of God's Word at *S. Pet. P. Wh. London.*

Lex Justitiæ, Justitia Reipub. basis, I. C. ax.

Printed in the Year 1660.

To the Right Honourable the LORDS and COMMONS assembled in
P A R L I A M E N T.

Most Noble Lords, and Worthby Patriots,

Glorious is the Day of our *Sion's* Deliverance, in which the Sun hath broken through the Clouds. Sovereignty dispelled the Mists and Storms too of Disloyalty. Now, after our Hallelujah's to the King of Glory for the Wonders of his Providence; fit it is that we make Oblations of Gratitude for your prudent Counsels and exemplary Allegiance.

Whereby, whatever have been our Turnings and Rollings, all as excentric to Righteousness as to Peace, we are now fixed upon our right Centre, a loyal Subjection to our lawful Sovereign.

And O! what Joy is it, to see in the High Court of Parliament, *Aristides* and *Themistocles* forget all Injuries and Animosities, changing their private Contention into this public Emulation *, *Uter melius de patria mereri possit*, whether may deserve best of his Country.

This is that (worthy Heroes) which gives Confidence to this Address, by way of Apology, so to represent the sequestred Clergy's Cause and Condition, that, in the common Joy, and public Exultation, they may not be the only Mourners at home †, in their deep Distress of private Affliction; which yet must needs be, if when their Persecution is ceased, their Sufferings continue; if when their Oppressors are removed, they remain still under their Oppressions. They have had their Part in the Fastings, and Prayers, and Tears, for obtaining the Blessing of Restauration; O let them have their Portion in the Comfort, and Peace and Joy of the Church and State restored. They have, though sequestred, threatened, and imprisoned, they have, very many of them (if not most of them) from Press and Pulpit, prayed and preached, and earnestly contended for that Liberty wherein these Nations now stand; and O let them have at least this Reward of their Services, a Release from their Sufferings.

Many of us have been sequestred before the late King, of blessed Memory, was murdered, and many of us since that black and dismal Treason; and for

* *Herod. Hist.*

† If yet they have any Home since they were thrust out of their Houses.

no other Crime but acting in our Callings according to the Dictate of our Consciences, discharging our Ministry according to the Rule of our established Laws. (If Ignorance or Scandal be truly and legally objected against any Man's Ministry or Person, let them that will plead for *Baal*.) Not being conscious then of violating either the Law of God or Man, if our Accusers, and their Accusations be produced in Judgment, we are ready either clearly to justify our Innocence, or humbly to submit unto our Sentence. Besides, impossible it is, that all Notes of Discord and Parties (as his Majesty in his Declaration graciously desires, and positively ordains) should be utterly abolished, whilst our Sequestrations continue, and, which is worse, if the unlawful Possession of Intruders be confirmed.

We humbly conceive, that the Occasion of our Sequestration is now removed, and this not by any Pretence of Power or Party pleading Conquest (a Thing to be for ever silenced) but by a wonderful Work of God upon the very Hearts of Men; he and he alone hath overcome us all, in his Kindness and Love, to teach us to overcome one another, by all Loving-kindness.

Now, the Occasion, I say, of our Sequestrations being thus, even thus removed, shall a worse Evil come upon us (not only all Loving-kindness, but all common Justice being forgotten) the unjust Possession of our Livings confirmed? What could our greatest Enemies do more? Nay, they would have done much less, had we submitted to their Usurpation and Tyranny. We doubt not but the Honourable Court of Parliament, taking this one Particular into their judicious and Christian Consideration, it will persuade a speedy Removing, whatsoever may obstruct our so just, so reasonable, so necessary Readmission.

Sure we are, the Civil Law * does not (nor any other) justify Possession without Right; so that † unjust Possession, though long, cannot give Title; and without Title there is no Plea for Prescription; but the Law obliges to Restitution. We are right in the State of Captives ‖ returned, to whom, by all Rules of Equity, plenary Restitution is to be made; which yet we remit of in our Desires, as to the *summum jus* of a plenary Restitution, referring ourselves (honoured Patriots) to your Candour and Moderation.

This Precedent we can produce, (we will not take the Confidence to propose) that when the thirty Tyrants under *Gallienus* and *Valerianus*, had brought the Roman Empire into much Disorder and Confusions; and that by *Basiliscus* ** tyrannizing in the East, that venerable Council of *Chalcedon* was condemned, and the holy Fathers of the Church, the Bishops, and other Pastors were displaced and expelled, *Zeno* the Emperor subduing this Usurpation and Tyranny, with the Advice of the Senate, makes a Decree for a Restitution to the Church, with a †† *Decernimus, in integrum restituantur universa, & ad suum ordinem revocentur*, We decree that all Things be restored wholly, and reduced into their own Order.

* *Possessio jure consistens est civilis possessio*, Cod. l. 7. tit. 32.

† *Injusta possessio non est titulus, & sine titulo non est locus prescriptioni*. Ibid.

‖ *Reversus de captivitate, &c.* Cod. l. 7. tit. 35.

** *Evagr. Hist.* l. 2.

†† Cod. l. 1. tit. 35.

And not only the Civil Law asserts our Cause, but also the Common Law hath done its utmost to secure our Estates; for, besides the *Articuli Cleri*, so full and particularly express, we have our Interest in *Magna Charta* as to Privilege and Propriety, as clear and as full as any whatsoever. It is ordained in that Royal Charter, so often confirmed in Parliaments, that * *if any Thing be procured by any Person, contrary to our Privilege and Propriety* (the Premises intended) *it shall be holden of no Force or Effect*: So that, without an open Breach made to the Violation of all Men's Property, we cannot be denied the asserting ours.

Many Objections are strongly made, which here (I humbly conceive) are fully answered.

1. *Object.* Many learned and godly Men will be unprovided, if the sequestered Clergy be restored.

Ans. We give their Learning its just Esteem; but let me say (and 'tis beyond any Man's Gainfaying) the *learnedest Clergy* that ever *England* had, was that sequestered; their Works do witness it to the whole World: And as for their Godliness, if † *the Tree may be known by its Fruits*, these here pleaded for, have given Testimony beyond Exception: Yet these so eminently *learned and godly Ministers* have been (without all Tenderness and Compassion towards them) unprovided for almost twenty Years, which (if the *Objection* have any Weight) may justly require, and urge their speedy Re-admission, having been out too long to be kept out any longer, when God himself hath opened the Way for their Return: And, indeed, it is God's Providence which miraculously hath opened the Way; and, shall any human Power adventure to obstruct it? We desire no more but the Benefit of the known Law, and should not have Need of any Plea, Petition, or Apology to recover our own, did not some endeavour to prevail with this *Honourable Court* to interpose their Authority to intercept our Claim.

How then are they godly, who will knowingly (and so their Learning does encrease their Guilt) add Sin unto Sin, by usurping another's Right after so many Years unlawful Possession, and taking upon them the Guiding of those Flocks the chief Shepherd never committed to them, as not || *entering by the right Door*: Besides, if this Parliament should enact (which God forbid) that such Intruders should be confirmed in other Men's Livings as to Estate, and other Men's Charges as to the Ministry; how great a Snare would it be to Men's Consciences? (if at all godly) which certainly would not hereby be quieted, if truly awakened.

For our *Right* being indubitable by the Law of God and Man; a Law *post fact*, such as this, desired from the Parliament, can no ways acquit those pretended godly Ministers of palpable Injustice; but *in foro Conscientiæ*, they lie under the known and wilful Guilt of Injury and Wrong, which cannot, without Restitution, admit of Repentance to receive Pardon; that Maxim among the *Casuits* from St. *Augustine* being clear and certain, ** *non dimittitur peccatum, nisi restituatur ablatum* there can be no Remission (because no true Repentance) without Restitution in repair of Injuries. I beseech those godly

* *Mag. Chart.* cap. 37.

† *Matth.* xii. 33.

|| *John* x. 1, 2.

** *August.* Epist. 54.

Ministers

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 161

Ministers to consider, if they cannot answer this now, how they will answer it at the dreadful Day of Judgment.

2 *Object.* This of restoring sequestred Ministers to their Livings will disturb the Calm of State.

Ans. Sure I am the contrary will cloud the Face of Heaven, and turn the Calm into a Storm, and leave the Nation under a Curse. The greatest * *Troubler of Israel* is certainly Oppression and Injustice; and if the unjust Possession should be confirmed by the Parliament (as some Men would have it) what were this but † *to establish Iniquity by Law*? For if we have Right to possess, it is unjust to keep us out of our Possession; unjust in them that usurp our Right, but more unjust in those who confirm that Usurpation; especially when they have the Power in their Hands, and Law on their sides, and are appealed to us as a Court, and the highest Court of Justice, to have our Right asserted, and our Injury redressed.

Under Favour, we may, and must plead, the Parliament will not (for it is a Court of Justice) and it is an audacious Boldness to think they will, or petition they would, against ‖ our Wills, give away our Rights. If the Law take our Livings from us, we stand to our Trial and submit; if the Law does not, the Parliament sure will not; I had almost said, cannot. This I am sure, though they may confirm Men's present Possession, yet they cannot make our Right to have been no Right; it implies a Contradiction: Be it so then, that the Parliament should think fit to make their Possession firm, can they make it just? just *in foro Poli*, whatsoever it is *in foro Soli*: And what Conveniency should prompt the Parliament to confirm an unjust Possession, I cannot imagine, nor dare to enquire. Reason of State is a Secret which Duty forbids my Curiosity to pry into. I doubt not but this good Service I shall do the Parliament by this Apology, to clear their Justice and Honour against those Men's Insolence and Clamour, who would engage them to violate *Magna Charta*, the chiefest of Laws, and Subject's Property, the chiefest of Rights.

3 *Object.* If the Ministers must restore their Livings, then the Purchasers their Lands; and if so, the Consequences will be, a new Disturbance and Distraction.

Ans. As the Ministers invading other Men's Livings, became too much a Precedent for the Purchasers to possess other Men's Lands; so it were to be wished, that a just Resignation in the Ministers might become (as in godly Men and Ministers it should become) exemplary for a just Restitution in the Purchasers: But to say Truth, the Purchasers are generally far more the ingenuous, who have very many of them been satisfied with this Proposal, that, upon their Disbursements being repayed, with Consideration of Improvement for the Time, the Lands should be restored.

Now, if the Ministers had purchased our Livings, as others did the Church Lands, there might be ** some Appearance of Equity for Satisfaction of Charge; but yet still no Plea for Property.

* 1 Kings xviii. 17.

† Psalm xciv. 20.

‖ Who yet are willing to sacrifice what is most dear to the Peace of the Church, upon a

brotherly Accord for making up all Breaches.

** Notwithstanding the sure Rule in Civil Law, that *iniquis comparatoribus pretium rescere non liceat*. Cod. l. 7. Tit. 38.

162 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

4 *Object.* All must be content to be Losers.

Ans. We think, after almost twenty Years Exclusion from our Livings, to the utter undoing of so many numerous Families *, forced too too many to beg their Bread, and very often want Bread when they have been begging of it: We think, after this, to tell us of being further Losers, when for so many Years we have lost all, is but the Part of miserable Comforters.

Alas! many of us are so aged, that if not speedily restored, they shall not probably live to enjoy any Part of what is their own, which in this so miraculous a Deliverance, is given unto them again of God: And indeed, this adds a further Difference from the Case of the Purchasers; that as the Possessors of our Rights never were at Charge for our Livings, so nor are their Heirs or Executors cut off from any After-benefit by their restoring of them. Our Tenure is but for Life; that the Purchasers have paid for, is Perpetuity; so that all the Advantage we have by Restitution, is only to our selves for that Pittance of Life which remains; whereas in the Restitution from the Purchasers, there is a Profit to Posterity.

5 *Object.* You of the sequestred Clergy shall not be left without Provision: The Fanatic, and not ordained Preachers, being removed, and Livings as they fall vacant reserved, there will be found Livings enough, equal in Number and Value, to admit you all to your ministerial Employment, and a plentiful Subsistence.

Ans. A good Way, if rightly ordered, to preserve the Parliament's Honour in administering us Justice; and this without the least of Clamour, in not providing for learned and godly Ministers. And 'tis thus: The sequestred Clergy, according to Law and Reason, Equity and Conscience, being restored; those vacated Livings mentioned, will be a present Supply for the godly Ministers removed; and this, honourable to the Parliament, and just to us; but that we should be debarred our Right against Law, and thus disposed of to other Livings, however it might seem a Way of Relief to us, yet can it not (as we conceive) be an Act of Justice in the Parliament; and so, though it does sustain our Lives, yet it will not support their Honours.

For, if we are judged capable of other Livings, why not of our own? If we are not criminous, how comes it to pass, that having Property we are kept out of our old? And, if we are criminous, how come we to have the Capacity of being admitted into new? Besides, we know many, put into our Livings, have deserted their first Principles, and have taken the late Engagement, and done (according to that) what was dangerous and destructive to King and Parliament. Now, we suppose such Persons, without dispute, shall not be sheltered by any Parliamentary Authority, from the Laws of the Land, by which they (and all others too) are required to make Restitution.

These then being removed (whether pretended Heads of Houses in the Universities, or Ministers of several Churches, or the like) there will not be found (considering how very many since their Sequestration have died in their

* I speak not this as to my self, though I have some Time tasted the bitterest of Sufferings; for I acknowledge with Thankfulness,

through a Blessing of Providence upon my unwearied Labours, I have maintained myself and Family in some plentiful Subsistence.

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 163

Loyalty) there will not be found so considerable a Number of the sequestred Clergy, to return to their respective Charges, as to make any apparent Disturbance in the State, and so not so considerable a Number of the aforesaid godly Ministers, for whose Sakes the Parliament should be put upon so great an Act of Dishonour as that of Injustice.

6 *Object.* The Ministers are now so well acquainted with their People, and the People with their Ministers, that it will be a Distraction to the several Parishes to receive new Preachers.

Ans. How the several Parishes are affected towards their antient Pastors, is very evident; many of them (I am sure) much desiring, and earnestly longing, yea inviting their Return: Indeed (I believe) if the Colleges were to petition for their Governors, and the Parishes for their Ministers, it would soon appear, whether is most dissatisfactory and distracting to the Colleges and Parishes, the Absence or Return of their lawful Heads and Ministers.

Wherefore, it may be confidently averred, that it would be not only a great Contentment and Comfort to the aged Heads and religious Hearts of many truly reverend for Learning and Godliness, to be re-admitted to the Exercise of their Ministry in their respective Cures, but it would be also an abundant Satisfaction to their several Charges, who earnestly pray and long for their Returns, being conscientiously sensible how they have, like Sheep, erred and strayed since they lost their lawful Shepherds.

Now, if notwithstanding this Apology and Plea, fortified with Arguments of Law and Equity, Reason and Religion; if notwithstanding all this, the Judgment of this so honourable Parliament thinks fit (for Causes best known unto themselves) to wave our Right, and determine against our Re-admission; we have discharged our Consciences as to that * Natural Obligation of providing for our Families; that Political, of asserting our just Titles; and that Religious, of attending our ministerial Charges; all which will acquit us in our Account at the last Day: And having done this, we will not impatiently repine, nor uncharitably censure, much less undutifully resist, but in our accustomed Silence sit down in Submission to this High Court's prudential Decree and final Determination.

At present then, in the Face of the World, we plead for that which so honourable a Parliament will not deny us; to our Cause, Justice; to our Condition, Mercy; Mercy, for we may not doubt but at *Westminster*, as well as *Athens*, amidst so many noble Hearts we shall find an † Altar dedicated to Mercy; whose Sacrifices are Sighs and Tears, of which we can give a plentiful Offering, from Parents and Children oppressed with Necessities and Wants.

We know, indeed, Compassion is pleaded, as to the Families of the present Possessors; but what! may it not be more equally pleaded as to those the so long dispossessed? The sequestred Clergy have, generally, from plentiful Estates, been reduced to the deepest of Necessities; but they who entred upon the Sequestrations, were advanced from necessitous Estates to a plentiful Main-

* 1 Tim. v. 8. † *Parca superstitio non thurea flamma nec Altus. Accipitur sanguis, lacrymis Altaria sudant, &c.* Stat. lib. 12.

tenance; and so are provided even with our Incomes, to bear the Want of Profits (if it must be) better than those of the suffering Brethren, quite exhausted, and fainting under their Afflictions.

Whether, indeed, is more equal? that they be exposed to Want who have Right, but no Possession; or they who have Possession, but no Right.

Supposing that many, very many possess of our Livings, not being ordained Ministers, (or but lately ordained, in Design to hold their Livings) should not continue, but must give Place to the lawful Incumbents; supposing this, consider I beseech you (noble Worthies) how it clearly evinceth Right of Possession to be on our Side; but a Respect of Party (a Thing his Majesty would have buried, and this Parliament hath disclaimed) is made the grand Stop to our free Return; for, that all others do not recede, to give us Possession, cannot be justified by Law, therefore do they seek to be countenanced by Favour.

If in this Apology, any Error of Judgment, any Heat of Zeal, any Unfitness of Expression, Imprudence of Address, or the like, be liable to just Censure, I humbly crave that it may be wholly laid upon myself, acquitting the Reverend Fathers, and the Ministerial Brethren, as not in the least culpable. The Haste of this Address (lest it should be prevented by the Parliament's proceeding to the Bill) not permitting a deliberate Consultation with them, or a particular Approbation from them.

Now, the God of all Wisdom direct your Consultations (most noble Lords and honoured Heroes) to the Glory of his Name, the Honour of the King, and the Peace of our Sion, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. Amen.

Thus prays your Honour's Suppliant,

R. Mossom, *a Minister of the Gospel, and one of the SEQUESTRED CLERGY.*

SEASONABLE OBSERVATIONS humbly offered to his Highness the Lord PROTECTOR..

By *Samuel Lambe* of London, Merchant.

IT hath been often asserted, That if all People under one Government did seek the general Good, every single Person would then receive a particular Benefit thereby.

And it is observed in Societies that are in a joint Trade, and have By-Laws and Orders among themselves, that if an Interloper privately trade among them in the same Way, not submitting himself to the By-Laws and Orders of that Company, that he will receive to himself a greater Profit for the present, than any particular Person of the same incorporated Society, though if the undiscovered Practice thereof should be continued, and not prevented, it would

would tend to the utter Ruin and Destruction of the said Society and Trade for the future. Even so it is in a populous Commonwealth, where Part of the People, by unlawful and destructive Ways, seek their sinister Ends, to the general Hurt and Prejudice of the well-governed People therein.

To avoid which Evils in all good Governments, necessary and wholesome Laws are contrived and established, to preserve and protect the Property and Peace of each particular Person, and every one living under such Protection, is bound in Duty to further the Prosperity of his Country with all his utmost Endeavours; for no one is born to himself alone, but also to do good to others, and some Way or other may be a profitable Member to his Country, according to the Measure God hath given him: To which End I have, for the general Good, observed these two chief Ways that make a Nation rich and flourishing, *viz.*

By Arms and Conquest.

By Foreign Traffic and Merchandize.

To both which no People are more apt and prone than the *English* Nation. In the former, their Actions both by Sea and Land have sufficiently manifested it to all the World both at home and abroad, in former and later Ages, to this very Day; in the latter, our former Prosperity and Strength in Shipping have sufficiently shewed our Aptitude therein, though then much hindered, and discouraged from our growing Greatness, by the Avarice of some, who minded their particular Profits before the general Good; which hath caused the Strength of our warlike Shipping in Trade, to be much impaired and diminished, though small Notice is publickly taken of it, which hath put me upon the Considerations following.

1. *The Usefulness and Necessity of increasing the Trading-Shipping of England.*
 2. *The State and Condition our Trading-Shipping were in before the late Wars in England; and the Condition they are in at present.*
 3. *The State and Condition of the Hollanders Shipping and Trade at present.*
 4. *The Reason of the Hollanders so great Thriving in Trade in so short a Time (among others) is shewed their Use of Banks.*
 5. *The Benefit they have received by Banks.*
 6. *The Prejudice and Hindrance we receive by their Banks.*
 7. *The Good we may do ourselves by the Use of Banks in England.*
 8. *The Manner of a Bank described.*
 9. *Lastly, the Usefulness of a Court of Merchants.*
- All which I shall treat of in their Order.

First, It hath always been the general received Opinion (grounded upon uncontradicted Reason) that the People of *England* need not fear any foreign Invasion, so long as they do maintain and increase the Walls of their Land, *viz.* their Shipping and Mariners; which is the chiefest Power and Strength of the Nation against a foreign Enemy; whose Increase will not only much strengthen and enrich the maritime and frontier Towns and Countries bordering

ing on the Sea-coast, but also the whole Nation; and will make us always capable to ballance the Affairs of another State in reference,

To War,

To Trade.

By the former, we are now seasonably seeking Reparations from the *Spaniard*, for the many and cruel Injuries and Murders committed by them upon the Person and Goods of the People of *England* in the *West Indies*, and other Places; for which, since no reasonable Satisfaction could be tendered in a peaceable Way, do hope, by God's Blessing, will be obtained by a just War: And therefore it is necessary upon this Occasion, as against all others, for the *English* Nation to strengthen themselves what they can, and to use all good Endeavours thereunto.

For the latter, in reference to Trade, we may well suspect the studious Industry of our Neighbour the *Hollanders*, will soon over-balance us, if not timely prevented, they, at present, making a great Advantage to themselves to our great Prejudice, by the War between us and *Spain*, whose King hath lately prohibited wearing the Manufacture of *England*, of which Kind the *Hollanders* will furnish them with of their own making, and if they want Work-folks, will easily entice over *English*, wanting Employment, to work for them, and teach their People, by which Means much increasing their Trade; and when they know themselves thereby to grow rich by Increase of Trade, and consequently strong by Increase of Shipping and Mariners, and another Nation poor by Decrease of Trade, and also weak by Decay of Shipping and Mariners, how forward will they then be to prescribe Laws to such a decayed Nation? For it hath been long observed, that as the *Spaniard* aims to get the universal Monarchy of *Christendom*, so the *Hollander* the universal Trade, not only of *Christendom*, but of all the known World, from which they have been termed the Carriers of the World, through their Multitude of Shipping, sending them out to all Nations that have any Trade by Sea, and sometimes for Men of War; and until the late encouraging Act for increasing the Navigation of this Land, the *English* Merchants themselves, since the Beginning of the late Wars in *England*, usually freighted *Holland* Ships to fetch home their own Goods, because they would go for less Freight than the *English* Ships could, having less Charge, by carrying fewer Men than an *English* Ship of the same Burden, and less Provision, which Ships were usually insured in *London*; and it is the *Hollanders* Custom to this Day, that when they send any single Ship to the Southward for their own Accounts, oftentimes to insure them in *England*; and if they miscarry, then the *English* make good their Losses, as too often it so falls out; and if such Ship comes well home, they save the Premium in sailing such Shipping with less Charges than the *English* do theirs of the same Burthen; and being so weakly manned, if they at any Time chance to meet a *Turk's* Man of War (they seldom fight with them as the *English* do, and so oftentimes honourably acquit themselves) but deliver up their Shipping without firing a Gun, to save the Seamen's Liberty, and what belongs unto them, and so arm the *Turks* against all *Christendom*: But when they send unarmed Fleets into any Country, at the fit Seasons of the Year, when Merchandize is to be had

had in such Country they are bound for ; then if there be Danger, they send a Squadron of Men of War to convoy them at the public Charge, and these are seldom insured : But if any *English* Ship of Force go the same Voyage such single *Dutch* Ship went, seldom any Insurance is made (except she be missing, or her Safety doubted) because they usually go safer, being better provided of Men and other Necessaries for Defence against the Danger of Enemies and bad Weather ; and also before the said Act, the *Hollanders* served us with the Commodities of other Nations in their own Ships, both in *England* and in our Western Plantations, while our *English* Ships lay in Harbour for want of Employment till they were unserviceable, and our Mariners took Employment of the *Hollanders* to sail their Ships to get their Livelihoods, to the great Loss and Dishonour of the *English* Nation ; and since the said late Act, how diligent the *Hollanders* have been, notwithstanding the same, that to their Cost a whole Fleet of them together were surprized, trading at the *Barbadoes*, and forfeited according to the Penalty of the said Act, which shews how well they like trading with us with foreign Goods in their own Ships, that though they dared not bring any for *England*, fearing the Penalty of the said Act, yet they would run so great an Hazard to serve our Plantations, peradventure intending to over-awe the Penalty of Confiscation, by continually having a greater Power in Shipping there than we had, that if a Seizure had been attempted by the *English* there, they might have overpowered them, and made such an Attempt of no Effect, not once dreaming that a Fleet of Men of War would stop there to seize them in their Way to *Sancta Domingo* and *Jamaica*. Now, although the said Act hath breathed some Refreshing to the decaying Trade of the *English* Nation, yet it hath not altogether cured her of her Disease, as will be shewn hereafter ; besides, the present Abuse not looked into as ought to be, in entering Strangers Ships in *Englishmen's* Names in the Custom-house.

It hath been also observed how industrious the *English* Nation are and have been, not only in contriving and building convenient and strong Ships for Burthen, swift-sailing, and of Force, but also in managing the same as well in single Fights in Trade for Defence against Pyrates, and in Fleets in public Wars with a foreign Enemy, to their perpetual Honour and Terror of their Adversaries ; witness the many single Fights at Sea against the *Turks*, to whom it is believed the *Dutch* lose ten Ships for our one, and the remarkable Sea-fights against the *Hollanders* themselves in the late Wars, wherein many Merchants Ships, from about 300 Tons to about 500 Tons, did engage against the Enemy, with the States Ships and Frigates to our great Advantage, which at that Time would have been much wanted, if they had not been built ; the Enemy, notwithstanding, much overnumbering us every Fight in Ships and Tonnage, and yet supplied their Loss of Ships daily taken and destroyed by us, assisting their Men of War still with their Merchant-men of equal Force and Burthen, and some bigger, such as they usually send to the *East Indies* ; which foregoing Passages shew the excellent Use of *English* Shipping, and the Necessity of increasing them, which cannot be done no way so well as by Trade, for War is known to be chargeable, hazardous and bloody ; therefore how ought
Trade

Trade to be cherished, maintained and encreased with all Power, Diligence and Invention that can be contrived.

Secondly, If we take into Consideration the State and Condition our trading Shipping were in, before the late Wars in *England*, we may find by the *East India* Company's Account, that they alone did employ, in that Trade, at once 15000 Tons of Shipping, which were accounted to be of the best sort of trading Ships belonging to *England*, of the Burthen of about 300 Tons to about 600 Tons: But the old Company were at last so decayed in their Shipping, through the Discouragement of Trade, and undermining of the *Dutch*, and other Casualties, that they had hardly one good Ship remaining at their giving over; so the last new Company thought it better to freight Ships for their Employment, which they always did, rather than build any: But now, if the new established Company will freight Ships also, and not build, they will find very few of Force and Burthen fitting for that Employment; for I cannot hear, for about these ten Years past, that a trading Ship of about 400 Tons hath been built in *England*, and those that have been built within that Time, seldom were so big as 200 Tons; but I believe ten for one of less Burthen, which with other slight Ships, that are usually insured, do supply that little Trade the *Dutch* have left the *English* Nation in the *Streights*, which in former Times used to employ, by Estimation, not less than about 80 or 100 Sail of good Ships of about 3 and 400 Tons Burthen each Ship, and upwards; but now the *English* Trade will not maintain and employ Ships of such Burthen and Defence, which is the Reason so many small ones have been taken by the *Spaniards* of *St. Sebastians*, *Majorca*, and other Places: And I have formerly known many Ships of the like Burthen built and equipped in *England*, purposely to send to *Venice* to let out to that State for Men of War to serve them against the *Turks*; but the *Hollanders* soon eat us out of that Employment also, by serving them with Ships of equal Burthen with ours, for less Freight than we could with our Ships, which they might afford to do for the Reasons hereafter declared.

And whereas the Company of Merchant Adventurers trading for *Hamburg*, used yearly to send about Twenty good Ships thither, chiefly laden with the Manufactures of *England*, the Vent whereof gave great Employment to many Tradesmen, besides the Poor; but this Year they have sent only one Ship from *London*, the last Shipping, and the Goods of that Ship will not go off neither; and the Wool that makes these Manufactures, that usually sold for about 10 *d.* per Pound, is sold now, as I hear, for 6 *d.* or 7 *d.* which shews a great Alteration and Deadness of Trade, which at this Time is the general and daily Complaint of all Tradesmen of what Profession soever: The like might be instanced in our Shipping trading for the East Country, and other Places, where we send one now, formerly we sent Ten at least, the Continuance whereof will much decrease the Strength of the *English* Shipping, and is an apparent Sign of the general Decay of the foreign Trade of *England*, which ought to be so well managed and encouraged without Delay, as that we should equal, if not exceed, all other our Neighbour Nations; for if any one Nation grow greater in Power than another, so as the weaker become subject to the
Conditions

Conditions of that one greater Nation, either in State Affairs, or Government of Trade, how ready then will all other Nations be to endeavour to make their own Terms ? or to be ready to make a Prey of such a declined People ; and if the Case were ours, would it not be so with us ? other Nations bearing a Kind of Envy to our former Happiness in good Successes and noble Achievements, both at home and abroad ; for, what Corner of the World hath not been searched by us to find out Trade ? The Profit whereof (the Reward of Industry) gave first Boldness to venture to pass the main Ocean, and make new Discoveries in foreign Parts round about the World, and hath enlarged our Nation with many new and large Plantations, to the enriching, cherishing and employing of many Thousands of our People, by which may be discerned the flourishing and prosperous Condition the *English* Shipping were in ; which without doubt will soon encrease again with the Increase of Trade.

But it may be objected, there is no such Need of great Ships now, as hath been for the Defence of the Seas, seeing we have so great and gallant a Fleet of Men of War, which are more serviceable upon Occasion than Merchantmen taken into warlike Employment.

It is answered, That admit a very strong Fleet of Men of War were always maintained, such a one as, in any Man's Judgment did equal any Fleet of Men of War of any Neighbour Nations, and that we should have War with any such Nation, and in Fight Part of the Fleet should be lost, or so battered that they could not be so suddenly recruited, or made serviceable, as there might be Occasion for them to supply the Place and Service of those Ships that might be so lost or defective, but by Merchants Ships ; as in the late War with *Holland*, it was observed what gallant Service every Merchant's Ship performed, when each Captain was shifted out of his own Ship into another ; when at the first every Captain continuing in his own Ship was not so adventurous, not out of Cowardice, as dreading what might happen to his Person, but out of Desire to prevent the Damage that might happen to his own Ship, which might turn to the Loss of his Owners, the Captain well knowing the Charge in repairing them again, or building others ; and peradventure, if their old ones had been lost, it might have been a hard Thing for him that lost his Ship to get Friends to join together to build him another ; for now Shipping is esteemed the worst Commodity this Day in *England*, every one that hath any, being willing to sell, because they lose by them through want of Trade and Employment for them ; whereas if Trade were quick, and any Profit came by them, every one would be desirous to be interested in them.

Moreover, if a standing Fleet of Men of War, as aforesaid, should be maintained, and having a War with another Nation, that Fleet should hold always good, so as there were no Need of Merchant Ships to join with them ; yet it must be considered, that infallibly the Want of Trade will much impoverish the People of *England*, which otherwise know not how to subsist, they encreasing so much, notwithstanding the late Wars, and the Land (though full of Plenty) not encreasing with them, being an Island ; witness the many entertained for Soldiers, either for want of Trades, or by Decay of their Trades, and the many daily going for *Ireland* and the Plantations, and yet

there is no mis of them ; for in any Town or Parish, where any House or Farm is to be let (notwithstanding the Improvement of the late King's and Bishops Lands, &c.) how many strive for it till the Rent thereby is so raised upon the Landlord, by out-bidding each other, till at last he that taketh it, is either undone or weakened in his Estate, with over-renting it ; and so the People's Estates are too often impaired in defraying their respective Charge for want of Trade ; and considering that such a standing Fleet of Men of War will be a great Charge and Burthen to the People to maintain it, which will help to impoverish them more and more : But on the contrary, the Preservation and encrease of Trade will not only maintain a gallant Fleet of warlike Ships and Mariners, such as all the known World will not only admire, but stand in Fear of, and will also enrich and strengthen the whole Nation.

Thirdly, the Condition and Number of the *Hollanders* remaining Shipping in Trade is such, that they are beholding to the *English* for them, in that not only their Shipping, but their People too, were not destroyed in the late Wars with them, which in Probability might have come to pass, had the War continued till this Time with the like Success, that it pleased God then daily to give to the *English* Nation ; but if the same Success had happened to them, their former Cruelties to the *English* in *Amboyna*, and present Practices in *East India*, would make it questionable, whether they would have granted such good Conditions to the *English*, as they did to them at the concluding of the Peace between both Parties ; for, who knows but that their besieging *Bantam* (which is supposed to be taken by them) is only a Design upon the Natives, contrived purposely to enable them, by the gaining of it, wholly to remove the *English* from that Factory, to prevent them of Trade in *India*, now the *English* Company trading thither had so much discontinued it ; and if they could do as much by *Surrat* also, then how easy will it be for them to command the Coast ? they being so powerful in Shipping there, may deny any Nation trading thither, without Danger, but whom they please, and then if we will have any Commodities from thence, it must be with their good Liking and Consent ; but it is not often known that they easily yield to any thing that hinders their Advantage, or the Increase of their Traffic and Navigation : And if they should gain that Trade to themselves, as is doubted is their Desires and Design, and is feared they will effect without a Bank in *England*, and then it is believed it will be more profitable to them by Trade, than all the *West Indies* is any way to the King of *Spain* ; and if the *English* should lose that Trade, as it hath been in great Danger, then what Need have we of Merchant Ships of Burthen and Force ? and, who would build any, having no Employment for them ? and if no Employment for such Shipping of Force, through Decay of Trade, then in a short Time what will become of the Maritime Power and Strength of the *English* Nation ? For, besides the many Advantages the *Dutch* will accrue to themselves by having the sole Trade of *East India*, enriching their People many fundry Ways,

This great Prejudice they will do us,

We shall be weaker by so much Shipping, and so many Mariners as we might employ thither.

It

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 171

It will hinder those Tradesmen, in their several Professions, that furnish those Ships that go to Sea, as Shipwrights, Smiths, Mast-makers, Sail-makers, Rope-makers, &c. and diminish the Trade of those Materials.

It will hinder the Vent of our native Commodities, which those Shipping would carry thither, which will impoverish our People that made those Commodities.

It will hinder us of those Commodities which that Country doth afford, that we may have great Need of; as in Time of War, of Salt-Petre to make Gun-powder; so as we shall have no Commodity from thence but what the *Dutch* will spare us at their own Prices; which makes me remember a notable Passage I have heard of the *Dutch* in *India*, where a Ship of theirs arriving at a trading Port in that Country, laden with one only Commodity, which they knew the Place wanted, therefore set what Price on it they pleased; which the Townsmen refused to give them, and on the contrary held off buying the same, presuming they would take their Offer for the Commodity, rather than go to another Market, or lye in Port with a great Charge of Men, Victuals and Wages, to expect more, which the *Dutch* perceiving, resolved to prevent the Townsmen of their delaying them, and yet also have their Price, therefore immediately caused the one Half of the Commodity to be carried ashore, and there burnt in the Sight of the Townsmen, and then demanded as much for the remaining Half as the whole would have come to at the Price they made; which the Inhabitants were forced to give for the said half Part, rather than want the said Commodity, fearing lest half the remaining Part should be burnt also, and then must give as much for one Quarter of it, as they might have had the whole Parcel for, before any of it was burnt: Such is the Force and Power of Trade where a useful Commodity is wanting, and when engrossed into one Hand.

But besides the Trade of *India*, it is too much felt how the *English* Trade in *Turkey* is at this present; also, in the East Country, and at *Hamburg*, to serve all *Germany*, and in all the *Streights* over, where the *Dutch* not only undersell us in their own, but in our native Commodities, as Cloth, Tin, Lead, &c. they buying these Commodities of the *English* at the best Hand, and cheapest Season of the Year; as Cloth carried over to them rough and white, they dye and dress, and sell it, before we can ours dressed and shipped from hence; besides that, they sell made in *Suffolk*, and of their own making of *English* and *Spanish* Wool mixed together; also, they may buy our Lead here, when the *English* Merchants ship out least, at that Time it is cheapest, and commonly riseth at the going out of *Turkey* Ships, or at any Herring-season, which I have often known, to my Cost, to rise from 11 or 12 *l.* per Fodder, to 14 or 15 *l.* per Fodder, and upwards, as at this Day, which is about 20 *l.* per Cent. Difference; which, with the Cheapness of Freight in their own Ships, to what is paid in *English*, and saving Insurance, by sending Convoys with their Fleets, enables them to undersell us abroad, and to have the Pre-emption of foreign Goods for Returns, and raise the Price of them upon us; so have they Advantage of us every Way, to the great Discouragement of the *English* Trade, and insensible weakening of the *English* Power, which Courses the *English* cannot

not take for want of Stock, much of it lying dead, sometimes two or three Years, and in danger oftentimes in a remote Country, in unsold Commodities, as at this Day : And should they take up Monies at Interest, to prosecute such a Trade, as the Case now stands, it would suddenly and insensibly eat them out of their Estates, which oftentimes is gained with long and toilsome Labour, and great Hazard. On the contrary, the *Dutch* are herein enabled to raise good Profit by the Quickness of their Returns, the Largeness of their Stock, which is increased by Banks, and the Continuance of their Trades from one Generation to another, and partly by Lowness of Money at Interest, which is occasioned as I shall shew hereafter.

The like may be said of the Trade in *Russia*, the East Country, and other Places, where the *Dutch* and we have Trading together ; they find Ways to undermine us, to our great Loss and Discouragement, though few old Traders consider the Cause in all their Lives. But I instance only in the two former Trades, because they chiefly give Employment to our warlike shipping Trade.

Fourthly, Touching the Reason of the *Hollanders* so great Thriving in Trade before us, may be these :

Their Statesmen sitting at the Helm, steering the Affairs of their Government, are many of them Merchants in present Trade, or have been bred so in their Minorities, or by Travel in other Countries, or well-grounded Experience at home, have well understood the Course of Trade, whereby they are enabled the better (making the Increase, Protection, and Encouragement of Trade their chiefest Care) to further it in their Interest of State with other Nations in all Treaties, and therein make such Provision for the Furtherance thereof in their own Behalves, as may make most for their Benefit and Advantage, and Prejudice and Inconvenience of the other State, whom they can most prevail with and over-rule ; so that their good Management in foreseeing the Benefits and Inconveniencies that may happen, is one main Cause of their so admired flourishing Condition, from so small Beginnings : For who can give better Advice in any Trade than he that studies it, or is bred up in the same.

They have a Custom, that when any of their Tradesmen die, they divide their Estates equally among their Children, whereby the youngest having equal Education with the eldest, is with his Stock capable of driving as good a Trade as the eldest ; by which Means, their Estates in Trade descend to their Posterities, and also the Rules, Instructions, and many Years Experience and Observations, that gained their Parents their Estates, and oftentimes the very same Trades also, they having no Lands to purchase, as other Nations have.

But, on the contrary, it is the usual Custom in *England*, when a Tradesman dies that hath Children, having raised his Estate, to give mean Portions to his younger Sons, and make the eldest Possessor of the greatest Part of his Estate, who addicts himself oftentimes to the Pleasures of Hunting, Hawking, and such like Pastimes, betaking himself wholly to a Country Life, where either by Increase of his Charge, ill Husbandry, or want of Skill to manage his Estate, which peradventure is thereby much impaired, therefore is usually desirous, if he have so much Money left, to put his Sons Apprentice to learn Trades to get their Livelihoods : And when they are made Freemen (if they did not mis-

carry

carry before) are oftentimes as far to seek for a Way to get their Livings by, for want of Stock to set up their Trades, as their Grandfather was, before he gained their Father's Estate. But if the Grandfather, who knew how to get that Estate he left his eldest Son, had also bred him up in his own Trade, or in some other, he had been capable to instruct and enrich his Children by it also; so as instead of weakening the Estate, it would have mightily increased on him, and have augmented the Stock of the Nation.

Their true and faithful making their Manufactures without Deceit, as Cloth, Sayes, Serges, Perpetuanaes, &c. and giving them their due Contents, makes them the more serviceable, and their several Goodness (by Experience) being known abroad, causeth them to sell before those of the Manufacture of *England*, that are made slight and unserviceable, wanting their due Contents and Goodness; which is not so well looked into as ought to be, according to the good Laws provided in that Behalf, which not only brings the *English* Commodities into Disgrace at Market abroad, but is a great Prejudice to the Nation in general, by wanting Vent for them, the Makers striving daily to exceed each other in slight making, as Cloth made of Flocks mingled with Wool, &c. that they may the sooner sell and afford them at the *English* Merchant's low Price, to which he is tied to buy, being guided by the *Dutchman's* low Rate he sells of the same Kind at Market, contenting themselves, and thriving with the less Profit, by selling much greater Quantities abroad of several Sorts of Goods, and having quicker Returns and greater Stocks than the *English*, and so the *Dutch* have the Pre-eminence in the Sale of their Manufactures before us, by their true Making, to their very Files and Needles

Their Care and Vigilancy over their Traffic, in taking off and laying on Impositions on sundry Commodities, to quicken or dull them in their Sale and Price, as they see Occasion to encourage their own Manufactures, or hinder those of a foreign Nation, for the better Employment of their Shipping and People, besides each Merchant's particular Correspondence with their respective Factors or Servants in the Countries where they trade, in which they are also very dextrous in communicating certain and early Advice, as well of the public, as of their own private Occurrences.

Their giving Countenance and Encouragement to new Designs propounded to them for public Good, which whets the Invention, and occasions new Discoveries, and the bringing in of many profitable and delightful Arts and Mysteries among them, the Author never wanting his due Reward, which is made good to him out of the public Stock, none feeling the Charge thereof, and is also preferred to such Employment as his Genius and Capacity leads him unto, wherein he may be more profitable to himself and them, preferring such for their Merit and Encouragement, rather than others less deserving, for Favour or sinister Ends.

But their chief and most considerable Way, by which they have brought themselves to what they are, is their profitable Use of Banks.

Fifthly, the Benefit they have received by Banks, are these:

By the Help thereof they have raised themselves from Poor, Distressed, to High and Mighty States.

They

174 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

They have increased the general Stock of their Country so much, that they can, when they please, ingross the particular Commodity of one Country, and sell it again at their own Price, in the same, or another that wants it.

They maintained Wars many Years with the King of *Spain*, and hired foreign Soldiers, to save their own People in that War, and received in ready Money (with which they paid their Armies) the Proceed of their Utenfils of War, and other Commodities they sold their Enemies, which they bought with imaginary Money in Banks, and so furnished the *Spaniard* with those Things he wanted, for their own Profit, which otherwise they knew another Nation would else have done.

They have increased their Trade, and thereby grown so rich and strong in Shipping and Mariners, that they forced the King of *Spain* to a Peace with them.

To make their own Terms with the King of *Denmark*.

To hold the King of *France* to such Conditions as have not always pleased him.

To make War with the *English* at Sea, to whom they there always yielded and acknowledged Obedience and Submission.

To rule over many petty Kings and Principalities in the *East Indies*, and other Places where they have Power to overcome them.

These are some of the Benefits the *Hollanders* have received by Increase of Trade, occasioned by Banks.

Sixthly, the Prejudice we receive by their Banks are these:

It brings down their Interest of Money to 3 or 4 *l. per Cent.* (at which Rate, I know at present many thousand Pounds there let out, in a Parcel, in ready Money, which the *Dutch* do often deliver by Exchange for *London*, and there the same Takers at Interest out of the Banks, may let it out again in *England* at 6 *l. per Cent.* formerly at 8 *l. per Cent.* and when the Money is come into them again, it may be more than suspected, that it is privately sent into *Holland*, both in Silver and Gold, some Profit arising thereby, the latter being grown so dear, and both far more scarce in *England* than formerly (little being of late imported to coin, for sundry Reasons) and so plentiful in *Holland*, that great Payments have been made there in *Sterling* Money only, besides that concealed in their Bank, which is a great Hindrance to Trade in *England*, by wanting so much Stock as is so transported, and doth also impoverish this Land.

Also, by their Banks, they may be furnished in *England* by Exchange, with ready Money to buy the native Commodities of the Maker, at the first hand, and at the cheapest Seasons of the Year, as Lead, Tin, Cloth, Bays, Says, Serges, Perpetuanaes, Stockings, &c. having, as is suspected, their *English* Packers at *London*, to buy such Goods there for their Accounts, and their Agents residing in the Countries and Towns in *England*, where such Manufactures are made, and there buy them cheaper of the Maker himself for ready Money, by about 10 *l. per Cent.* than the *English* Merchants can do at *London* of such Makers Factors, to whom else he sends them, to sell for his Account, the Maker thereby saving Factorage, and other Charges and Adventures, and making bad Debts

Debts in sending such Goods to sell at *London*, besides Uncertainty in selling them for Time, or ready Money, and other Troubles and Casualties in returning the Money into the Country; for which Reasons, the Maker had rather sell a better Bargain by himself at home, receiving his ready Money there to serve his Occasions, than run the former Uncertainties, by which Help of Banks, having Money there at a low Rate, the *Dutch* are enabled, and do undersell the *English* Merchants at Market in their own native Commodities, to their great Loss and Discredit; and it is doubted, that many *English* Merchants also do colour such Goods for them at the Custom-house, having also understood that at this Time *English* Wool and Fullers Earth, is too often carried from hence into *Holland*, in the *English* Men of War, such Ships being never visited by the Officers of the Custom-house, which ought suddenly to be prevented, the *Dutch* being too well stored with those Commodities, most of the Wool of this Year's Growth in *Kent*, being doubted already to be transported from, or near *Dover*, *Rochester*, &c. which are the Back-doors out of which such Commodities are suspected to be too often conveyed through Connivance.

But if it be objected, That the *English* may also buy of the Maker on the same Terms: It may be answered, They want Stock, through Deadness and Decay of Trade. But if it be replied, That they may then take up Money at Interest to do it: To which is answered, that if they have so much Credit to do so, they must then give 6 *l. per Cent.* for it, besides Procuring and Continuance, and the *Dutch* hath it for about 3 *l. per Cent.* or under, which, with the Cheapness of Freight in their own Ships, &c. doth enable them, notwithstanding, to sell our native Commodities for us abroad, cheaper than we can afford to sell them ourselves, and so secretly eat the Bread out of our own Mouths, and undermine and work us out of Trade, and Employment of our own Ships all the World over, being in the *East Indies* accounted much inferior to them.

By the Help of Banks, they so much augment their Stocks, that they set out so many hundred of Busses, and other Fisher-boats yearly, to catch Herring and Cod-fish in our Seas, with which they serve all *Christendom*, to their incredible Gains, and formerly our own Nation to our great Loss, Decay of our Fishery, and many Fishing-towns on the Sea Coast.

These Inconveniencies we receive by their Banks, and many other, there being none in *England* to countermine them, by which it may appear, it is not altogether the raising of Excise, or laying on Impositions upon the Commodities retailed and spent within ourselves, as is often suggested to be the Cause of the present Deadness of Trade, but the mere Advantage and undermining of the *Dutch*, with their great Stocks, who always have also had a great Excise charged upon the most Part of the Commodities spent within themselves, which causeth the Spender of such Goods to pay dearer for them, they being enabled so to do, by cherishing their foreign Trade for the general Good, in laying on small Duties on the Commodities transported, with other Privileges and good Orders to punish Misdemeanors in Trade, wherein they are as unmercifully just, in the executing them without respect of Persons, for the public

lic Good, as the *English* are too often unjustly merciful, in sparing each other for private Ends, to the general Hurt.

Seventhly, the Good we may do our selves by Banks, if settled in *England*, are many ; for no Nation yet ever made use of them, but they flourished and thrived exceedingly.

First, they will, by well ordering them, bring back the Gold and Silver which hath been drained out of this Land by the *Hollanders* Banks, and by other Princes raising the Value thereof in their Dominions.

They will much increase the Stock of this Land, which will wonderfully encrease all manner of Trade, and will bring in that excellent transporting Trade, and make *England* the Staple of all Foreign Commodities, as *Holland* is at this Time, and hath been since they had the Use of Banks, who have nothing considerable of their own Growth and Manufactures, yet have the Staple of all Commerce as a rich Treasure, in Money and Jewels, all Materials for Shipping and War, all manner of Cloathing, and the Granary and Vineyard of *Europe*, with which Commodities they furnish most Countries, which *England* may also do with much Ease and Profit, and make this Land the Staple for Trade ; for, by Experience, our People are known to be as tractable in Trade as any other Nation, had they but Stock, which is thought to be the only Thing wanting, besides a few Privileges in Ports, to carry on that so much desired and profitable Trade, and our Land lies more convenient for it than any other, having the Sea open on every Side, and so many safe Harbours to shelter Shipping in foul Weather, and so many convenient Ports for landing of Goods, from whence they may be transported with all Winds, at all Seasons of the Year ; and the *English* Mariners are as good as any be in the known World, and may have as good Shipping to carry Goods for as little Freight, and may victual them as cheap as any other Nation.

They will increase and much encourage the Fishery of this Nation, and breed up in that Employment many Thousand of Seamen, which will find Employment in the *East Indies*, *Streights*, and other Voyages into other Parts of the World, and will also increase and strengthen the decayed Fisher-Towns, and all other Ports and Havens along the Sea Coast.

They will increase the warlike trading Shipping and Mariners of this Nation, which will much strengthen us against all our Enemies.

They will also increase the Revenues and Customs of this Land, by Increase of Trade.

They will wonderfully employ the Poor of this Land, and increase the natural Manufactures thereof, and make us capable to buy or sell, at home or abroad, with as much Advantage as any other Nation ; whereas now, if any *English* Merchant buy any Foreign Goods abroad, with the Proceed of *English* Goods there, and transport them for any Place but *England*, he is in Danger to lose by the Voyage.

They will make the *English* capable to ingross the Commodity of any Country, and withhold it from another that may be at Enmity with us, to whom the said Commodity may be useful to our Prejudice, and also make our own Price of it.

They

They will encrease Trade in our Plantations, and cause Ships to be built in *New England*, as good, or better than any be built in *Holland*, to carry Goods for as little Freight, and will also encourage the making Materials for Shipping there, and will save our own Timber here until a Time of Need, which should be preserved and increased as much as could be, having of late been much decayed and sold into *Holland*, as is much suspected.

They will furnish Factors in *England* with Credit to pay Custom and Charges of a great Cargo of Goods, which may on a sudden be consigned to them; for many Times such *English* Factors may be of a good Estate and Credit, yet have not always a great Cash lying by them for such Uses (though the *Dutch* are seldom without it) therefore may oftentimes be forced to strain their Credit, to take up Money at Interest, or sell all, or part with such Goods at Under-rate for want thereof, which may be a great Prejudice to themselves, and Loss to their Principals; and is believed, causeth many such great Commissions to be carried from the *English* and Consigners to the *Dutch* residing in *England*, to their great Benefit and Advantage, and Loss and Prejudice of the *English* Nation.

They will increase Trade in *Ireland*, which will people that Island, and increase the Revenues thereof.

They will furnish many young Men with Stock, that have, by their Industry and well-spent Time and Travels in their Apprenticeships, gained good Experience in Foreign Traffic; but when they are come to be for themselves, wanting Stock, Friends, or Credit, to begin to trade with (being commonly younger Brothers) are thereby much discouraged, and thinking to drive away such Discontent, do oftentimes fall into bad Company, and take ill Courses, to the utter Ruin of their Hopes and Fortunes, which otherwise might have made good Commonwealths-men, which is the greatest Reason why so few young Men, among so many entertained, do come to good.

They will preserve many good Men from failing and losing their Credit; for instead of losing by Trade, they will, by the well regulating of it, be more certain of Profit, and the quick and sure Satisfaction of a Debt by Assignment in Bank; will preserve many a good Man's Credit, which many times is impaired, though he may have a good Estate out in Trade beyond the Seas, and cannot command it, or because he cannot receive his Money where it is owing to him, to make Payment where it is due; it being seldom seen, that any of the *Dutch* Nation fail: And if any of them by Losses do miscarry, being known to be industrious, are soon credited again with Stock out of Bank, or otherwise to recover themselves again by Trade.

And many others, which Trial and Experience will daily discover, as quick and easy, paying Bills of Exchange, Foreign or Domestic, and all other Payments, preventing fraudulent Payments in counterfeit and clipt Coin, or mis-telling Money, rectifying Errors in Accompts, which occasion Law-Suits, preventing Theft, and breaking open Houses, where Money is suspected to lie, and robbing on the Highways Graziers, Carriers, or others, that use to carry Money from Fairs, or other Places, which may be returned by Assignment in Bank; whereas now the several Hundreds, in many Places, are forced

to guard such as carry Money, for fear of their being robbed, and such Hundred paying them the Money they lost, as it hath often fallen out of late Times, &c.

Eighthly, A Bank is a certain Number of sufficient Men of Estates and Credit joined together in a joint Stock, being, as it were, the general Cash-keepers or Treasurers of that Place where they are settled, letting out imaginary Money at Interest at 2 and $\frac{1}{2}$ or 3*l. per Cent.* to Tradesmen, or others, that agree with them for the same, and making Payment thereof by Assignment, and passing each Man's Account from one to another with much Facility and Ease, and saving much Trouble in receiving and paying of Money, besides many Suits in Law, and other Losses and Inconveniences, which do much hinder Trade; for oftentimes a Merchant hath Goods come from some Place beyond the Sea, which he is not willing to sell at the Price Current, knowing either that he shall lose by them, or that he hopes they will yield more in *England*, or some other Country, when there will be more Need of them; therefore is desirous to keep them, and yet drive on his Trade, which peradventure he cannot well do, wanting Stock, so much of it lying dead in the said Commodity, therefore procures Credit in the Bank for so much as he shall have Occasion for, at the Rates aforesaid, and receives and makes Payment thereof where he hath Occasion for it, by Assignment in Bank. As for Example: The said Merchant buys Cloth of a Clothier for 100*l.* Value, more or less, and goes with him to the Bank, where he is Debtor so much Money as he takes up, and the Clothier is made Creditor in Account for so much as he sold for to the said Merchant, then such Clothier having Occasion to pay Money to a Stapler or Woolmonger, for Wool he doth buy of him; so the said Clothier is made Debtor, and the Woolmonger Creditor in Account: The said Woolmonger hath bought his Wool of a Country Farmer, and must pay him for it; so the Woolmonger is made Debtor, and the Farmer Creditor: The Farmer must pay his Rent to the Landlord, with the Proceed of the said Wool; so the Farmer is made Debtor, and such Landlord Creditor: The Landlord for his Occasion, buys Goods of a Mercer, Grocer, Vintner, or the like; then he is made Debtor, and such Mercer, or other Tradesman, Creditor; then peradventure such Mercer, or other Tradesman, buys Goods of the same Merchant that took up the first Credit in Bank, and stands yet Debtor there; but upon Sale of Goods to the Mercer, or other Tradesman, both clear their Account in Bank, and such Mercer, or other Tradesman is made Debtor, and the said Merchant Creditor: Thus every Man's Account is cleared, and so in all Trades, as Occasion presents; which Way, if it be thought fit to be settled for a Trial at *London*, I verily believe will be found so convenient, and such an Encouragement to Trade, by Increase of the Stock of the Land, and be such an Ease to the People, that it will be soon desired that others might be also settled at *Edinburgh* for *Scotland*, at *Dublin* for *Ireland*, and in some other chief Cities and Shire Towns in *England*, as *York*, *Bristol*, and *Exeter*, &c. for the Furtherance of Trade, by holding Correspondence with each other, than which I do not apprehend or know any way better to equal the *Dutch* in Trade, both at home and abroad, in buying and selling all sorts of Commodities, and making

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 179

making quick Returns, and also so much exceed them, as by far this Land lies more convenient for Trade than theirs doth, and will also suddenly enrich the People, and increase and maintain the Maritime Power and Strength thereof.

Lastly, To which may be added a Court of Merchants to be chosen every Year, to end and determine all Controversies arising from one Merchant to another; for although such Suits may be determined in the respective Courts already established in *England*, yet the guilty Adversary takes such Advantage by Appeals from one Court to another, having oftentimes a considerable Estate in his Hand, the Profit whereof in Trade making him unwilling to part with it; therefore with the Interest of it wageth Law with the Parties to whom it is truly due, to his great Charge, Wrong and Prejudice, if not utter undoing; and then at last it is oftentimes referred to good Men that are Merchants and understand such Matters and Accounts better than many worthy Lawyers do; but in case such a Court be not approved to be settled, then the Court of Insurance sitting in the Insurance-Office, who are yearly chosen, may have Power to determine all such Matters as they do Causes of Insurance, which will much quicken and encourage Trade, to the enriching and strengthening the *English* Nation.

And seeing a Court of Merchants is so necessary, what a glorious and honourable Profession would it be, if your Highness's Court were all Merchants, and also your domestic Servants every one adventuring so much Stock as he could spare into other Parts of the World, as well as to the *East Indies* (your Highness having been pleased lately to give so great Countenance and Encouragement to that Company) which may easily be effected; for those that know not the Way of Trade may join in a Stock, or come in a Share with the Experienced, until the Ingenious have learned it themselves; for it is presumed there are but few but may spare something to venture, which may be a Means to enrich themselves and their Posterity; for it is well known that many Servants, of both Sexes, to private Men in *Holland*, do improve their Estates by having Adventures in Trade, which all your Highness's Court would be soon invited unto by the Profits they know any one hath received by first adventuring, which will also cause these Benefits to ensue.

It will be an high Example to the Gentry of the Land, as well the elder as the younger Brothers, and their Domestics to do the same, therein employing their Minds, which oftentimes are busied in contentious Suits in Law, or unnatural contriving how to over-reach and deceive one another.

It may make your Highness's Court and Domestics the most rich and flourishing of any Potentate's in the World, and loath and hate unhandsome and dishonourable Ways to enrich themselves; whereas in other Prince's Courts, their Necessities and Covetousness doth enforce and induce them to buy and sell Offices and Places of Trust, and making use of the Time present (doubting their Continuance, Length of Life, or Change of Affairs) to raise and enrich themselves by Bribes, to beg or obtain Suits of their Prince, which may be, to the general Hurt, dishonourable for him to grant, or Loss of the Affections or good Opinions of his People.

180 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

It will add to the Reputation of the *English*, and cause them to be better esteemed and respected of the Princes and Subjects in the foreign Countries where they reside and trade, and will increase the maritime Power and Strength of this Nation by so much Shipping as they will employ.

It may cause Grievances in Trade to be sooner heard and redressed, which is oftentimes hindered by a particular Person to the general Hurt, when the Courtier, as well as the private Tradesman, feels the Evil thereof, which oftentimes, for want of being heard in due Time, may continue unremedied or deferred till it be too late.

And divers other, tending much to the Tranquillity of your Highness, and the Welfare of the *English* Nation, which, with your Highness's favourable Encouragement, I shall, in all Humility, be ready to make known unto you, and remove any Objections as can be alleged in the Premises, and propound a Way how it may be effected, and the Evils remedied and prevented, being unwilling to bury the Talent in a Napkin, which it hath pleased the Giver of all Blessings, in his great Goodness and Mercy, to bestow upon me, hoping I shall not offend in tendering this with my best Services to your Highness.

Certain Proposals for establishing a Bank at London, humbly offered by Samuel Lambe of London, Merchant.

THAT the Society of good Men or Governors that shall manage the Bank, be chosen by the several Companies of Merchants of *London*, viz. *East India, Turkey, Merchant Adventurers, East Country, Muscovy, Greenland, and Guinea* Companies, each Company choosing out of themselves two or more of the most understanding and ablest Members of each respective Company, and when any of the said Members, so chosen, do happen to die, then the said Company, of which he was that died, to choose another in the Room and Stead of the Deceased, from time to time; and when such Members are chosen and met together, then they to choose to themselves two or more of the ablest Merchants that trade chiefly or altogether for *Spain*, and the like who trade for *France, Italy*, and the *West Indies*, for each Place two or more, as shall be thought fitting; and when any of them chosen that trade for the Countries last named do die, then the major Part of all the Members together, chosen as before prescribed, may choose others from time to time trading to the said Countries which he did that died, and when all these so chosen meet together, they may have Power to make Orders of their own approving or contriving, for the carrying on and managing of the Work, and such a Society, so dealing into all Parts of the World, will well know most *English* Merchants that trade into any Part thereof, and thereby know whom to credit that have Occasion, and by their Knowledge will well understand how to govern the Bank, and by the Help thereof countermines the *Dutch* in their Designs in any Port of the World, where they prejudice the *English* by their Banks; for in any Place where there is Exchange or Trade, they may lay a great Stock to furnish the *English* with Credit and Ability to carry on their laborious and honest Designs, and by this Means may be carried on any great and notable

Enterprize;

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 181

Enterprize ; for which Purpose, and that they may perform with every Person that hath Money in Bank, and may preserve the Credit thereof inviolable, and without the least Blemish, they must keep their Cash in a safe Place from the Danger of Fire, and other Accidents, as the Army Treasure is in *Guildhall*, and so are the general Treasurers and Cash-keepers of most of the spare Money of the Place where they are settled ; and most Men will desire to have Money there, that they may have Credit in Bank two or three times the Value thereof ; for he will not be thought to be of any Estate or Worth, that hath not some Money in Bank to procure Credit there without Trouble, against he have Occasion for it.

That all be at Liberty to bring in any Money into Bank or not, and if any that have Money there, desire to have it again in Kind, should have it at Demand, the *Dutch* had rather have their Money in Bank than in their own Keeping, accounting Payment in Bank better than any other by $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. by their good and punctual Payment.

That they allow such Interest to the Aged and Widows that desire to have their Money in Bank, as shall be agreed unto, for and towards their Maintenance.

That they let out imaginary Money or Credit, upon Ticket, at $2\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 l. per Cent. at the most.

That all Bills of Exchange be received and paid in Bank.

That the said chosen Men do take a House near the Exchange for Convenience of Merchants resorting thither, and sit there such certain Hours of the Day to be appointed.

That the good Men, who manage the Bank, do make up their Accounts at least once in every Year.

That the Profits of the Bank go to the good Men that manage the same, in lieu of their great Care and Pains, and defraying Bank Charges, and Officers Salaries, or so much as shall be thought fitting to be reserved toward the Increase of the Stock ; and as the Bank increaseth in Credit, so the Reservation to increase to augment the Stock, but the Stock always to remain whole and intire.

Or any other, or so many more that shall be thought fitting to be settled by Act of Parliament, therein declaring in what Manner, and by whom the same shall be managed and governed, granting Power to such Governors to choose Officers, and make Orders to carry on the Work, and thereby also to be enacted, that none seize, molest, or disturb the Bank, or violate the Credit thereof, upon such great Penalties as shall be thought fitting.

That the same Bank may also furnish another Bank with a competent Stock, to let out any Sum of Money under 5 or 10 l. at reasonable Rates, upon Pawns or other Security ; whereas now many poor People, to raise a small Stock to get a Living by, are forced to give intolerable Rates, as about 6 d. per Week for the Use of 20 s.

And convenient Orders would soon be contrived to carry on such a charitable Work, if it be approved after Trial made of the former Bank described.

And

And such a Society to be chosen every Year, as is before proposed, with an able Civilian joined with them, would be an excellent knowing Committee, or Court of Merchants to regulate and advance Trade, and determine Controversies therein arising, having incomparable Correspondence together with all the World, by communicating every one's Advice, Knowledge and Experience to each other, having thereby Knowledge of the Transactions and Occurrences of every Country, and so knowing most Men's Dealings, and the Accounts and Trade of all Places, and so the better enabled to judge of any Matter coming before them, and contrive Remedies for all Grievances in Trade for the Advantage of the *English* Nation.

Here follow the Remedies against the Evils observed in the Book.

A Bank will hinder importing of Goods in Strangers Ships, contrary to the Act for Increase of Navigation, and daily entering such Ships in *Englishmen's* Names.

A Bank will increase the general Stock and Trade, which will cause Ships to be built for the *English* as cheap as any other Nation can build any, to carry Goods for as little Freight into any Country, which will cause them to be employed as soon or before any Strangers Ships, by all Nations that have Occasion, and then we need not fear entering their Ships in *Englishmen's* Names, so few in Likelihood to come then for *England*.

A Bank will prevent Packers, or others that buy Goods in *England* for *Dutchmen's* Accounts, and colouring them under *Englishmen's* Names at the Custom-house, by cunning and fraudulent Pretences, suspected to be now practised, notwithstanding the Laws and Penalties in Force, and lately revived against such Evils.

A Bank will increase the general Stock so much, that it will enable the *English* to buy for ready Money as good and cheap, of the Maker or otherwise, as any Agents for any Strangers can do, by which Means the *English* will be enabled to sell abroad for as much Profit, and at as low a Price as any other Nation can, of the like Sort of Goods, and cheaper, by saving Strangers Custom outwards, if such Goods be fairly entered; and when they know the *English* have found the Way to undersell them, and gain by it too, they will have but small Encouragement to contrive Ways to employ Agents to buy any *English* Goods in *England*, and ship them out for them; and when the Makers of *English* Manufactures find such quick Vent for them, they will then strive as much to excel each other in true making as now in slight making; this will bring *English* Manufactures in good Request again at Market, and will cause the *English* to have the same Advantage of the *Dutch* as the *Dutch* now have of them in buying foreign Commodities, as in selling our own abroad, they growing so populous, their Shipping so numerous, their Stock and Credit of their Bank so great.

A Bank in *England* will hinder transporting of *English* Wool and Fullers Earth out of *England*.

A Bank

A Bank will increase the general Stock and Trade so much, that it will encourage and increase making the Woollen Manufactures in *England*, and employ not only the Makers thereof now here, but invite those out of *Holland* that are gone thither already; for the great Quantities that will be made at home, and afforded at easier Rates than the *Dutch* can theirs of the same Goodness, which will discourage the making any in *Holland*, so they will have no Occasion for our Wool and Fullers Earth, which is chargeable for them to obtain against a strict Law, and the greater Use there is of Wool in *England*, will cause it to be dearer, so as will be impossible for the *Dutch* then to make any Woollen Manufactures, without great Probability to lose by them, the *English* being so enabled to make cheaper of equal Goodness, so if they have no Use for Wool, they will need but little Fullers Earth.

By which it may be plainly discerned, that the meer Advantage the *Dutch* have of a Bank, is the Cause of the aforesaid and other Evils, and of their gaining so much by our Loss, and of all other Nations that have not a Bank; which I believe caused the King of *France* to raise the Value of his Coins, to hinder them carrying it out of his Dominions; for in any Place that hath no Bank, where they carry any Commodities, and sell them for ready Money, how easily may they carry back the same Money for a Return, and put it into their own Bank, and with a Ticket of Credit there buy other Goods at home or abroad by Exchange, and still make Returns in Money or prohibited Goods, and so secretly beggar or impoverish any Nation they so deal withal, and so by Exchange they may charge vast Sums in any Country by Credit in Bank, and on a sudden, or by Degrees, insensibly sweep away all the Treasure out of any Country, and then may easily overcome them, wanting Stock to carry on such a War, and to buy such Materials for War as may be wanted within themselves, which must be had from another Country; but in a Country where a Bank is settled, and Transportation of Money forbidden, a Law may be made to prevent this dangerous Evil; for by so much as their general Stock and Shipping is greater than any other Nation, so much more Advantage have they of any such Nation as have not a Bank, to ruin them with greater Expedition, and may secretly lay a Plot to do it at Pleasure; and may it not be so with *England*, when her Mariners and Shipping are decayed, by permitting Goods to be imported daily in Strangers Ships as now are, contrary to the Act for Increase of Navigation?

It may be objected, that rich Men will not bring their Money into Bank for these two Reasons,

First, Because they will not discover their Estate so much, which will cause great Taxes to be laid on them.

Secondly, That in a Monarchical Government, the supreme Governor may seize or borrow the Money in Bank, to carry on that public Design, so the Money may not be returned again into the Bank, which will ruin the Credit thereof, and undo such as have Estates therein.

To the first it is answered, That if rich Men will not bring in their Money into Bank, then those that desire to be rich will for their Conveniency and Ease to attain Riches.

Also

Also those that would be thought to be rich will, for the same Reasons, and both to gain, support and increase their Credit.

To the second it is hoped, that his Highness the *Lord Protector* (to further so good a Work) will be pleased to consent to a Law to be made as aforesaid, that no supreme Governor may seize, molest, or disturb the Bank upon any Occasion whatsoever, under a great Penalty.

That till a Bank be settled, and take such Effect as is hoped it may, to remedy the Evils before-mentioned, that a capable honest Person be appointed by his Highness the *Lord Protector* to reside at *London*, to take account of the Entries of all Ships there, and also to take Care that no Strangers Ships be entered (as now daily are) contrary to the Act for Increase of Navigation; and that the said Officer do oversee and keep Account of all the Entries of all Ships in all other Ports throughout *England*, and also prevent as much as may be transporting *English* Wool and Fullers Earth, and entring Strangers Goods in *Englishmen's* Names, which is a great Prejudice to the *English* Nation, and the said Officer to have such fitting Salary allowed him by the Commissioners of the Custom-house as shall be appointed, or such other Allowance to be paid by the Master of each Ship (as formerly they did, and do now desire to do without Charge to the State) according to a Table of Fees as was usually paid by them before Colonel *Harvy* was a Commissioner.

A P O S T S C R I P T.

IT is objected, that the *East India* Company, trading into the *East-Indies* is unprofitable to the *English* Nation; because they send out of *England* so much Money thither to drive that Trade, that it hath wasted the *English* Coins and impoverished the Land.

It is answered, that if the *Dutch* do not disturb the *English* in that Trade, it is probable they may be furnished from their Factory at *Cormanteen* on the Gold Coast in *Guiney*, and from *China* with Gold enough, also from *Japan* with Silver to carry on that Trade, as the *Dutch* themselves do, and then there will be no Occasion to send any out of *England* to the Prejudice thereof.

But admit the said Company should have Occasion yearly to transport foreign Coins thither out of *England*, they should but imitate the painful Husbandman, who sows his Seed in the Ground, that he may reap it again with Advantage in the Harvest, when the Earth liberally returns her grateful Crop. For admit they send out of *England* into *East-India* to the Value of 1000*l.* in Silver, Gold, or both, which there they invest into the Commodities of that Country, as Indico, Spice, Callicoes, Salt-petre, Drugs, &c. And when the said Commodities do arrive in *England*, which cost the Company the said 1000*l.* in Probability they may yield here about 2000*l.* clear of all Charges, which the said Company, or other Merchants, that buy that Commodity of them do send into *Spain* (in Time of Peace) *Italy* or other Countries (for *England* cannot spend all that they bring in) and when the said Commodities are there sold; peradventure the said 2000*l.* worth may yield about 3000*l.* ready Money, which from thence hath been usually brought into *England* for Returns in
Specie;

Specie; so that instead of the 1000 *l.* transported, about 3000 *l.* is imported, and so proportionably for a greater or lesser Sum, to the great Profit and Advantage of *England*, besides the Employment of so much warlike Shipping as they send thither, maintaining many Trades belonging thereunto, the Increase of so many Mariners as they breed up and employ in that Shipping, and the vending *English* Manufactures and Return of others employing many Trades here, and Increase of the Revenues and Customs. For,

It is presumed, that that Nation which hath most warlike Shipping and Mariners, will command in chief at Sea; and he that commands the Sea may command Trade, and he that hath the greatest Trade will have the most Money, which is of such Value, that it doth command all wordly Things, both in War and Peace.

In the former, besides the procuring all Necessaries thereunto, how many Garrisons hath it opened and relieved? how many Battles hath it helped to win? and, what Secrets hath it not discovered out of the inwardest Counsels of great Princes?

In the latter, as it doth maintain Commerce, so the Want of it doth decay it, as sad Experience doth manifest in *England*, since there hath been so little left, and so much transported, as may appear by the great Payments in *Holland* in Half Crowns, and there, and in *France* in 20 and 22 *s.* Pieces, that now at *London* 20 *s.* in Gold will cost 22 *s.* in Silver, and that little Silver that is remaining and passing in the Countries, so clipt and filed, that most of it wants near a fifth Penny in Weight.

And as Money is the Sinew of War, so doth it appear to be the Life of Trade, all Commodities being valued by it, and in both as useful in the Body Politic as Blood in the Veins of the Body Natural, dispersing itself and giving Life and Motion to every Part thereof; so that the Preservation and Increase thereof doth speedily deserve the serious and grave Consideration of the highest Authority in *England*; for as the Case now stands, who will import any Bullion into *England* to coin, when they may have a better Price for it in another Country? and if any be imported, who will sell it to the Mint, while it is lawful for the Goldsmiths, or any other, to give a better Price for it than the Mint can? and when the Goldsmiths have bought it, do they not sell it again to Transporters or others, to work into Manufactures, as Gold and Silver Spangles, Wire, &c. which is no small Consumption yearly in such Trades? so that little is minted to increase the Coins, but on the contrary, it is suspected to be diminished, by culling out the heaviest Money to work into Plate and the like Manufactures above-mentioned.

By which it may appear, that the *East-India* Company have not wasted, but rather increased the *English* Coins; for they use none of it to transport in any Manufactures; and if they had sent any so far off, it would not have been had again so plentifully in the same Kind in our Neighbour Countries, as now it is.

But it may be suspected, that the common Transporters of Bullion out of *England*, do raise this Report to keep themselves from Suspicion, while they secretly make it their Trade to send it away, till it be so near consumed thro' want of a fitting Course to cause the bringing of it in, and good Laws to

prevent carrying it out, and Care in executing them ; for how easily may the Intent of many of our Laws of light Penalty be abused by any that is resolved to break them, without they were made more severe, especially in Matters of so great Concernment ; it being accounted a great Scandal to any of Credit to inform against any that breaketh them, though it be never so much to the Prejudice of the whole Nation ; and if a needy Person do it, a small Bribe in hand, with a few fair Promises of Friendship will easily take him off the troublesome and chargeable prosecuting for his Proportion due to him by the Law so broken.

And to avoid this Charge and Danger, how many do purposely employ their Confidants (who may, peradventure, be concerned in the same Breach) to make or enter an Information of the Matter only, and there cease, resolving not to prosecute any further, lest he endanger his own or his Friend's Safety, and this may be done beforehand, only to prevent any that shall really attempt to inform of it afterwards : Besides the Practice suspected to be now used to employ *Dutch* Shipping as much as ever to bring home *Spanish* Goods, by colourably making Bills of Sale of them in Trust to the Freighters, to secure them against the Act for Increase of Navigation.

But in a good Government of Trade these Inconveniencies may be prevented, according as Occasion requireth, and restrain that too much Freedom in Trade by some desired, which is the Way to destroy all Trade, and bring in Confusion. For,

As Discipline in Arms, so Government in Trade preserves good Orders, and prevents Confusion, for which Purpose, Armies are divided into Regiments, Troops and Companies, Squadrons and Divisions, and to keep them in better Order, they have By-laws distinct and apart from the standing Laws of the Country, for which they serve ; so in Trade, the Merchants of *London* trading in several Parts of the World, are divided into several Companies, who respectively have By-laws and Orders among themselves for their better Government, in which Capacity they are best able to understand what Quantities of Commodities are sent to the Place where they trade, and knowing how much will vent, may accordingly supply the Market at reasonable Rates and modest Profit, with so much as is necessary, that neither by sending too little of *English* Manufactures, as by their Scarcity to advance the Price at too dear a Rate, thereby causing the Buyers to learn and endeavour to make themselves of the same Kind at a lower Price, or have them from another Country, which may, in the End, hinder making them in *England*, if not totally ruin the Trade to that Place, nor by sending more than can be uttered to clog the Market, as in former Ages, till prevented, and so disparage and undervalue the *English* Manufactures to the Merchants Loss, by dishonourably offering them to Sale in Shops at an under-rate, as hath lately happened in *Holland*, with other Inconveniencies, since some have taken too much Liberty to interlope in the Trade of the Merchant Adventurers Company ; and as their ancient Continuance in a thriving Condition, commends their good Orders and Government, so the Ratifications and Confirmations of their Privileges by several Princes and Authorities, since their first Institution, (not without much Opposition)

sition) declares the Necessity of their Incorporation for their better Government and venting *English* Draperies.

But as for foreign Commodities transported, or such native Commodities as are no where else to be had of the same Kind but from *England*; the more is gained by them, the more the Merchants are enriched in Recompence of their painful Labours and dangerous Adventures, and consequently the whole Nation; for besides the Danger of the Seas, they many Ways run great Adventures by bad Debts, Embargoes, &c. giving more Credit generally in Goods to other Nations than they do to us.

In this the *Dutch* are a good Example to us, who have served almost all *Europe* with *East India* Commodities, to their great Profit and Advantage, having much of them chiefly in their own Hands, as Nuts, Cloves, Mace and Cinnamon, bringing such Quantities home, as by their Experience they guess will yearly serve this Quarter of the World, and feed the Market therewith as their ruling Price: And by their late Practice at *Bantam*, in seizing three *English* Ships there, with their Loading, peaceably trading thither, it may be suspected they intend to get all the Pepper also into their own Hands, if not the whole *East India* Trade, and then we may be weakened by so many Ships and Mariners as may be employed thither, they well knowing how advantageous that Trade may be to us, being so prudently managed as now it is, that thereby we may be able, not only to serve ourselves with those Commodities, but other Nations also, on as good Terms as themselves.

Moreover, the orderly Management of Trade by Companies, will make an easier Discovery yearly, which exceeds the Import or Export; which in a confused Trade, not incorporated, is not so soon discerned, as in the Trade with *Spain* at this Time, by importing such great Quantities of Fruits and Wines at a dear Rate, to the enriching of our Enemies, and exporting so few *English* Manufactures (and those sold at a low Rate, and which the *Spaniards* have prohibited since the Wars) that instead of bringing Bullion thence for Returns from *Cales* and *St. Lucar*, it is carried thither, as is suspected, into his Dominions, to pay for Part of those Commodities at *Malaga*, &c. to the Impoverishment of ourselves.

For where the foreign Goods imported exceed the native exported, the Balance must be made up with Money transported, or by Exchange, which is a Loss to the Nation, not only by the Money so transported, but by the Want of Vent of so much native Commodities, as should be exported to answer the Value of those imported, which may be compared to a Man having an Estate of 1000 *l. per annum*, and spends yearly above it.

As the Affairs of Princes do alter and change, according to Time and Advantage, so doth the Course of Trade; and the better to inspect the Course of Trade, some Princes, in tender Care thereof, have an Officer residing in their Courts, to give an Account yearly thereof, as hath been done formerly in *England*, or so often as called thereunto, and as Occasion requireth, and also to hear Complaints and move for Redress in the Merchants just Grievances, making it his Business to intercede for them at convenient Opportunities, without making Way by a Favourite with a chargeable Reward, for where many Men are interested in one Matter, it is oftentimes known to miscarry through

Neglect, which makes good the Saying, *that every Man's Business is no Man's Business.*

Besides which, if it be thought fitting that such a Council for Trade, of Merchants exercised therein, with some Statesmen or Civilians conjoined, as in my foregoing Proposals is described, they may, with God's Blessing on their Endeavours regulate and restore Trade, by preparing and settling (if impowered thereunto) such fitting Remedies for all Grievances therein, as may exceedingly enrich and advantage the whole Nation.

By settling and managing a Bank, not only for the Usefulness, but rather Necessity thereof, as is before related, and also to countermine the *Dutch* in their governing the Price of Exchanges by the Power of their Banks, to the great Prejudice of the *English*, who with a Bank may rule it as well as they.

To hear and have Power to determine Controversies arising among Merchants in Matters of Trade.

To report their Opinions whether it be needful to raise the Value of the *English* Coins, equal or above the Rate of what they are in our Neighbour Countries, or contrive other Ways to encourage the bringing of them in again, and set the Mint to work.

To consult about strengthening the Laws against transporting Bullion, *English* Wool and Fullers Earth, the Law for Increase of Navigation, and all other Laws concerning Trade, and put them in effectual Execution.

To strengthen the Privileges of the respective Companies of Merchants already established, and if it be thought fit, to incorporate the Merchants trading respectively into several Countries not yet incorporated.

To find out a Way for better Vent of raw Silk, and other Commodities imported, which much employs many People besides Silk-weavers, whose Families are much impoverished for want of Employment, by the Importation of much Ribboning out of *France* since the Peace.

And many other for Encouragement of Trade, besides what is before-mentioned, which they may discover to be advantageous to the whole Nation, and do deserve to be enlarged by a more skilful Hand.

Printed at the Author's Charge, for the Use and Benefit of the English Nation, and to be considered of and put in Execution, as the High Court of Parliament, in their great Wisdoms shall think meet.

January 27. 1659.

The C A S E of the old secured, secluded, and now excluded Members, briefly and truly stated; for their own Vindication, and their Electors and the Kingdom's Satisfaction.

By William Prynne of Lincoln's-Inn, Esq; one of those Members.

Printed in the Year 1660.

JULY 28, 1648, upon the earnest Petitions of the Aldermen, Common Council, and City of *London*, and most Counties of *England*, miserably oppressed, impoverished, distracted, and well nigh ruined, by above six Years intestine Wars, between the late King and Parliament; the House of Commons (when full and free) voted, *That a Treaty should be had in the Isle of Wight, with the King in Person, by a Committee appointed by both Houses, upon the Propositions formerly agreed on, and presented to him at Hampton Court*; which the Lords House unanimously assented to: Whereupon Commissioners were nominated, and sent accordingly, to treat upon these Propositions with the King; and a special Order made and published by the Commons House, Sept. 5, for the respective Sheriff of each County of *England* and *Wales*, personally to summon all absent Members, to meet in the House September 26, under the Penalty of 20 l. for not appearing, in regard of the great Importance of this Treaty, for quieting the Distempers and settling the distracted Minds of the People; and because in the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety Hereupon all the Members repaired to discharge their Duty in the House. After a long deliberate Treaty for fundry Weeks (wherein the King assented to all the Propositions *in terminis*, except three, * *wherein he so far complied with the Desires* of both Houses, that the Difference therein seemed not very considerable.) The Treaty being fully concluded, was reported to the House of Commons December 1. Upon which the House presently entered into the Debate of the *King's Concessions*: Those who were against them, desiring no Peace nor Healing of the Kingdom's Breaches, made this the Question, *Whether the King's Answer to the Propositions were satisfactory or not satisfactory?* But those who desired Peace and Settlement, made this the only State of the Question, *Whether the Answers of the King to the Propositions of both Houses, were a Ground for the House to proceed upon, for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom?* After four Days and one whole Night's serious Debate, the Question being put as last stated, December 5, it was carried in the Affirmative, without any Division of the House, when there were 244 Members in it, besides 60 more declaring themselves for it, who through Age, Cold, and Infirmary (being unable to sit up all Night, de-

* See Mr. Prynne's Speech December 4, 1648, and a Vindication of the secured and secluded Members.

parted before the Question put, the Dissenters being not the Third Part of the Members then present. The Army, contrary to both Houses Orders, were drawn up to *Westminster*, and removed the ordinary Guards of the House *out of their Quarters*, giving out Menaces, during this Debate, against all who should vote for the *Concessions*, on purpose to interrupt and prevent this Vote, and that by Confederacy with some of the Dissenting Members. Yet such was the Courage, Constancy, and Sincerity of the faithful Members, that maugre all Oppositions and Difficulties, they put and carried the Vote upon such Grounds of Reason, Truth, Justice, Honesty and public Interest, as all their Opposites were unable to contradict or refute.

The Vote being passed, the House appointed Mr. *Pierpoint*, and six other Members, *to repair that Afternoon to the Head-Quarters, to confer with the General and his Officers, to keep a right Understanding and good Correspondency between the House, and the General and Army, and then adjourned till the next Morning.* The Commissioners repairing to the Head-Quarters that Afternoon, were so rudely treated, *that one or two of them were secured by some Army-Officers, and the rest put off and slighted without any Conference.* December 6. the Army-Officers sent sundry Regiments of Horse and Foot early in the Morning to *Westminster*, in a warlike Manner, who placed themselves in the Palace-Yards, the Court of Requests, Hall, Court of Wards, Stairs, Lobby of the House, and all Approaches to it, to secure and seclude those Members who assented to this Vote, Colonel *Pride*, and other Officers who commanded the Guards, having a List in their Hands of the Members Names to be secured and secluded, given them, as was reported by *Cornelius Holland*, and other dissenting Members. That Morning they forcibly secluded above 100 Members, keeping them out of the House per force as they came to the Lobby, and seized 41 Members in the Stairs and Lobby, pulling two more out of the House itself into which they got before the Officers espied them: These 43 Members they secured all Day in the Queen's Court, refusing to obey the Orders of those then sitting in the House, who being acquainted with their Seizure, sent the Sergeant twice *to command their Attendance in the House, without any Obedience or Success*: At Night all the secured Members but four, instead of being carried to *Wallingford-House* to treat with the General and Officers, as was promised, were unexpectedly thrust into a Place called *Hell* in *Westminster*, and there kept Prisoners on the bare Boards all the Night, though extreme cold. The next Morning three more Members were seized, and many others secluded, affronted coming to the House. Those in *Hell*, about nine of the Clock were carried fasting to *Whitehall*, to confer with the General and Army-Officers, who imperiously made them dance Attendance on them in a very cold Room without Fire (for sundry Hours) or Meat or Drink (but some burnt Wine and Biskets they sent for thither) till seven o'Clock at Night, not vouchsafing so much as to see or confer with any of them, as they promised; and then sent them Prisoners to the *King's Head* and *Swan*, through the Snow and Dirt, guarded with three Musqueteers a-piece, and Guards of Horse besides, like the vilest Rogues and Traytors; and there detained most of them Prisoners sundry Weeks, sending some of them close Prisoners to *St. James's*, and afterwards to *Windsor*

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 191

Windsor Castle divers Months Space, without the least particular Accusation, Impeachment, Hearing, or Trial. The only Cause of this their Imprisonment and Seclusion, as the Officers confess in their *Answer to the House*, touching the Grounds of our securing, *January 3.* was our Vote of *December 5*, which the General and General Council of Officers thus particularly expressed the very next Day, *December 6*, 1648 (the Day they secured and secluded us) in their Proposals and Desires to the Commons in Parliament; wherein they desire, that some Members, by Name, *may be secured and brought to Justice.* And, that those Members that were guilty in the Votes for the Treaty *July 28*, and *December 5*, declaring the King's past Concessions to be a Ground for the House to proceed upon, for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom, have deserted, betrayed, and justly forfeited their Trusts for the Public: And therefore most earnestly desired, That all such faithful Members who were innocent therein, would immediately (by Protestation and public Declaration) acquit themselves from any Guilt or Concurrence in those Votes, as corrupt and destructive; that so the Kingdom may know who they are that have kept their Trust, and distinguish them from the rest, that have falsified the same; and that all such as cannot, or shall not acquit themselves particularly, may be immediately excluded or suspended the House, and not re-admitted, until they have given clear Satisfaction therein to the Judgment of those who now so acquit themselves, and the Grounds of such Satisfaction be published to the Kingdom. In Obedience to these imperious Desires of the General Army-Council (the Supreme Legislators, over-ruling both the House and General Council of the Kingdom) about 45 or 50 Members (whereof some were Army-Officers, Authors of those Proposals) sitting under the visible over-awing Guards of the Army-Officers, from *December 6.* till after all Votes and Orders passed, that can be produced for our Suspension or Seclusion, *December 12* and *13*, repealed the Votes of *July 28* for the Treaty, and *December 5*, touching the King's Concessions, according to the Army-Officers Proposals, as highly dishonourable to the Parliament, and destructive to the Peace of the Kingdom, and tending to the Breach of the public Faith of the Kingdoms; publishing a Declaration, *January 15*, expressing their Reasons for annulling and repealing these Votes. And, *December 18* and *20*, passed two Orders, That none should sit or act as Members, till they had made and subscribed their particular Protestation against this Vote. In Pursuit whereof, *December 20*, thirty-four Members (whereof fifteen are now sitting, the rest dead or absent) entered their Dissents and Protests against this Vote. *December 21*, three more, now sitting, entered theirs: *December 25*, six more (five now sitting) entered their Dissents, yet they sate as an House four Days, before forty of them had entered their Protests, and afterwards admitted others to sit, without entering any Protestation, contrary to their Order. By Colour of which Orders alone, and of their Vote *January 11*, upon the Army Officers Answer, That the House doth approve of the Substance of the Answer of the General Council of the Officers of the Army to the Demands of this House, touching the securing and secluding of some Members thereof; and doth appoint a Committee (of twenty-four) to consider what is further to be done upon the said Answer, &c. And of another Order in-pursuit of these *February 2.* (three Days after the King's Beheading) they have, without

192 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

without any particular Accusation, Summons, or Hearing at all, by their * Vote of Jan. 5, 1659, adjudged add declared, *That the Members who stand discharged* (in manner aforesaid) *from voting or sitting as Members of this House, in the Years 1648 and 1649, do stand duly discharged by Judgment of Parliament from sitting as Members of this Parliament;* (without so much as naming any one of them particularly in this, or any of their former Votes or Orders, by which they exclude them:) And it is ordered, *That Writs do issue forth for electing new Members in their Places.*

This being the true State of the secured, secluded, and excluded Members Case in 1648 and 1649, to which the Vote of Jan. 5, and their forcible Seclusion by their Order, Decemb. 27, 1659, relates. The Questions in Law arising thereupon, are briefly these:

1. Whether three Parts of Four, and above two hundred Members of the Commons House, only for passing the premised Vote, Dec. 5, 1648, in order to the public Peace and Settlement of the Kingdom, without any sinister Respect, after four Days and a whole Night's Debate, according to their Judgments, Consciences, Trusts, Duties, Oaths, Protestation, Vow, Covenant, the general Petitions, Desires of their Electors, and our Three distracted Kingdoms, contrary to the Sense of the minor Part of the House, and General Council of Army Officers, (who were but their Servants, obliged to obey their just Votes and Commands, and no Members, Judges, to controul them) may be justly or legally secured, secluded, and thus unworthily treated by the Army Officers, by meer armed Power; and whilst thus secured and secluded the House, be ejected, dismembred by the Votes of Forty or Fifty of their Fellow-Members, only upon the Army-Officers imperious Desires, whilst sitting under their horrid visible Force; which by their own and both Houses Declaration, August 20, 1647, (in case of a contemptible Force in respect of this, when no Members at all were secluded) nulls all their Votes, Orders and Ordinances, at and from the very Time they are made and passed, and that without any Impeachment, Hearing or Trial whatsoever, contrary to all † Laws, Rules of Justice, Precedents and Proceedings in Parliaments, or other Courts in former Times.

2. Whether every Member of Parliament, by Custom and Usage of Parliaments, be not obliged, according to his Mind and Conscience, freely to give his Aye and No to every Question propounded in the House whilst he is present, and finable if he refuse to do it, without the least Blame, Censure, or Pretence of Breach of Trust? And whether the Freedom of the Members Debates and Votes in the House, in Matters there propounded, be not the very principal, essential, fundamental Privilege of Parliament, demanded by every Speaker, and granted by every King to the Members at the Beginning of every Parliament, and denominating Parliaments themselves (derived from *parler le ment*) which if once denied, or made criminal (as now) and that to the major Part, will utterly subvert the very Name, Essence and Being of all future Parliaments?

* Without any Declaration at all to the Kingdom, Counties, Cities, Boroughs, for which we served, or us, of the Reasons, Justice, Grounds of this their new and former

Votes, which was expected from them.

† *Magna Charta*, c. 29. 5 E. 3. c. 25. E. 3. c. 4. 28. E. 3. c. 3. 42. E. 3. c. 3. Petition of Right, 3 *Caroli*.

3. Whether

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 193

3. Whether the Army-Officers and Council, out of the House, being Servants only, commissioned and paid to guard the Members Privileges, and obey the Orders of the House, and neither Electors nor Impowerers of the Members secluded, be fit Judges of the Majority of the Members Votes and Debates in the House, which they never heard of, nor were present at, but by Mis-reports or Relations from others? And if so (as these Secluders then and now admit them) whether this will not subject those now sitting, and secluding us, with all Members of subsequent Parliaments, and all their Votes, to the Judicature of their Guards, or any other Number of factious People without Doors? yea, justify their own forcible Exclusions and Dissolutions by *Cromwell*, April 20, 1653, and since by *Lambert* and *Hewson*, October 13, 1659, for Votes and Proceedings more unjust and unreasonable than ours of Dec. 5, 1648, is supposed to be, and subvert all the Rights, Privileges, Power, Authority, and Honour of *English* Parliaments for ever?

4. Whether it be not a far greater Breach of Privilege, Treason, and levying War against the Parliament, in the Army-Officers, and sitting Members at their Request, thus forcibly to secure, seclude and eject above two hundred Members three or four Times one after another, only for voting freely according to their Minds, Consciences, and refusing to retract and protest against their own and Majority's Votes, than for *Cromwell*, *Lambert*, and others, to exclude but Fifty, Sixty, or Seventy of them, sitting as an House of Parliament, being encouraged and justified by their own Votes, Precedents and Commands, to seclude and exclude the Majority of their Fellow-Members for voting contrary to the Army-Officers Desires and Designs, who excluded them upon the same Account?

4. Whether it be parliamentary, rational, just, equitable (admitting the Commons House have Power in themselves alone to vote out any Member for Misdemeanors or Breach of Trust, without the Lords, which some deny, upon very good * Precedents and Grounds) that the far lesser Part of the Commons House may forcibly seclude and vote out the greatest Part of their Fellow-Members, only for over-voting and dissenting from them in their Judgments? And not more just and reasonable, that the major Part, being the House itself in Law and Conscience, should judge and vote out this minor Part, for their Anti-parliamentary Protestation, and such an unjust forcible Seclusion and Ejection as ours by the Premises now appears to be to themselves and all the Kingdom, being the highest Breach both of their Trust, the Privileges and Rights of Parliament and People's Liberties that ever any Members were guilty of since Parliaments began?

5. Whether their secluding and † voting out all the secluded Members, in the Gross 1648, 1649, and Jan. 5, 1659, without Impeachment, Summoning, Hearing, or Nominating any one of them in particular in their Votes or

* See my Plea for the Lords, and Registers of parliamentary Writs.

† These Secluders think their Votes omnipotent, who can blow up the Majority of their Fellow-Members and whole House of Lords

with the Breath of their Mouths, like Chaff, without any Reason expressed, when as the old Gunpowder Traytors could not blow them up, but with almost as many Barrels of Gunpowder as they were then and now Members.

Orders, be not a most unjust, unprecedented, unparliamentary Judgment and Proceeding, contrary to all Rules of Justice in all other Cases and Judicatures whatsoever, and in this and former Parliaments? yea, meerly null and void to all Intents for its Generality and Uncertainty, it being the Privilege of every Member to be first accused. 2dly, summoned to answer his Accusation if absent. 3dly, Re-summoned upon Default of Appearance. 4thly, To hear his Charge, and make his Defence before he be seclused or suspended. 5thly, To sit and vote in the House till suspended or seclused, by special Order and Judgment of the House, wherein he is to be * particularly named: All which Circumstances were punctually observed by themselves in Sir *Henry Vane's* Case, *Jan. 9, 1659*, before they ejected him, since their Vote against the seclused Members, which deserved as much Right and Justice as he, if not far more, who joined with those mutinous Army-Officers who excluded them. 6thly, If many be jointly or severally accused, by Name, they are to make their joint or several Answers and Defences, and to receive their particular, joint, or several Censures pronounced by the Speaker in their Hearing at the Bar, as in Sir *H. Vane's* late Case: All which Particulars failing in this general Vote against them all; the meanest of their Electors, and of those for whom they serve (more injured by this Vote than themselves) and all Judges, Lawyers, now sitting with them, will pronounce their Vote most absurd and void to all Intents, unworthy the Wisdom, Justice and Gravity of those who stile themselves, *The Parliament?*

6. Whether the Ordinance published *Dec. 15, 1648*, in the Name of the Lords and Commons, against a *Protestation, Dec. 11. 1648.* printed in the Name of all the *seclused and secured Members* (though not subscribed nor owned publickly by them, nor proved to be published by their Order or Privy) *disabling all the secured and seclused Members to sit any more during this Parliament* (which some pretend the chief Ground of their Ejection now, though never mentioned nor insisted on before) without naming, hearing, or disabling any of those Members in particular, or adjudging them the Authors of that *Protestation*, be not merely void and null to all Intents, being so general and indefinite, made only by three or four Lords, and fifty Commoners at most, sitting under that very Force which then seclused, imprisoned the major Part both of the Lords and Commons House, and so declared null and void by the Speaker's Letter, *July 29*, and the Ordinance of both Houses, *August 20, 1647?* Whether the major Part of the Commons and Lords House, then forcibly seclused, might not by Virtue of this Ordinance, as well as their Speaker *Lenthall*, by his Letter, and both Houses by that Ordinance, declare all Proceedings, Votes and Ordinances in the respective Houses, whereof they were Members, void and null to all Intents, during their forcible Seclusion, and the Force then put upon the Houses, without any Offence or Crime at all deserving Seclusion; and were not bound by their *Protestation, League and Covenant*, to do it, to preserve their own, and the House's Privileges, being the far greater Number of Members, five times more than those who voted

* *Cook's* 3 Instit. c. 101. 4 Instit. p. 15. to 25, 38, 39.

them out? it differing much from the *Protestation of some of the Bishops* committed to the Tower for their *Protestation*, Dec. 1641. 1. Because they were not forcibly secluded, as we. 2dly, Not the Majority of the Bishops, much less of the Lords House, as we. 3dly, They protested against all Proceedings whatsoever in both Houses of Parliament, during their Absence (not Seclusion) from the House, as void and null, till their Restitution, not in the Lords House alone, which was the chief, if not only Exception against their Protestation, though there was then no Force upon the Lords or Commons; but the Protestation in the secluded Members Names protested only against the Proceedings in the Commons House, during their forcible securing and secluding, and the Force upon those that fate. 4thly, They were heard in the Lords House concerning it, before they were committed; but none of the secluded Members were ever yet heard before their Seclusion or Securing. 5thly, They were only imprisoned for their *Protestation*, during the Lords House Pleasure, not excluded and voted out of the House during the Parliament. Upon all which Considerations, the Proceedings of the major Part of the Lords House against them do no way warrant the Declaration of the Minority of the Commons House and Lords, against the Majority of the Commons House, then under a Force and secluded, and the Majority of the Lords House together with them. All which the secluded Members presume will fully satisfy those for whom they serve, and the whole *English* Nation, World, and their Secluders too, of the Injustice of their former and late forcible Seclusions and Ejections, by their premised Orders, Votes; and vindicate the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, till they can meet together in Safety, to draw up a larger Declaration of their Case and unjust Anti-parliamentary Exclusion, without the Danger of a new Securing, being all ordered to be seized on at Mr. *Anfley's* House in *Drury-lane*, the 9th of this *January*, by a Party of forty Musqueteers, and Captain commanding them, accompanied with one of the Sergeant's Men, who beset and searched the House to apprehend them, but that they were all departed thence before they came thither, and so escaped their Hands; the Cause of this brief Publication.

The secluded Members repute it very hard, and complain that they should be thus frequently, and long secluded by Force, and many of them * imprisoned divers Years, and publickly excluded and slandered by their Fellow-Members Votes behind their Backs, without hearing, or the least Admission to vindicate their Innocency and the Justice of the Vote for which they are secluded, in the House; and yet be searched after, and re-imprisoned and secured by armed Guards by Order of their Secluders, for endeavouring to vindicate their own Innocency, Parliamentary Rights, Privileges, and the Liberties of those many Counties, Cities and Boroughs for which they serve without Doors, when as they cannot be admitted to it in the House itself, unless they will first eat and retract their former Votes against their Consciences, Privileges, and

* Mr. *Prynne* close imprisoned in *Dunster*, *Taunton*, and *Pendennis* Castle near two Years and ten Months; Sir *William Waller*, Sir *William Lewis*, Sir *John Glatworthy*, Major-Ge-

neral *Brown*, Commissary *Copley*, and Mr. *Walker*, near two Years or more, without Hearing or Cause expressed.

abjure their former Oaths, Protestation, Covenant, Declaration, by taking a new enforced Engagement: Whereupon they desire their few Secluders to consider the 1 Cor. xii. 14, &c. *For the Body is not one Member but many, &c. But now God hath set the Members every one of them in the Body, as it hath pleased him. And if they were all one Member, where were the Body? But now are they many (not few) Members, yet but one Body. And the Eye cannot say to the Hand, I have no Need of thee; nor again the Head to the Feet, I have no Need of them; nay, much more those Members that seem to be more feeble are necessary, &c. That there should be no Division in the Body, but that the Members should have the same Care one for another. And whether one Member (much more when most of them) suffer, all the Members suffer with it; or one Member be honoured, all the Members rejoice with it.* Which Consideration, with that of Matt. vii. 12. *Therefore, whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you, do you even so to them, for this is the Law and the Prophets.* 1 Thess. iv. 6. *Let no Man over-reach, oppress, or defraud his Brother* (much less so many Brethren of Eminency) *in any Matter,* (especially in their public parliamentary Trusts, Rights, Privileges) *because the Lord is the Avenger of all such, as we have forewarned and testified* (and their own double forcible Seclusion hath fully exemplified) might now, at last, convince them of, and convert them from their former Injustice and Violence, and make them more just and tender towards us than hitherto they have been, either as Christians or *Englishmen*, who are Members of one and the self-same Church, Kingdom, Parliament-House, formerly united together in the strictest Bonds of Unity and Amity, though now sadly divided by their Force and Fury, to the Ruin both of the Church, Kingdom, Parliament, and the House itself whereof they were Fellow Members.

CONSIDERATIONS humbly tendered by *Simon Mayne*, to shew that he was no Contriver of that horrid Action of the Death of the late King, but merely seduced and drawn into it by the Persuasion of others.

I. **H**IS own Weakness and natural Infirmities render him incapable of being a Contriver or Promoter of any great or considerable Action whatsoever, much less of that wicked one.

II. When he was first nominated one of that illegal Court, he was out of Town, and altogether ignorant thereof; and therefore, upon his first Entrance into the House (though he was sensible of his own Disability to speak in Parliament) yet through his natural Opposition against that Action, he presumed to rise, and would have spoke to excuse himself from being one of that Court, which Mr. *Thomas Challoner*, one of the then House, perceiving, laid Hands upon him, and prevented him from speaking; threatening, that if he should attempt

attempt to free himself therefrom, he would be taken for a Delinquent, and in Danger of Sequestration. And hath (since) often boasted to others, that he was the Man that made Mr. *Mayne* a Man of Courage and Resolution.

III. When the Tryal was, he (to avoid acting therein) did withdraw himself into *London*, pretending that he was sick, and lodged privately at the Sign of the *Golden Horseshoe* in the *Old-Baily*, for some certain Days, so that he might not be involved in that horrid Action, hoping that the Business would have been over before his Return, which was not; and then he was persuaded by some zealous Friends to go into the Court again, the last Day when the King was sentenced.

IV. When he was in the *Painted Chamber* to sign the Warrant, he was so disquieted in his Conscience, that though he saw above fifty sign before him, yet he would not easily frame his Spirit to sign with them; which one of the chief of that Number perceiving, calling to him, said, *Here stands one afraid: What do you fear? Do not you see others go before you?* Hereby he was drawn, amongst the rest, to sign it, much against his own Mind and Inclination.

V. That ever since that foul Act, he hath been so sensible of his great Offence therein, that he durst not purchase any of the King's, Queen's, or any other public Lands whatsoever, to shew he did not persist in Allowance or Justification of that Action, nor hath he enriched himself by the Ruin of others, or the public Troubles of the Kingdom.

VI. That he hath been so sensible of his great and heinous Crime, that though some (not knowing him to be involved therein) have in his Presence freely, and with the greatest Aggravations imaginable, spoke against both Act and Actors; yet his Conscience was so afflicted with the Sense of the Vileness of that Act, that he never made any Discovery of them, although, as the Times then were, he might have much advantaged himself thereby, as some now living can testify.

VII. That when there was a Search for the King's Party in *London*, about three Years since, and many fled into the Country to secure themselves, he did privately secure, and send some of them to their own Houses; Mr. *Digby*, by Name, was one, to the Hazard of his Estate by Sequestration, had it been known to the Committee of *Alisbury*.

VIII. That he never was of any private Junto or secret Cabal, nor never took the Oath of Abjuration, being much dissatisfied about it; nor was one of them that voted Non-addresses to his late Majesty.

That notwithstanding these his Considerations to extenuate, in a moral Sense, his Guilt, and truly to represent himself no principal Actor or Contriver of that wicked Action, yet with the most unfeigned Sorrow of a truly penitent Heart, he doth acknowledge his late Sentence to be legal, and most just, and deservedly inflicted upon him the most penitent of Sinners.

Votes, Resolves, and Orders of the Parliament in the Year
1660, concerning the Prisoners in the Tower.

Monday, May 14th, 1660.
THE Question being propounded, that the Number of seven, those who sate in Judgment upon the late King's Majesty, when Sentence was given, be the Number who shall be excepted for Life and Estate out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion.

And the Question being put that this Question be now put, it passed with the Affirmative. And the main Question being put, it was

Resolved, That the Number of seven of those who sate in Judgment when Sentence was given upon the late King's Majesty, be the Number who shall be excepted for Life and Estate out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion. Fol. 147.

Thursday, May 31st, 1660.
Ordered, That it be referred to the Committee who prepared the former Proclamation against Popish Recusants, to draw up a Form of a Proclamation to be presented to the King's Majesty, requiring the Persons who sate in Judgment upon the late King, when Sentence of Death was pronounced against him, to render themselves by a Day, or else that they be excepted out of the Act of Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 263.

Saturday, June 2d, 1660.
Mr. *Prynne* reports a Proclamation, requiring the several Persons who sate upon the late King when Sentence of Death was pronounced against him, to render themselves within fourteen Days next after the publishing of this Proclamation, or else to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon, Oblivion, and Indemnity, which was this Day read the first and second Time, and agreed unto to be the Form of a Proclamation to be presented to the King's Majesty. Fol. 273.

Monday, June 4th, 1660.
Mr. *Prynne* reports, That according to the Commands of this House, he carried to the Lords the Proclamation against the Persons who sate in Judgment against the late King when Sentence of Death was given against him, and brings Answer that the Lords do agree thereunto. Fol. 290.

Tuesday, June 5th, 1660.
Resolved, That the seven Persons who by former Order are to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon for Life and Estate, be named here in this House. Fol. 295.

Resolved, That *Thomas Harrison* be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon for Life and Estate. Fol. 266.

Wednesday, June 6th, 1660.
Resolved, That *William Say* be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of the Act for general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 300.

Resolved,

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 199

Resolved, upon the Question, That John Jones be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 300.

Resolved, That Thomas Scott be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 301.

Resolved, That Cornelius Holland be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 302.

Resolved, That John Lisle be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 302.

Resolved, That John Barkstead be one of the seven Persons to be excepted out of this Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 303.

Thursday, June 7th, 1660.

Resolved, That John Cooke, Esq; be excepted out of this Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 305.

Resolved, That Edward Dendy be excepted out of this Act of general Pardon and Oblivion for Life and Estate. Fol. 305.

Friday, June 8th, 1660.

Resolved, That the Number of twenty, and no more (other than those that are already excepted, or who sate as Judges upon the late King's Majesty) shall be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, for and in respect only of such Pains, Penalties and Forfeitures (not extending to Life) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another Act intended to be passed hereafter for that Purpose. Fol. 317.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Resolved,

That Sir Hardresse Waller,

Valentine Walton,

Edward Whalley,

Isaac Ewers,

Sir John Danvers,

Sir Thomas Maliverer,

Sir John Bourchier,

William Heveningham,

Isaac Pennington,

Henry Martin,

William Purefoy,

John Blakiston,

Gilbert Millington,

Sir William Constable, Baronet,

Edmund Ludlow,

Sir Michael Livesey, Baronet,

Robert Tichborne,

Owen Row,

Robert Lilborn,

Richard Dean,

John Okey,

John Hughson,

William Goffe,

John Carew,

Miles Corbett,

Francis Allen,

Peregrin Pelham,

John Moor,

John Aldred,

Henry Smith,

Humphrey Edwards,

Gregory Clement,

Thomas Wogan,

Sir Gregory Norton, Baronet,

Edmund Harvey,

John Venn,

Thomas Andrews, Alderman of London,

William Cawley,

Anthony Stapeley,

John Downs,

Thomas Horton,

Thomas Hammond,

Nicholas

200 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

*Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland,
John Dixwell,
George Fleetwood,*

*Simon Mayne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blagrove,
Thomas Wait,*

be excepted out of the Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, for and in respect only of such Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures (not extending to Life) as shall be thought fit to be inflicted on them, by another Act intended to be hereafter passed for that Purpose. Fol. 325.

By the KING, a PROCLAMATION,

To summon the Persons therein named, who sate, gave Judgment, and assisted in that horrid and detestable Murder of his Majesty's Royal Father of blessed Memory, to appear and render themselves within fourteen Days, under Pain of being excepted from Pardon.

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all our loving Subjects of England, Scotland, and Ireland, greeting. We taking Notice, by the Information of our Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, of the most horrid and execrable Treason and Murder committed upon the Person, and against the Life, Crown, and Dignity of our late Royal Father CHARLES the First, of blessed Memory: And that *John Lisle, William Say, Esquires, Sir Hardress Waller, Valentine Walton, Edward Whalley, Esquires, Sir John Bourchier, Knight, William Heveningham, Esquire, Isaac Pennington, Alderman of London, Henry Martin, John Barkstead, Gilbert Millington, Edmund Ludlow, John Hutchinson, Esquires, Sir Michael Livesay, Baronet, Robert Tichborn, Owen Roe, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroop, John Okey, John Hewson, William Goff, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, Miles Corbet, Henry Smith, Thomas Wogan, Edmund Harvey, Thomas Scott, William Cawley, John Downs, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, John Dixwel, George Fleetwood, Simon Mayne, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blagrove, and Thomas Wait, Esquires*, being deeply guilty of that most detestable and bloody Treason, in fitting upon and giving Judgment against the Life of our Royal Father; and also *John Cooke*, who was employed therein as Solicitor, *Andrew Broughton* and *John Phelps*, who were employed under the said Persons as Clerks, and *Edward Dendy* who attended them as Sergeant at Arms, have, out of the Sense of their own Guilt, lately fled and obscured themselves, whereby they cannot be apprehended and brought to a personal and legal Trial for their said Treasons, according to Law: We do therefore, by the Advice of our said Lords and Commons, command, publish and declare, by this our Proclamation, That all and every the Persons before named, shall, within fourteen Days next after the publishing of this our Royal Proclamation, personally appear and render

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 201

render themselves to the Speaker or Speakers of our House of Peers or Commons, or unto the Lord Mayor of our City of *London*, or to the Sheriffs of our respective Counties of *England* and *Wales*, under Pain of being excepted from any Pardon or Indemnity, both for their respective Lives and Estates: And that no Person or Persons shall presume to harbour or conceal any the Persons aforesaid, under Pain of Misprision of High Treason.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, the 6th Day of *June* 1660, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.

Saturday, June 9th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the House, that Mr. *William Heveningham* had rendered himself to him.

Resolved, That *William Heveningham*, Esq; do remain in the Custody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this House, till this House take further Order. Fol. 318.

June 13th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the House, that Colonel *Thomas Wayte*, Mr. *Simon Mayne*, and Mr. *Peter Temple* had rendered themselves, &c.

Ordered, That the Commitment of the said three Persons be, and is, hereby approved. Fol. 338.

Saturday, June 16th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the House, That Alderman *Robert Tychborne*, Colonel *George Fleetwood*, and *James Temple* have rendered themselves according to his Majesty's Proclamation.

Ordered, That the Commitment of the said Persons accordingly to the Sergeant at Arms be, and hereby is, approved by this House. Fol. 347.

June 18th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquainted the House, That Sir *John Bourchier* Colonel, *Owen Roe*, and Colonel *Robert Lilborne*, had rendered themselves according to the King's Proclamation.

Ordered, That this House doth approve of the Commitment of Sir *John Bourchier* Colonel, *Owen Roe*, and Colonel *Robert Lilborne*, to the Sergeant at Arms attending this House. Fol. 354.

Tuesday, June 19th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the House, That Colonel *Adrian Scroope*, Mr. *Augustine Garland*, Colonel *Edmund Harvey* and Mr. *Henry Smith*, four of those that sate as Judges upon the late King's Majesty, rendered themselves according to his Majesty's Proclamation.

Ordered, That this House doth approve of the Commitment of the said Persons, and that they so continue till further Order. Fol. 364.

June 19th, 1660.

The House being informed, That Colonel *John Downes*, who sate as one of the Judges of the late King, is seized and secured by the Lord General's Order.

Ordered, That the said Colonel *Downes* be forthwith put into the Charge and Custody of the Sergeant at Arms attending this House, and so to continue till further Order. Fol. 365.

202 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Wednesday, June 20th, 1660.

Mr. Speaker acquaints the House, that Colonel *Henry Martin* rendred himself according to his Majesty's Proclamation.

Ordered, That this House doth approve of the Commitment of Colonel *Henry Martin* to the Sergeant at Arms attending this House, and that he so continue till this House take further Order. Fol. 373.

Monday, August 6th, 1660.

Resolved, That this House doth approve of what the Sergeant at Arms, attending this House hath done, in taking good Security of all the respective Persons committed to his Custody, who sate in the late pretended High Court of Justice, when Sentence of Death was pronounced against the late King *Charles* of blessed Memory, according to a List now given in, and remaining with the Clerk of this House. Fol. 602.

An ABSTRACT of Part of *Smith's* Articles and Charge (in his Majesty's Behalf) against Serjeant *Northfolk*, Esq;

THAT Mr. *Northfolk*, by taking Bail for Murder and Treason, against the Laws of this Kingdom, *Ludlow* made his Escape; and the said *Ludlow* being unlawfully set at Liberty by the Means of the said *Northfolk*, the said *Northfolk* is guilty of Treason by the Common Law. 1 H. VI. Fol. 5.

That the said *Northfolk* set at Liberty all or most of those Traitors that rendred themselves according to his Majesty's Proclamation of the Sixth of *June*, 1660.

That *Northfolk* would not seize upon Colonel *Joyce* when he was shewed unto him in the Lobby. 22 Edw. III. Fol. 48.

That the said *Northfolk* held Correspondency with Traitors, during the Time he was Sergeant to the last Parliament, by sending Word privately what passed in the House against them before they rendred themselves to be his Prisoners. 25 Edw. III. cap. 2.

That if Mr. *Northfolk* cannot prove the Revealing and Delivering of those Goods (before the 29th of *September*, 1660.) which he is now charged withal, he hath disobeyed his Majesty's Proclamation of the 14th of *August*, 1660.

That the said *Northfolk*, by concealing Traitors, after the Sixth of *June*, 1660. is guilty of Misprision of Treason by his Majesty's Proclamation of the Sixth of *June*, 1660.

That the said *Northfolk*, after he had got vast Sums of Money, by taking Bail for Murder and Treason; the Sixth of *August*, being two Months after such his taking Bail as aforesaid, moved the Honourable House of Commons to allow of what he had done in his taking Bail as aforesaid, pretending to
their

their Honours, that he had not Prison-room enough to keep his Prisoners in : And the said Honourable House of Commons (not knowing of the treacherous Actions of the said *Northfolk*) upon the said *Northfolk's* Pretence aforesaid, resolved to approve of what he had done, in taking good Security, &c. which good Security the said *Northfolk* had not taken, and therefore is not protected under that Order : And the said *Northfolk*, at the time when he moved the House as aforesaid upon his false Pretence aforesaid, had *Lambeth-house* for his Prison, which would have held three hundred Prisoners more than he had at that Time in his Custody ; whereby it plainly appears that the said *Northfolk* having involved himself into Multiplicity of Treasons, upon his false Pretence aforesaid, moved the House for such an Order colourably to clear himself if he could.

That Mr. *Northfolk* taking Advantage of the preceding Time limited in the Act of Indemnity, committed most of the Treasons charged against him : In the Interval of Time, between the Date of his Majesty's Declaration of the $\frac{4}{14}$ April from *Breda*, and the Date of his Majesty's gracious Act of Indemnity ; and by his Majesty's Proclamation of the Fifteenth of June, 1660. (wherein his Majesty declared the granting of his full and general Pardon to all his Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who within forty Days after the publishing of his Majesty's Declaration aforesaid, should lay hold upon that his Grace and Favour, and should by any public Act declare their doing so ; and that they returned to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects (excepting only such Persons as should be excepted by Parliament) &c. That no Crime whatsoever, committed against his Majesty that now is, or his late Father of blessed Memory, before the Publication thereof, should ever rise in Judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, &c. The said *Northfolk* (after the Honourable House of Commons assembled in Parliament, in the Behalf of themselves, and all the Commons of *England*, &c. laid hold upon his Majesty's free and general Pardon according to his Majesty's Declaration aforesaid, and upon which Declaration the Act of Indemnity being grounded) committing most of those Treasons charged against him, long after the Time limited in the said Declaration, ought not to be comprehended either in Declaration, Proclamation, or Act of Indemnity, but be answerable to the Laws of this Kingdom, as if the Declaration, Proclamation, and Act of Indemnity had never been granted and published.

JOHN SMITH.

And for further Manifestation of the precedent Articles, I humbly present these ensuing Acts and Statutes unto your grave Judgments.

TO set at large unlawfully any Prisoners that are committed to Prison, Ward, or Custody for Treason, is Treason by the Common Law. 1 Hen. VI. Fol. 5.

To be adhering to the King's Enemies, aiding them, or giving them Comfort in his Realm, or elsewhere, is High Treason. 25 Edw. III. cap. 2.

To succour the King's Enemies is Treason. 22 *Edw.* III. *Fol.* 48.

To conceal and keep secret any High-Treason, is Misprision of Treason.

Note, That the Counsellors, Procurers, Consenters, Abettors, and Aiders to any of the aforementioned Treasons, be all within the Compass and Danger of High-Treason; for in Treasons all Offenders be Principal. *Stamf.* III. p. 2, 4, 5, 6. 19 *Hen.* VI. 27.

An APPEAL to the Parliament, concerning the POOR,
that there may not be a *Beggar* in *ENGLAND*.

Printed in the Year 1660.

IN the midst of many and great Undertakings, let not a Settlement for the Poor be forgotten, but revive, add, and execute all wholesome Laws, and encourage all good Means to supply poor People with Labour and Relief, and so prevent the ill Breeding, wicked Life and bad End that many Thousands have fallen into through Idleness: To this End, give Order, that the ensuing *Plat-form* may be fully executed: Although this Thing be warrantable, yet if there be not an absolute Necessity laid on them (whom it doth concern) to execute their Office, this Work may fail and come to little or nothing, notwithstanding the Means may be sufficient; but if carried on as it ought, the Cure is certain, no Beggar in *Israel*.

The PLAT-FORM, or Way how poor People may be supplied with Labour and Relief.

EVery Parish, according to the various Places and Employments, and as their Poor are increased, agree with some able Man or Men that rightly understandeth their Work, that may undertake, and by the Parish be assisted.

I. To take Notice how many *old, impotent, and young Children* be in the Parish, and supply them by Collection; and also help such whose Labour is not sufficient to yield them Maintenance: But if any in the Parish want Employment, that are able to work, set them to work according to the wholesome Laws of the Nation.

II. To take the most orderly Way for the manner of doing, according to the Variety of Places and Kinds of Work: If there be twenty Persons in a Country Village that want Employment, then the Parish agree with some Clothier, Stuff, or Stocking-maker, to furnish them with so much Work as they can do; so in great Towns, and Places of Cloathing, one Clothier take Ten, another Twenty, being brought in by Authority; for though there may be Work enough, yet the Idle will not come for it; to have Work and want Government, is as if they wanted Work; some Parishes have Means enough, and yet the Poor want Work, Food, and Government.

So

So in great Cities, where is much Trading on Silk, Wool, Hair, Weaving, Button-making, &c. every Parish, or Division, agree with some Tradesman, or Men, to provide for Ten or Twenty as aforesaid, and so may rise to Hundreds or Thousands by the same Rule; so in Parishes where the Poor are much encreased, and have no Trade, or where some great Trade is wholly decayed, there some other is to be sought for with Discretion: In Parishes where are no Poor, their Account is soon given, and they fit to help others. Some near *London* said, they had not a Beggar dwelling in their Parish, and yet have had thirty Travelling Beggars in one Week.

III. To settle a poor Man's Office. *First*, where Handicraftsmen and Labourers that want Work, and such as want Workmen, may enquire. *Secondly*, where Boys that would, or are fit to go Apprentice, may enquire of Masters; and such as want Servants in City or Country, or whom they have spoken to, may enquire. *Thirdly*, where Maids that would, or are fit to go Apprentices, or Covenant-Servants, or some that want such, may enquire; but none to be put to Service until they be first taught to Spin, Knit, Sew, learn some Trade, or Way of Livelihood; who else are neither fit for Service, nor can in After-times do any thing for themselves. *Fourthly*, where all poor People that are in Distress, or Danger of perishing, may make their Condition known, that Means may be used to supply their Wants.

IV. That all Persons whatsoever may have free Access and Acceptance without Molestation, to give in true Information concerning any Neglect of the Poor, to any in Authority, Justice of the Peace, or any in Power, as there may be Cause: And that every one that neglecteth his Duty, restore to the Poor so much as they have done them Wrong; and that Distress be made, if they refuse to pay presently.

V. That all Judges of Assizes and Sessions, lay open the sad Condition of the Poor in their Charge, and what the Law provides, and take Account what is done, and receive all true Informations concerning any Neglect of the Poor, and see the Penalty justly executed. The Law is made for the Lawless and Disobedient.

VI. That no poor People be denied their former Liberty, nor strict Course taken against them, until some good Means be used to supply their Wants.

Much might be added concerning the Means how there may be Work enough; how to order Things to the best Advantage in Cities, Towns, and Villages; how to take a List, or the just Numbers in great Cities, Out streets, and Alleys, Tenants, In-tenants and In-mates, where may be many perish, many idle hard to be found, and settled in order; how to encounter with the great Charge this may amount unto; but honest Labour and good Government may save the Rich from Charge, and the Poor from Hunger. And to speak to Particulars may be more seasonable when this Work is come into Practice, and more suitable to the divers Places, Persons, and various Kinds of Trading. If any object the Trouble: To have such Multitudes of Beggars in this fruitful Kingdom, Is not that Trouble? To hear them cry, and not give, Is not that Trouble? To hear their Cry, and give, is Trouble also; not knowing whether it doth Good or Harm: But if every Parish keep to their own, the Condition
of

206 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

of the Poor may be known. I have considered of Cities, Towns and Villages, but no Place have I found where this *Plat-form* may not be suitable, with little or no Alteration; although it be short, it concludes enough to effect the Work, and with little Trouble or Charge, in comparison of some Proposals concerning the Poor; and being faithfully executed, there may not be a Beggar in *England*, which is the Desire and Hope of one that hath no Intention of Evil to any, but wisheth the Good of all, who, having been many Years exercised among the Poor, and much desired their Good, and through long Experience have seen the Ground of their Misery, the Easiness of the Remedy, and the Benefit.

T. L.

P O S T S C R I P T.

THIS Work of Charity doth not concern Parliament-men and Officers for the Poor only, but all other in Authority to exercise their Power in their respective Places, for the general Good: And all, not in Authority also, rich Men to encourage it every Way, being best able; and the middle Sort do their Endeavour, lest they, like small Iron Creepers in a Chimney, who bear the Burden and Heat of the Fire, until they be wasted to Cinders; and the Poor to avoid Idleness, which is oftentimes the Cause of begging, and hearken to the Counsel of the wise Man, Ecclesiasticus xl. My Son, lead not a Beggar's Life, for better it is to die than to beg, ver. 28. The Life of him that dependeth on another Man's Table, is not to be accounted a Life, ver. 29. Begging is sweet in the Mouth of the Shameless, but in their Belly there burns a Fire, ver. 30. That this Plat-form, or some other, may be put in Practice when the Days lengthen is likely, because of the Necessity, and cannot safely with good Conscience be wholly omitted; but that all join in the Execution, there lieth the Strefs. Many good Things have been began, but Men being selfish, careless, and unconstant, the Work hath failed. I have in some measure unloaded my own Conscience in this Thing, and laid it before others, that all might be clear from the Cry of the Poor; but he that stoppeth his Ears at the Cry of the Poor, he also shall cry and not be heard.

T. L.

The PETITION of *Henry Smyth.*

S I R,

THE deep Remorse of my heinous Crime, with the gracious Tender of Mercy by his Majesty and Parliament, tendered to all who should render themselves, according to his Majesty's Proclamation, encourageth me, Sir, to implore your Christian Charity to be found an Object fit for your Pity and Compassion; and that by your Favour with his gracious Majesty and Parliament, I may receive his Royal Grace and Favour for a poor unhappy Life; which, through the Assistance of God, shall be improved in praying for the Happiness of his Royal Majesty, the Parliament, and your Self in particular, by,

S I R,

Your poor Petitioner and humble Servant,

HENRY SMYTH:

The

The humble Tender of some Considerations by the said Henry Smyth.

I. **T**HE high Proceedings of the Army in the imprisoning and forcible keeping out of several Members of the House, to the great Astonishment of the rest.

II. That when any did but make their Desire to be excused from the Commands of the House, in relation to their attending the pretended High Court, they were sharply reprov'd and menaced, of being sent to the *Tower*, and Sequestration, by those who then had the greatest Influence upon the Army and Parliament; who also procured several strict Orders of the House, for all whom they had named therein to give their Attendance.

III. That the said *Henry Smyth* neither advis'd, contriv'd, or design'd the Death of his late Majesty; nor had at any time any murderous or malicious Thoughts or Intentions towards his Royal Person; nor had at any time any Thing to do in those secret Councils and Contrivances, acted either in Parliament or Army; but by his relying upon the Advice and Direction (for the Conduct of all his Affairs) of such Persons as he unhappily deemed no less honest than skilful, was misguided and cozened into such overt Acts, as in the Eye of the Law made him guilty of such murderous and malicious Thoughts and Intentions, as he doth, and ever did, from his very Soul abhor.

IV. That he was at the same time very young, and ignorant of the Laws, and, in respect of the high Actings in the Army and Parliament, was forced, with others, to sit in the said pretended High Court, against their Freedom and Wills.

V. That he hath been always ready to shew what Civility was in his Power to his Majesty's Friends; and that he never took the Oath of Abjuration.

The State of the CASE of *Edmund Harvy*, Prisoner in the *Tower* of *London*, condemned to die.

Printed in the Year 1660.

I. **T**HAT he rendered himself upon the Faith and Confidence he had in his Majesty's gracious Proclamation, published by Advice of the Lords and Commons, dated the 6th of *June*, 1660.

II. That he not being sensible of the Danger of appearing in such an Assembly, did, for some time, attend the pretended High Court of Justice for the Trial of his late Majesty, sincerely intending to improve his utmost Power to divert their Proceedings against him; the which he heartily endeavour'd: And when he (with such as he had procured to join with him) could not dissuade, he did declare his Abhorrency thereof, and deserted the said pretended High Court, refusing any more to be present, to consent, order, or sign, or seal with

with them, though thereunto pressed by Summons and earnest Solicitations, as was witnessed by Persons of good Quality and Credit before his Majesty's Commissioners, upon his late Trial at *Newgate*, as is hereafter set forth, and which they are again ready to attest.

UPON the Request of *Edmund Harvy*, I *Thomas Langham* Citizen and Mercer of *London*, do hereby humbly certify, That I being called as a Witness before his Majesty's Commissioners, upon the Trial of the said *Edmund Harvy*, at the late Gaol-delivery of *Newgate*, did then and there, viz. the 16th Day of *October* 1660, before the said Commissioners, and the Jury, testify as followeth, That I being anno 1648, an Apprentice unto *Edmund Sleigh*, late Alderman of the City of *London*, and Copartner unto the said *Edmund Harvy*, he the said *Edmund Harvy*, in the Evening of the Day, being *Friday* next before the Sentence against his late Majesty passed, came (as usually he did) unto the House of my aforesaid Master, being then in *Cheapside*, *London*, and I being then present, heard my said Master ask him what News there was at the High Court of Justice for the Trial of the King? Unto which he answered, Very bad News, for (as far as he perceived) many of the Court would endeavour the next Day to pass a Sentence against the King, which he said he would endeavour to hinder, and would, to his utmost, labour to prevent. And the next Day, being *Saturday* in the Evening, he came again unto my said Master's House, I being then also present, heard him tell my said Master, That his Majesty had been that Day at the Court, and though he would not own them as a Court, yet would propound an Expedient unto them for the settling of the Peace of his Kingdoms, which was by his Majesty propounded before the Sentence passed, and was, that they would be instrumental to get his two Houses of Parliament to meet, that he might have a Conference with them for the Purpose aforesaid. And the said *Edmund Harvy* further said, That he had endeavoured all that in him lay, that his Majesty's Expedient might be embraced, and that no Sentence might have been passed, but could not prevail; and further declared his Dissent to, and Abhorrency of, that Sentence, and the Court's Proceedings therein. And farther said, That his Detestation thereof was such, as that he would never give his Consent, or sign, or seal thereunto, or otherwise meet, consult with, or come amongst them.

THOMAS LANGHAM.

UPON the Request of *Edmund Harvy*, nominated by the then Power, to be one of the pretended High Court of Justice for the Trial of his late Majesty, I *Edward Corbet*, Minister of *Northreppes* in the County of *Norfolk* (being then one of the Assembly of Divines) do hereby humbly certify, That about two Days before the Death of his late Majesty, the said *Edmund Harvy* invited me to dine with him at a Victualling-house near *St. Margaret's, Westminster*, when, and where, to my full and perfect Remembrance, he acquainted me with his Majesty's Advice (before Sentence passed against him) That the Commissioners would get his two Houses together, that he might have a Conference with them for the settling the Peace of his Kingdoms; and that he

the

the said *Edmund Harvy* was so convinced and rectified thereby, that he laboured to prevent the passing the said Sentence (but could not) and seriously expressed great Reluctancy against the Court's Proceedings, and much Grief and Trouble that the King's Advice was not accepted, and the said Sentence laid aside, passionately abhorring any such Act as the Murder of his Majesty, under the Appearance of an High Court of Justice. And declaring that he had been, with much Earnestness, pressed to come unto the said Court to join with the said Commissioners, in ordering, signing, and sealing a Warrant for the Execution of the said Sentence (which, he said, he would never do) and to avoid further Temptations and Solicitations thereunto, took me on Purpose to bear him Company, and kept himself in the aforesaid Place privately, when and where he desired my Advice and Opinion, as to himself and his Actings contrary to the Court's aforesaid Proceedings, in which, according to my Abilities, I did not only comfort him in so acting, but laboured to confirm his Perseverance in those his loyal Resolutions, advising him not to enter into the Secrets of those Men. And I do further certify, That there was also then present, which heard the aforesaid Discourse, one Mr. *Adoniram Byfield*, then Minister of *Fulham*. And, lastly, I do certify, That when I was called before a Committee of Parliament, for vindicating myself by Name in Print, from giving the least Advice or Countenance unto the Production of an Impiety so monstrous as the murdering of his Royal Majesty (a Prince of incomparable Perfections) the said *Edmund Harvy* afforded me all Favour and Assistance for my Release and Quiet.

The which, for the whole Substance, and all the material Parts thereof, I testified before the Lords, the King's Justices, and the Jury, the 16th of the said October, at the Trial of the said Edmund Harvy.

EDWARD CORBET.
EDM. HARVY.

A DECLARATION of the Nobility, Knights and Gentry of the County of *Oxon*, which have adhered to the late King.

Printed in the Year 1660.

SINCE after a bloody War, followed by its worst Effects, *Confusion, Violence, and Fanatic Fury*, it hath pleased Almighty God, by unexpected *Methods*, to bring us not only within Hope, but even in View of *Settlement*: And that his Excellency the Lord General *Monck*, the glorious and immediate *Instrument* of Providence in this great Work, through his heroic *Courage, Conduct, and Moderation*, hath brought Affairs to that Pass, that there is scarce any Thing left for other Hands, but to lay hold of, and receive their

their *Happiness*: Unless we had been misrepresented as Bars to this *Felicity*, by false Apprehensions, we should not, at this Instant, have appeared in public: So that the *Enemies* of this Nation's Peace, traducing us as Persons implacable and studious of *Revenge*, have at once laid an Obligation upon us to vindicate ourselves by renouncing so unworthy a Suggestion, and an Opportunity of serving the Public, by removing those Pretensions for *Diffidence* and *Jealousy*, which (as Things now stand) are the only *Hinderance* of that perfect Union, which cannot fail to bring the Nation to a happy Settlement.

Upon which Ground, we have thought it fitting to declare, that we do disclaim, and with perfect Detestation disown all Purpose of *Revenge*, or partial Remembrance of Things past.

Likewise, we desire, that in whatsoever any of us have disobliged either the Public, or any private Person, we may partake from them that Oblivion which we so readily dispense.

Moreover, we promise and engage to acquiesce in the Determinations of ensuing Parliaments, resolving, in our several Stations, to compose ourselves thereunto with chearful vigorous Obedience.

Lastly, We are resolved perfectly to forget all Names of Difference, excepting those, which the more active Endeavours of *Charity* and *Peace* shall give unto us, who have this Strife alone to manage, the being outdone by none in *Friendship*, *Love*, and *Condescension*.

Subscribed by

Earl of Lyndsey,
Earl of Downe,
Lord John Lovelace,
Sir Banibam Throgmorton, Knight
and Baronet,
Thomas Pope, Knight,
William Walter, Baronet,
Sir Chichester Wrey, Knight,
Sir Timothy Tyrrel, Knight,
Samuel Sandys, Colonel,
Brome Whorwood, Esquire,
Thomas Whorwood, Esquire,
Captain William Whorwood,
Colonel Francis Lovelace,
Colonel Henry Heylyn,
William Sheppard, Esquire,
Major Francis Moore,
Captain John Peacocke,
Captain Peter Langston,
Francis Langston, Esquire,

Samuel Walbanck, Esquire,
Captain William Gannocke,
Richard Baily, D. D.
Richard Gardner, D. D.
Thomas James, Gent.
H. H. Corney, Gent.
Richard Powel, Esquire,
William Hopton, Gent.
Captain James Aston,
Samuel Jackson, M. D.
John Fell, M. A.
John Machin, Gent.
Thomas Lodge, Gent.
John Lambire, M. D.
Captain John Smith,
William Wickham, Esquire,
William Knowles, Esquire,
John Dolben, Gent.
John Parsons, Gent.
Captain Walter Jones.

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY,
AND THE
LORDS and COMMONS now assembled in PARLIAMENT,

The humble Petition of the Prisoners for Debt,

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners and their Sureties being disabled by the late intestine War, and by the Casualties thereof made incapable of Payment of their Debts; yet notwithstanding, to the utter Ruin of your Petitioners, their Persons have, and are arrested by *Capias*, Bills of *Middlesex*, and *Latitates*, as well upon feigned Actions as real, and cast into noisome Gaols and Dungeons, to be tormented and enslaved by the Keepers and Gaolers, by whose Cruelties all your Petitioners had, is by unlimited Fees extorted and wrested from them, to the absolute Beggary and Perdition of your Petitioners, their Wives and Children, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, most Nations, the *Magna Charta*, *Petition of Right*, and other the known Laws of this Land.

Wherefore your Petitioners pray, That their sad and languishing Condition may be considered and redressed, and your Petitioners, now in Durance for Debt, may be set at Liberty, and all Arrests for the future taken away; that Imprisonment may not obstruct their Endeavours, either at present or hereafter; but that they may have their Liberty, and Industries for Payment of their Debts, as God shall enable them; (especially now in this Day of England's great Jubilee and universal Grace extended to all Offenders and Offences) your Petitioners being chargeable with no other Crimes but Poverty (occasioned by the Distractions aforesaid) may not be the only Persons cast off, and set by, as incapable either of Memory or Mercy.

And your Petitioners, &c.

REASONS offered in order to the passing an Act of Parliament against Imprisonment by Arrests upon the Writs of *Capias*, Bills of *Middlesex* and *Latitates*.

ALL Pleas are either (a) *placita coronæ*, otherwise called *criminalia*, or *communia*, otherwise called *civilia*.

In all criminal Causes whereto the King was always a Party, the Bodies of Men at the Common Law, were subject to Arrests and Imprisonments; so where the Action was *vi & armis*, a *Capias* lay in (b) Process, and in such

(a) *Mirror*. cap. 1. Sect. 4. *Stamf.* l. pl. cor. f. 1. *Cook* 2 *Instit.* f. 22. (b) *Sir William Herbert's*, c. 3. Rept. *Cook* 2 *Instit.* f. 394.

Case a *Capias* lay after Judgment, the King might have a *Capas pro fine*; and where a Man was a Debtor or Accomptant to the King, his Body, Goods and Land, were liable to the Execution of the King.

Mr. *Kitchin* saith, That (c) by the ancient Common Law of the Land, the Process in Common Pleas, was Summons, Attachment, and Distress infinite, the *Distringas* being successively distant fifteen Days one from another.

At the Common Law, where the Subject recovered a Judgment for Debt or Damages, he could not (except in some particular Cases) take the (d) Body of the Defendant in Execution, or his Lands, but his Goods and Chattels, and the Profits of his Lands; for which Purpose the Law gave two several Writs, one a *Levari facias*, whereby the Sheriff was commanded, *quod te terris, & catallis, levari faciat, &c.* and the other a *fieri facias*, which was only *de bonis, & catallis*.

This being the ancient Common Law of the Land, That the Body should not be taken in Execution for Debt or Damages, unless it were in special Cases. The Lord *Cook* saith, that the Reason thereof was, That the Person should be at Liberty not only to follow his Affairs and Business, but should be ready to serve the King and the King and the Country, when Need shall require.

Magna Charta confirms the Law and Usage in this Particular, Chap. 29. which was made in the 9th Year of *H. III.* and *Anno Domini*, 1224. which establisheth *quod nullus liber homo capiatur aut imprisonetur, &c. nisi per iudicium parium suorum vel per legem terræ.*

The first Act of Parliament that made the Person liable to an Arrest in Common Pleas was *Marlebridge*, cap. 23. made 52 *Hen. III.* and *Anno Domini*, 1267. whereby a *Capias* was given in Accompt, if the Accomptant had not Lands whereby to be distrained.

The Mischief before this Statute, saith the Lord *Cook*, was, that the Accomptants seeking *Subterfuges*, did withdraw themselves, and became vagrant, flying to secret Places, sometimes into foreign Countries, and had no Lands or Tenements whereby they might be distrained, so as the Lords were in a manner remediless.

By *Westminster 2.* cap. 11. made the 13th *Ed. I.* *Exigent* is given against Accomptants, as Bailiffs and Receivers, but not against Guardians in Socage, as the Lord *Cook* saith; so might such Accomptants be committed to Prison, by Auditors, being found in Arrearages.

There was a Mischief amongst Merchants and Tradesmen, for want of a more speedy Recovery of their Debts than the Common Law gave, by reason Merchants and Tradesmen could not trade without ready Money, and Merchant-Strangers were enforced to stay here longer than their Tradings required, for Recovery of their Debts. And therefore the Statute of *Acton Burnel* was made the 11th of *Edw. I.* whereby a Statute-Merchant was devised, and the Body of the Conizor made liable, if his Moveables were not sufficient, whereupon to levy the Debt, and afterwards the Statute of *Mercatoribus* made 13th

(c) *Kitchin* retorn. bred. f. 4. tit. Com. Banc.
Cook 2 Inst. f. 394.

(d) Sir *William Herbert*'s c. 3 Rept.

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 213

Edw. I. adds further Strength to this Law, and makes the Body, Goods, and Lands of the Conizor liable in a Statute-Merchant: These two Laws were then made for the more speedy Recovery of Debts between Merchants.

The next Statute was the 25th *Edw. III. cap. 17.* which gives the like Process in Actions of Debt, as in Accompt, and in Detinue of Cattle, and taking of Beasts.

By the 19th *H. VII. cap. 9.* like Process was given in Actions upon the Case, as in Actions of Trespas or Debt, in the *King's-Bench* or *Common-Pleas*.

By the 23d of *H. VIII. cap. 14.* like Process in every Writ of Annuity and Covenant is given as in Debt.

Thus by Degrees Men's Persons, by several Acts of Parliament made in the Reign of several Kings, became liable to Arrests and Imprisonments in Common Pleas (e), namely Actions of Debt, Accompt, Detinue, Trespas, Annuity, upon the Case Covenant.

It is said in Sir *William Herbert's* Case, 3d Report in the Argument upon this Subject, that the Common Law is founded upon the Perfection of Reason; and surely there be many great and important Reasons, why the ancient Common Law should be again restored in this Point.

Not to insist upon that which the Lord *Cook* says was the Mischief that introduced the *Capias* upon the said Statute of *Marlebridge*, which was the first Statute made for such Process, which was because Accomptants withdrew themselves out of the Power of the Lords; and therefore the Lords obtained a *Capias* to take them where they could find them to bring them to an Accompt: Now, if the Accomptants withdrawing themselves was a good Reason for obtaining a *Capias*, if this Process make Debtors and Accomptants more to obscure and withdraw themselves, so as they dare not appear to follow their Business, or manage their Estates to the best Advantage, thereby to enable themselves to pay their Debts, for fear of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Serjeants, &c. who lie in wait for them, it may seem to be a good Reason for taking away that Process; for when a Statute is made to remedy a Mischief, and that Mischief is encreased by it that may be a Ground to take away that Statute, as well as to make it.

The Grievances which the Act of the 25th of *Edw. III.* and other Acts (on which the Writs of *Capias*, &c. are grounded) have introduced upon the People and Subjects of this Nation are such, that they languish to utter Ruin in the Execution thereof, as daily appears by these ensuing Evils committed upon Arrests by *Capias*, Bills of *Middlesex* and *Latitates*.

First, Men (f) are often-times for pretended great Debts, when in truth the Persons arrested may owe nothing; but this Violence offered is upon Spleen, Revenge, or Malice. The Persons thus arrested (whether the Action be real or feigned) if worth One Thousand Pounds, more or less, when committed to Prison, are suddenly reduced to nothing, by the unsatiable Rapacity of Gaol-

(e) The *Capias* being near two hundred Years before admitted against all Persons.

(f) All Noblemen's younger Sons are lia-

ble to Arrests, as well as others, upon a common Writ of *Capias*, Bills of *Middlesex*, or *Latitate*.

ers ; by which Imprisonment the Prisoners sustain the Loss of Credit, exposed to Cheats and Oppression, by Friends, by Tenants, by Servants, &c. bereft of all Endeavours and Employments, besides the Loss of Health, separated from their Wives, Children and Families, and what else is dear to any Man ; left only to be buried alive, to be tormented with the Debaucheries of the Prison, and their own Discontents ; by which it appears this Weapon (at the Pleasure of any Man to use) doth devour and rob the Kingdom of (g) as able and active Persons to serve their Country, in Peace and War, in any Condition whatsoever, as any other living in it ; by destroying Thousands of them in Holes and Dungeons, to satisfy private Interest, to the great and unheard-of Oppression and Ruin of the Subjects and People of this Nation.

Secondly, If the Arrest be in a Corporation (if a Stranger) he must there lie in Prison, if not bailed by Freemen of that Corporation ; and if the Person so arrested will not lie in Prison, the Prisoner must remove himself by *Habeas Corpus*, by which Charge and Fees to Gaolers, Under-Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and Serjeants, &c. (increasing in a large Proportion) the Debtor becomes greatly disabled for Payment of his Creditor.

Thirdly, If the Prisoner (b) arrested be removed by *Habeas Corpus*, and brought up before the Judges, and be not there able to put in Bail, the Prisoner is then sent a Prisoner to the *King's-Bench* or *Fleet*.

If to the *King's-Bench*, then must he lie there three Terms before the Party that arrested them, by the Rules of that Court, is bound to declare upon what Cause of Action the Party so arrested is imprisoned ; which Time, before a Declaration is filed (as it may happen) will be three Quarters of a Year, to the Destruction of the Person thus causelessly and maliciously arrested.

If committed to the *Fleet*, there (i) can be no Declaration filed against the Prisoner, unless by *Habeas Corpus* brought up to the *Common Pleas* Bar first, there to be charged ; and whether the Action be feigned, or real, the Prisoner hath no Remedy at all for such Arrests, Wrong, Oppression, Imprisonment, Breach of Credit, and Damages sustained in his Estate (it may be) to the utter Ruin and Undoing of his Wife, Children, and Family.

Fourthly, The Words of the Action for Debt, is but a Surmise, and it is a most desperate Thing for a Man to be imprisoned upon a Surmise only (k).

Fifthly, Arrests and Imprisonment take away all Industry and Endeavours from all Men ; and by the Want of Men's Liberties, the Kingdom sustains great Damage, the Parts and Abilities of Men's Minds and Bodies in their several Capacities, being stifled and buried alive in Dungeons and loathsome Prisons ; whereas Men's Liberties and Industries hath enabled Thousands of Men to pay their Debts and raise their Fortunes, which, by Restraint, is impossible ; imprisoning and immuring Men, fitting them only to have all they

(g) The Number of Prisoners in the several Gaols of this Kingdom being conceived to be at least Ten Thousand. This ruins most Men, but Loss of Credit to all, besides, if it be remote from *London*, it may cost 50 or 60 l. Charges.

(b) If the Arrest be made after Trinity Term, the Party need not declare till *Easter* Term following.

(i) Contrary to the Common Law and *Magna Charta*. c. 29.

(k) The Words *Debt ut dicit*.

have torn from them, to satisfy the extorted Fees of cruel Gaols and their Adherents.

For, if a poor labouring Man, or mean Tradesman, borrow, or become engaged for Ten or Twenty Pounds, more or less, upon his own Security, or otherwise, by his Liberty and Freedom to follow his Calling, or Labour; perhaps earns Thirty Pounds, or Forty Pounds a Year, and he thereby is enabled to disengage and make Payment of his Debts, and provide for his Family while he is at Liberty; but when once arrested, and cast into Prison, his Credit is lost, his Endeavour in his Calling or Labour taken from him, and suddenly bereft of all he has, and himself, Wife and Children left to perish by Beggary and Misery, which, poor Man, before his Arrest and Imprisonment, was able, by his Liberty, Labour, and Endeavours, to have maintained his Credit, paid his Debts, and provided for his Wife and Children.

Sixthly, Arrests are dangerous in the Consequence; for many times Murders and Manslaughters do happen to the ablest of Men, both of Parts, Estates and Qualities, thereby subjecting them to the Force, Rudeness, and vilest Usage of the worst of Men, merciless and cruel; for Bailiffs, Serjeants and Marshals-men, regard neither Age, Sex, nor Condition or Quality; for that the Arrests and violent Attempts made to enslave Men, serve only to enrich the Under-Sheriff, Bailiffs, Sergeants, Catch-poles, Gaolers, and such like, and for the Maintenance of their Riot, Excess, Drunkenness and Debauchery, for which Cause they extort unreasonable Fees, taking Bribes of all hands, buying and selling both Creditor and Debtor for their own Profits, appraising and under-hand selling, to their own Uses, for the tenth Part of the Worth of the poor Prisoners Goods and Chattels; so that the greatest Part being devoured by those Cannibals, the Prisoner and his Family is thereby utterly undone and destroyed, and the Creditors, in all Things but their Malice, left altogether unsatisfied.

Seventhly, Great Damages are frequently recovered against Sheriffs upon Rescues made, and Escapes, as every Day's Experience brings forth.

All Writs, and Process in Law, are truly intended for Remedy and Redress, not for Revenge, Oppression and Wrong, as the Practice is now-a-days: And is it not monstrous in Nature and Reason, that a Man shall be allowed a Replevin to save a Beast from starving in the Pound, and that Man himself only should be shut up in Prison to perish without Hope or Relief?

Quest. How the Poor borrowed Money before the Act of 25 E. 3.?

Quest. Whether any Person be enabled to pay their Debts by being arrested and imprisoned?

Thus far the Evils of the Bills of *Middlesex*, *Latitates*, and *Capias*.

The Mischiefs attending the Outlawries, transcend that of the Capias, Bills of Middlesex and Latitate.

Outlawed Persons are said to be (1) *Utlagati*; that is, *extra legem positi*, deprived of the Benefit of the Law; the Penalty whereof was great, and so

(1) *Mir. cap. 1. Sect. 3. cap. 5. Sect. 1. Cook 1 Inst. f. 1286. Cook 2 Inst. f. 46. Cook 1 Inst. 128. 6.*

great, that in the Reign of King *Alfred*, and a good while after the Conquest, no Man could be outlawed but for Felony, the Punishment whereof was Death.

In *Brañton's* (m) Time, and somewhat before, Process of Outlawry was ordained to lie in all Actions that were *quare vi & armis*, which *Brañton* calleth *delicta*, for there the King should have a Fine.

By divers Statutes since made, as the Imprisonment of Men's Persons by *Capias*, Bills of *Middlesex*, *Latitates*, and *Cap. ad satisfac.* After Judgments, hath by Degrees crept in, to the Alteration of the Common Law, in Actions of Account, Debts detainue, covenant Actions upon the Stat. of 5 R. II. and Actions upon the Case; and in divers other Common or Civil Actions, so Outlawries of Men's Persons thereupon hath ensued; but the Mischiefs that attend the Outlawry of Men's Persons, do much transcend those of Arrests and Imprisonment of Men's Persons. For,

First, By (n) Outlawries before and after Judgment, the Debtor suffers more than in any other Thing yet known in *England*; yea, more than by Manslaughter, or Petty Larceny; for in all those Things the Subjects are allowed a Defence, but for this none. In all Courts, and for all Actions, the Persons concerned must have Cognizance of the Proceedings, something must be committed: But an Outlawry, though supposititious and fictitious, is sufficient done to serve the Turn for the Destruction of the Party outlawed. The Delinquents in criminal Acts, for some Causes, forfeit but Chattels, and personal Estate only, and for those a Pardon of Course for suing out; but upon an Outlawry, the Debtors Chattels and personal Estates are wholly lost, and the real Estate seized and extended for the King (who is not Six pence a Year benefited) nor the Creditors one Farthing. The mean Profits not being in any Part discounted for the Debt, and yet the outlawed Person destroyed, and all his Creditors defeated of their just Debts. If the Debt be small (the Cure is worse than the Disease); if a great one, the Debtor is never able to give in Security to reverse the Outlawry, and free the Extent upon the Outlawry, but perishes inevitably, and (o) not a Penny of the Debt lessened to the Creditor, or abated to the Debtor, nor the King's Majesty above 5 s. or 10 s. a Year enriched, and that consumed in Fees also.

Secondly, The poor outlawed Debtor can neither sue for, or recover any Debt, or Rent due to him, or try any Title for Recovery of any Estate, or let any Lease, or make his last Will (p) and Testament, or do any other Act to help himself or his Family, after his Death; neither can the Son reverse the Father's Outlawry after his Death; so that once outlawed after Judgment, or otherwise, and the whole Family is ruined for ever; and none but Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Gaolers, and their Officers, one Farthing the better; neither can the outlawed Person sue or implead his Oppressor; and all for Debt (which is no Crime) and yet criminous Persons are not subject to, or oppressed with such

(m) *Brac.* lib. 5. f. 521.

(n) All the Nobility and Peers of the Realm are liable to this as well as the Commonalty; and the Person of a Peer being outlawed, is liable to Arrests and Restraint, as well as the

Commoners.

(o) *Cheq.* Leases.

(p) 4 H. VII. 17. *Brook.* outl. 41. *Litl.* Sect. 197. *Cook* 1 Inst. 128, 6. 8 E. IV. 6.

merciless Extremities; neither is it possible for, or in the Power of, any Man how provident, or clear from Debt soever, to prevent, or free himself from this Snare and Pitfall of Destruction.

Thirdly, A Ward might call his Guardian to account, and was privileged from being sued in other Courts, and had Protection both of his Person and Estate; but here is no Account for Profits, nor Right for Wrong; no Protection of Person, but Oppression in all, and barred from all Relief and Remedy (yea, even so much as to complain) so as the Mischief of the Outlawry incomparably transcends the *Capias*, in that the *Capias* attaches the Person only; the Outlawry, Body, Lands, and Goods (*q*).

Fourthly, If two or three join to lend 100 *l.* or 1000 *l.* more or less, to a third Person, and one of the Creditors outlawed (though perhaps unknown) the whole Debt is forfeited to the King, and the Debtor can pay neither of the three, or two, which lent the Money; so as those that are not outlawed have lost their Money, and forfeited their Debt, as well as he that is outlawed.

The like for Tenants in common; if any of them are outlawed, the whole Estate of the other Tenants becomes forfeited and seized for him that's outlawed, and the other Tenants not outlawed shall have no Remedy, nor can reverse the other's Outlawry, being none of theirs: And any Man may be outlawed on Pretence of Debt, Detinue, or Trespass, whether true or false, and never know of it; the Outlawry may be undiscovered, and the Person die under that Danger, to the Destruction of his Posterity (*r*).

Fifthly, Forfeitures by Outlawries go to the Crown, without Benefit to the Party whose Satisfaction the Law intends; and the Parties thus outlawed are without Remedy against the Party that doth the Wrong, and without Relief as to the King, for forfeited Goods and Chattels, if not (*ex gratia*) besides the Injury done in fleecing those Goods by Bailiffs, and their Under-Sheriffs, who share with the King in the greatest Proportion of such Forfeitures; by which his Majesty loses a Million of Pounds yearly, and the People ruined.

Sixthly, Outlawries brings the Freehold under Seizures and Extents, and is exceeding chargeable to plead unto, and to reverse; and the Use which is made of Seizures and Extents thereon, is known to be little available towards Satisfaction of Creditors their just Debts, but absolute Destruction to the outlawed Person; the Parties outlawed may be sued, but cannot sue for his own, Outlawries being Disablement in Law. It is hard to pay, where Men cannot receive (*s*).

These Mischiefs, by the Corruption of Practice, have crept in under this Act of 25 *Edw.* III. notwithstanding upon Complaint of the People in the 44th Year of the same King *Edw.* III. it was repealed, and the Subject remitted in their Right, according to the common Law, and *Magna Charta*, save only to such as were Accountants to the King.

(*q*) 18 *Edw.* IV. 4. *Nichols* *Vr. Nichols* *Plo.* 487.

(*r*) 9 *Hen.* VI. 20. 49 *Edw.* III. 5. 4 *Hen.* VII. 17.

(*s*) 38 *Edw.* III. 22. 16 *Edw.* IV. 4. *Brook.* *utl.* 17. 20 *Hen.* 20, 21 *Hen.* VII. 13 *Aff. p.*

5. 5 *Hen.* VI. 20.

It is not unknown to all Judicious, That by the common Law of this Nation, no Man's Person could be arrested in Det or Detinue, &c. the Lands, Goods, and Chattels of the Debtor were only liable to Execution, which the Law allows for Satisfaction of Creditors (t) : And former Times, in Cases of Debt between Party and Party, rested thereupon, the Person of the Debtor being in strict Imprisonment, pays not the Debt to the Creditor, but most Times satisfies the Malice of the Creditors only. And it cannot be denied, that the Lords now living, and as Peers freed from Arrests, yet pay their Debts out of their Estates, as well, and better than such as are Prisoners can do (which very Precedent, obvious to all) makes it appear that Imprisonment neither advantages nor prejudices the Creditor, but serves only to enrich the Gaoler, and by him the Prisoner is ruined. The foregoing Mischiefs, Trouble, Loss, Oppression, and Damage considered, which doth daily happen by the villainous Crew of Bailiffs, Sergeants, Gaolers, &c. to the enslaving and Oppression of the Subjects ; and all derived from that Act of 25 *Edw. III.* (u) and how repugnant the present Practice is to the known Laws of this Realm ; it will plainly appear, that this one Nation is impoverished yearly by Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Serjeants, Marshal's Men, Process-makers, *Habeas Corpus*, Day-writs, Rules, Waiters, Keepers, Gaolers, Wardens, with bribing Sheriffs, and their Deputies and Bailiffs for Intelligence, and for forbearing of Arrests, and Prosecutions, besides the personal Villanies and Injuries put upon Men of all Conditions by these Tormentors, more than one Million of Pounds yearly in ready Coin, for which the Creditor is not the better one Penny ; which were better disposed of, and paid for the Defence of the Nation, and Payment of Navies, &c.

In short, that this Practice now on Foot upon the *Capias*, Bills of *Middlesex*, *Latitates*, and *Outlawries*, may be the more triumphant to the enslaving of all, it speaks thus :

Outlaw a Nobleman, and he is made incapable to sit in the House of Peers, till the Outlawry be reversed ; and may be arrested as a common Person, being outlawed ; and all his Goods and Chattels forfeited, and appraised by every Under-sheriff, and sold, and brings his real Estate under Extent.

Outlaw a Clergyman of what Degree or Qualification soever, and their Living and personal Estates are both forfeited together, and by any Under-sheriff sold as aforesaid, if it be in his Bailiwick, and his Person imprisoned, if arrested.

Outlaw any Gentleman, and it is the same ; his Person and Estate, both real and personal, forfeited, and himself, if arrested, a Prisoner.

Outlaw any Lawyer, and he is made incapable to plead at Bar, his Person, if arrested, imprisoned ; and his Estate, both real and personal, the one extended, the other forfeited.

Outlaw any Citizen rich in Stock, as a Merchant, Jeweller, Goldsmith, or any other eminent Tradesman, what he hath is forfeited, and himself a Prisoner, if arrested.

(t) *Cook 2. Inst. f. 394. Vid. Cook's Part 2, 3, 12. 13 Hen. IV. 1.*

(u) *Malebridg. c. 23.*

All Men may be arrested and outlawed under feigned Actions, by created and supposititious Names, to their utter Undoing, and never find out either Plaintiff or Attorney, to recover their Damages.

Now the freeing, discharging, and setting at Liberty all Prisoners now in Prison, and under Restraint for Debt, and the repealing of this Act and all others of 25 *Edw.* III. and the taking away of all Arrests and Outlawries, and the sad Consequents and Effects thereof, so much contrary to the *Magna Charta*, Petition of Right, and the common Law, elder than both, is the Matter aimed at, and humbly prayed for, that so the Subject may be remitted and restored to their former Laws, *ab origine* : And it is no new Thing, when the continual Repealing in all Ages of divers Statutes, when found inconvenient, or against the common Law, makes it manifest.

As, Tenure in Villainage,
Mortmains on Abbeyes,
Knights Templers and St. *John's*,
Bishops Courts for being burthensome and chargeable to the
People, 80000 *l.* per annum,
The High Commission Court,
The Court of Star-Chamber, and divers others.

And that it may be enacted in the future, That no Person whatsoever shall be arrested or outlawed for any Matter or Thing whatsoever (not criminous) in the Act of 25 *Edw.* III. and other Acts contained, for the avoiding the manifold Mischiefs aforesaid, and the Slavery, in general, introduced upon the whole Nation. The deep Sense his late Majesty (of blessed Memory, had of his People's Sufferings, occasioned by the Writs and Process as aforesaid, made his Majesty intend to have recommended the Enlargement of Prisoners for Debt, and the abolishing of all Arrests and Outlawries for the future, to the then Parliament, could his Majesty have received any Recompence for the remitting of Forfeitures, and other Profits arising to his Crown, which by an Act now tendered to the Honourable House of Commons is provided for.

How much Terror and Sorrow of Heart the People and Nation in general lie under, who now hide themselves, and languish to Death under the Fear of Imprisonment and Arrests, consuming all their Fortunes, not daring to shew themselves to manage it to their best Advantage, toward the Payment of their Debts, or otherwise, for Fear of Sheriffs, Bailiffs, Sergeants, Marshal's Men, Gaolers, &c. the Subject and their Posterities by this Means being born Slaves, liable to all Arrests, Imprisonment, and Outlawries, and on all Accidents to Beggary and Bondage, at every Man's Will and Pleasure : On the contrary, upon the passing of this Act of Grace, depends the Good and Welfare of the People, the whole Nation being manumitted and enfranchized in their Persons, restored in Laws, secured in Estates, and of a base and slavish Nation made noble and free, as they were before the Act of 25 *Edw.* III. other Acts was had.

To conclude, if Traitors and Felons of all Sorts, expect Remission and Pardon of their Offences, upon the blessed Restoration of his Sacred Majesty, how is it to be doubted, but that the good Subjects of this Land and Nation (not criminous) shall find Remedy and Redress, and be relieved from their sad and lamentable Thralldom and Bondage; especially when the known Law or Equity affords the Creditor Power for Recovery of his just Debts, upon the Debtor's real or personal Estate, which is at the Dispose of the Creditor for his Satisfaction. And this one Act of Grace will be accounted by all good Men, and their Posterities, a sufficient Recompence for all the Subjects past Sufferings; being the greatest Mercy that ever King of *England* extended to his Subjects since they were a Nation.

A FANATIC's ADDRESS, humbly presented to the King and his Peers, and also to his People in their Representative the Commons House of Parliament, assembled and sitting at *Westminster*: Discovering to them the Innocency of his Actings in the Midst of the late Revolutions of Governments in this Nation; with the Resolves of them that walk with him, and the Qualifications of those they intend to have Communion withall.

By *HENRY ADIS*, a baptized Believer, undergoing the Name of a Free-willer; and also most ignominiously, by the Tongue of Infamy, called a *Fanatic*, or a *Madman*.

Phil. iv. 5. *Let your Moderation be known to all Men, the Lord is at hand.*

Printed in the Year 1661.

FOR as much as several that lately took upon them the Places of Trust, Government and Authority in these Nations, under a Pretence of making such a Reformation in Church and State, as was agreeable both to the Law of God, and the best reformed Churches; and yet their Ends in all this, the Event did clearly evidence, was nothing either more or less, but to advance and set up Self and Self-Interests; the which, that they might the better, and with the more Self-security effect, they proclaimed *Liberty of Conscience*, that so they might gain a Party to stand for and by them, if Necessity required; in which Time of Freedom, a small Party (the Searcher of all Hearts
right

right well knoweth) enjoyed our Liberties under them, with an utter Detestation both to their Acts of Violence, Oppression and Self-servings, with our continual bearing our Testimony against them, in those Actions, as it fell in our Way, both in Discourses and Teachings; but more publickly in my Books, printed and published in the Year 1648, called, *The Symptoms of Ruin*, or, *The Sword and Famine, the Attendants of Oppression*; as also in that Book, intituled, *A Cup for the City and her Adherents*; and in that Poem, called, *A Spy for Justice, sent out of the Tower Chamber of the Fleet*; in all which it will evidently appear, that for mine own Part I could not own, nor in the least allow of their Violence nor Oppression: And the better to clear to the whole Nation our Innocency, and the Cleanness of our Hands, as to all manner of Acts of Violence and Oppression, I caused 1500 *Declarations* to be printed and published the 12th Day of the 11th Month, vulgarly called *January*, in the Year 1659, which is also joined to the latter End of my *Fanatic's Mite cast into the King's Treasury*; in which I declared my Judgment, and the Judgment of that small Company that were in Society with me, both concerning Fighting, Swearing, and Government, and our Obedience to Magistracy and Magistrates, and our present Disrelish to them then in being, as in the 23d and 24th Lines of the said *Declaration* (if Recourse thereunto had) is evident: And yet notwithstanding, myself, with two more of the said Declarers, in this late Imprisonment about the late Insurrection, and also upon refusing to engage to the King by an Oath, have been cruelly imprisoned in the *Gatehouse Dungeon*, and two of us also most abusively (with others) were printed as *Traitors*, although the Thought of those, and such like Acts of Violence and Bloodshed, are even an abhorring to our Souls.

And seeing we have the Word of the King passed to us, for our Protection under him, in our Liberties in our Meetings, to discharge our Duty to our God, and each to other, in that Way that God hath manifested himself unto us in his revealed Will the Holy Scriptures of Truth, so long as we on our Parts, without Acts of Violence, Hostility, Plottings, Contrivings, or Underminings, shall behave ourselves peaceably and quietly under him.

And seeing we, on our Parts, have never in the least forfeited our Privileges, by any Thing that we have either acted, or in the least intended, and yet our peaceable and quiet *Meetings* have been beset with rude and debauched Soldiers, rending and swearing, attended with the rude Rabble; and that since our late Enlargement by the King's Coronation Favour; and all this for speaking in the Name of *Jesus of Nazareth, a Man approved of God*, Acts ii. 22. he that is pretendedly owned of you all, and yet contended for by you all; and yet such is the Inveteracy of the Spirits of some, that they are eagerly fighting against those that in the Singleness of their Souls serve this Jesus in the *Footsteps of the Flock of God gone before*; of whom, because the King, the Nobility, and the generality of the Commonalty of this Land of our Nativity, are misinformed of some of us, and that we, with some, are of the Judgment, *that Killing is no Murder*, intend to lay a Punishment upon us, for the Guilt and Opinions of some, whom we as little own, as they that are ready to inflict the Punishment; I have therefore thought good once more to set Pen to Paper, and

222 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

and in Plainness of Speech, to give the King and his People, and you their Representatives, a fresh Discovery of the Intents of our Hearts, and the Bents of our Spirits, in the Singleness of our Souls, in the Sight and Presence of him who is the Searcher of all Hearts, that Sin-revenging God who is of a more pure Eye than to approve of, or to behold, Iniquity with Approbation thereunto.

I shall therefore declare our Judgments as to the present Governor and Government, and our Opinion touching Government, simply so considered; and then I hope *Daniel* like, neither the King, his People, nor you their Representative, shall find any just Cause against us, save in the *Matters of our God*; in which (the Lord assisting us) we shall resolve in God's Way to go on in, *and if therein we perish, we perish.*

And therefore first of all, I shall let you know, that we do own Government, and that we both do and shall resolve to be obedient to Governors, because they be *ordained of God*, according to *Rom. xiii. 1, 2.* And therefore, on our Parts, we dare not resist them, but shall, according to Verse 7. *Render unto them Tribute, Custom, Fear and Honour*: And for as much as we have seen the Hand of him who changeth the Times and Seasons, who removeth Kings and setteth up Kings, *Dan. ii. 21, 37. Dan. v. 18, 19. 1 Sam. xv. 1, 23. 1 Sam. xvi. 12.* to be great in this Change in setting up *Charles* the Second; we do therefore own him to be the lawful King of these three Nations of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and to whom we shall willingly submit in all civil Things, that we do find to be agreeable to the Mind of God, revealed in that Directory, his Holy Scriptures of Truth; and if at any Time he shall require from us any Thing that we cannot in Conscience actually obey him in, we shall not in the least resist him violently, nor by Force of Arms oppose him, but shall patiently suffer under him the Penalties for our not obeying him; and as we own him, so we shall receive, own and obey actively or passively, all others his civil Magistrates, set up and sent by him, for the Punishment of *evil Doers*, and the *Praise of them that do well*, according to *1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.* And this we shall do in the Singleness of our Souls, without Evasions, Equivocations, or mental Reservations.

Secondly, As we do own Magistracy to be of God; so we cannot look upon ourselves to be concerned in the Affairs of this, or any other Nation, so as to have to do with Government, as to our own Particulars, although we were endowed with such Qualifications and Estates, as might render us capable thereof; because we look upon ourselves to be a People *chosen out of the World*, and such as shall be *bated of the World*, *John xv. 19.* and for the Sake and Name of Christ, shall be *bated before Kings, Rulers, Governors, Magistrates, and Councils* of this World, as he himself hath foretold us, *Matt. x. 17, 18. Mark xiii. 9. For all that will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer Persecution, 2 Tim. iii. 12.* And therefore we look upon it to be our Duties to behave ourselves as Pilgrims and Strangers on Earth, as the Flock of God gone before us did, and were, *Heb. xi. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 11.* And to sit loose to the Things of this World, and to *use the World as if we used it not, and as not abusing it, 1 Cor. vii. 30, 31.* but that our Moderation therein, and in all Things, may be

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 223

be known to all Men, because the Lord is at hand, Phil. iv. 15. and not Martha like, to be too much cumbered with the Things of this World, but with Mary, to look after that one Thing necessary, and to choose that good Part which shall not be taken from us, Luke x. 41, 42. And as we are risen with Christ, so to seek those Things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the Right Hand of the Father, Col. iii. 1. And so to lay up for our selves Treasures in Heaven, where neither Rust nor Moth do corrupt, and where Thieves cannot break through, nor steal, Mat. vi. 20.

Thirdly, We shall and do own the Parliament of England, convened and gathered together by the King's Writs, to be the lawful and only lawful Assembly of the Nation, for the confirming, establishing, making and repealing of Laws and Statutes, for the better well-being of the Nation in Civil Things; but we cannot find, from the Word of God, any Warrant for the greatest of Men or Councils, either Civil or Ecclesiastical, to alter or abrogate any of the Laws of God made by that great Council of Heaven, or to prescribe any other kind or manner of Worship than what the great Jehovah in his Magna Charta, the Holy Scriptures of Truth, hath established, ratified and confirmed by Miracles, Signs and Wonders, and divers Gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own Will, Heb. ii. 4. and in which the Flock of God, gone before us, acted, who continued stedfastly in the Apostle's Doctrine and Fellowship, and in breaking of Bread and Prayer, Acts ii. 42. to which Directory only we both do, must, and shall conform to and none other. And if by the Hands of the rude Multitude, by your continued Toleration, or otherwise by your Appointments, we shall therein or therefore perish, we perish: Yet I cannot but by the way let you know, that for some time past, I have observed and taken special Notice, that when Parliaments have gone about that Work of settling and ordering of Matters concerning the Worship and Service of God, their Designs have suddenly been blasted, their Councils confounded, and their Enemies, foreign or domestic, encreased; by which Means they have been forced to leave that Work, or else by the Hands of those that called them, or by the Army's Force they have been violently dispersed.

And now I shall really inform you of our Resolutions herein, and shall declare, That if this great Assembly shall go on to intermeddle with the Regulating of our Consciences, as to the Worship and Service of our God, or give it into the Hands of the Churchmen of England so to do, we shall not by Force of Arms, nor the least Violence oppose them, nor comply with any that shall oppose them; neither shall we resolve to conform to them in the least, in what is inconsistent with the Laws of our God, lest us in Scripture Record: But under our Penalties for our Refusals, we shall, with Israel of old, groan under such Egyptian Bondage; and we question not but that the Captain of our Salvation, in his own due Time, by a mighty Hand and stretched-out Arm, will release and relieve us, to the Comfort of his poor oppressed suffering ones, and to the Confusion of his and his People's Enemies; and with Israel of old, we shall resolve to stand still and behold the Salvation of our God, which he will work for us, let our Sufferings be under (you or them) what they will, for our not actually obeying Man's Traditions.

Fourthly,

224 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Fourthly, We look upon it to be our bounden Duty, notwithstanding tho' we suffer for it by the Hands of Men, yet to follow the Direction of King *Jesus* the Captain of our Salvation, who himself was *made perfect through Sufferings*, *Heb. ii. 10.* who, that his own Flock might the better avoid that great Danger of *Forswearing*, either by Ignorance, Forgetfulness, Mistakings, or by reason of Fear, Favour or Affection, he perswadeth them *not to swear at all*, *Mat. v. 34.* who also telleth us, *Mat. v. 20.* that *except our Righteousness shall exceed the Righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, we shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven*; and therefore in Verse 37. he requireth that our *Yea* should be *Yea*, and our *Nay*, *Nay*; and he addeth this as a Reason, for faith he, *Whatsoever is more than this cometh of Evil*, or of that Evil-one; as much as if he should have said, when you either assert or deny a Thing, you shall do it with such Singleness of Heart, and with such Sincerity of Soul, being in *me*, or in my Way, Order, or Worship, as that you shall not cause the Name of God, nor his Gospel, to be blasphemed or evil spoken of, by reason of your deceitful Denials or Affirmings, but that you speak the Truth in *me*, who am made of my Father unto you, both *Wisdom, Righteousness, Sanctification, and Redemption*; and so am become to you the *Lord your Righteousness*, *Jer. xxiii. 6.* who, as I judge, doth not tie us distinctly to the Circumstance of the Terms, *Yea* and *Nay*, but to the Substance of the Verity or Truth of the Thing asserted, although the Terms may differ, as do his own, who saith, *Verily, verily, I say unto you*, *John iii. 3.* who also useth the same Expression above twenty times in that Gospel by St. *John*, the which *Verily, Verily*, had it been an Evil, or if it had come of that Evil-one, and he himself speaking it had been his Evil, to have tied us from it as an Evil, and yet acted it himself; and so he would have laid himself under a Guilt, the which to say, I really believe is no less than Blasphemy: So that he tieth us, as I judge, not to the Circumstance of the Words, but to the Substance of the Matter, and that without *Swearing*, in saying, *Swear not at all*; so that though we cannot swear to King *Charles*, yet we can and shall be freely willing to promise to King *Charles*, what we can safely and upon a Scripture Account promise. And as we are not ourselves free to plot, contrive, nor by Force of Arms to undermine him, nor his Government; so to prevent the shedding of Blood, and the Breach of the Peace of the three Nations, we shall and will be ready and willing to discover all Plots, Conspiracies, or any thing that by Force of Arms we shall know of against him, to some Justices of the Peace, or other his Ministers, within twenty-four Hours after the Knowledge of such Plot or Force intended; and shall resolve (the Lord assisting us) to be as true and faithful in our *Yeas* and *Nays*, whether Promissary or Testimonial, to King *Charles* and his Subjects, of what Rank or Quality soever they be, as our Brethren of *Holland* are to the States, and to their Fellow-Citizens and Townsmen: And we hope our Performances therein will be found far more real than the Multitudes either are, or have been, who have been ready to swear for this To-day, and *against* it To-morrow; whose own Interests generally cause their Mouths to open in such Swearings and Forswearings more than Conscience; the which we dare not do, lest we be found transgressing the Law of

our

our Saviour, and his faithful Servant, who say, *Swear not, and swear not at all*, Mat. v. 34. Jam. v. 12.

Fifthly, We look upon it to be our Duties, to be a peaceable, a quiet, a harmless, and an innocent People, and to keep our selves from all manner of Acts of *War, Violence and Hostility*; because to kill, inflame, bring under, ruin, or destroy our Friends, were most inhumane; and to do so to our Enemies, we dare not, because our Law-giver, by his faithful Servant, Rom. xii. 17, &c. requireth us to *recompense to no Man Evil for Evil*, but that we *provide Things honest in the Sight of all Men*; and that if possible, as much as in us lieth, we should live peaceably with all Men; who requireth us not to *avenge our selves*, but rather to *give place unto Wrath*; because it is written, *Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it*, saith the Lord; therefore, saith he, if *thine Enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him Drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap Coals of Fire on his Head*; and *be not overcome with Evil, but overcome Evil with Good*: yea, and so saith our Saviour himself, Mat. v. 44. *But I say unto you, Love your Enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that despitefully use you; that you may be (or that you may evidence your selves to be) the Children of your Father, which is in Heaven*; for he *maketh his Sun to rise on the Evil, and on the Good, and his Rain to fall on the Just and on the Unjust*: for if you love them which love you, what Reward have ye? Do not even the Publicans the same? And if ye salute your Brethren only, what do ye more than others? do not even the Publicans the same? Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect. And we look upon it to be our Duties to follow our Lord and Master, who left himself a Pattern for us to follow, who saith, Mat. xi. 29. *Learn of me, for I am lowly and meek, and ye shall find Rest for your Souls*; who, saith the Apostle, 1 Pet. ii. 21, 23. *When he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed himself to him who judgeth righteously*. Much more might be said to their particular, the which for Brevity's Sake I shall omit; and shall thus affirm, that for this Cause, and such Requirements as these are, we dare not have to do with Weapons of War, nor that the Acts of Violence in any Case be found in our Hands, no not for the best Things, and to advance or promote either the Gospel or Kingdom of Christ by any such Way or Means, we dare not in the least have so much as a Thought, but look upon it to be our Duties patiently to wait, and earnestly, according to that other Requirement of Christ, to pray, *That his Kingdom may come, that so his Will may be done on Earth as is in Heaven*, Mat. vi. 10. And as we have declared in the said Declaration, in 1659, that we could not hold Society with, nor own those that were in the same Faith and Order with us, and from whom we then stood at a Distance, that acted with the carnal Weapons, Weapons of War, and Acts of Hostility then; so still, we look upon it to be our bounden Duty so to do, because it is so frequently forbidden in Scripture, and also because it bringeth such an *Odium* upon the Truth, and also upon the peaceable People of God that are in Gospel Order, and walk close to the Appointments of Christ in all his Ordinances, and in Church-fellowship, at it is at this Day: And therefore we cannot have to do with any such as do so act, or that look

upon it to be their Liberties or Privileges so to act; and shall have as little to do with them now as then, or with any one that hath so acted, unless they shall freely relinquish the same, and shall acknowledge their Failing and Evil in their so acting, whether it be either *against* or *for* King *Charles* the First, or King *Charles* the Second; it being so clearly made out to us, and also to several of them that formerly so acted from the Holy Scriptures, to be contrary to the Qualifications of a Gospel Disciple, to have to do with *Weapons of War*, or the *Sword of Slaughter*, whose Weapon only ought to be the *Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God*, to cut down, kill and slay, wound and bring under every *Imagination*, and every *high Thought*, that *exalteth itself against the Knowledge of Jesus Christ*; and to bring every Soul to the Obedience of Christ, in all his Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Appointments: In order whereunto,

Sixthly, We look upon it to be agreeable to the pure Will and Mind of God, that there be a free Toleration for Men and Women to *worship* God, without either Constraint or Restraint; and that no Acts of Violence be used against them therein, to force the *Conscience* of any, no not the meanest of the Sons and Daughters of Men, of what Persuasion or Judgment soever they be of; because Jesus Christ, out of that exceeding Love of the Father, was sent to lay down his Life for the *Sins of the World*, *John* i. 29. and to be a *Redemption for that first Transgression*, *Heb.* ix. 15. under the Guilt of which all the whole Bulk of Mankind that ever were, are, or ever shall be, by Imputation, do lie under; and from the Punishment of which, by Jesus Christ, they shall all be released and restored, *Rom.* v. 18. And not only so, but they are also, by Jesus Christ, that second *Adam*, brought into a Capacity to have that Salvation that is in Jesus Christ, with eternal Glory, *2 Tim.* ii. 10. whose Work was to *come to seek and to save that which was lost*, as he himself saith, *Luke* xix. 10. And therefore he gave out his universal Commission, the Benefit whereof *extendeth to all*; and therefore to be *preached to all*, *Mat.* xxviii. 19. *Mark* xvi. 15.

And we having this universal Gospel to preach, to wit, *That God was in Christ, reconciling the World unto himself by Jesus Christ, not imputing their Trespases unto them*, and hath committed unto us *the Ministry of Reconciliation*; now then we are *Ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us*; we pray you (yea) (you great tall Cedars of *England*) [we pray] you in Christ stead be ye reconciled unto God, *2 Cor.* v. 19. 20. And have a Care, I beseech you, in the Fear of the Great *Jehovah*, that ye neither slight our Message, as you tender the Good of your own Souls to Eternity; neither be ye, I pray you, as those Pharisees and Hypocrites, against whom a *Wo* was pronounced by our Master King *Jesus*, *Mat.* xxiii. 13. who shut up the Kingdom of Heaven against Men, who neither desired to go in themselves, nor suffered those that were entering to go in: Oh, I beseech you, have a Care of this, for Men are backward enough of themselves; and should you but seem to hinder them, happily their Disobedience may be put upon your Score; and he that is found forwards now to hinder, will be found most guilty at that Day, when Christ shall dispense to every Man, according as his Work shall be, *2 Cor.* v. 10. Oh,
I beseech

I beseech you once again, yea and again I intreat you, have a Care every one of you, as you tender your own Good to Eternity, that you hinder none, tho' ever so rich, nor ever so poor; for God is *no Respector of Persons; but in every Nation, he that feareth him and worketh Righteousness, is accepted of him*, Acts x. 34. Hinder none, be they ever so young, nor ever so old; for our Householder, the Master of our Family, Jesus Christ who is a Son over his own House, comes to some early in the Morning, *Mat. xx. 1. &c.* even whilst they are tender and young, even so soon as they come to Reason and Understanding, God by the Incomings of his Holy Spirit, comes to hire them into his Vineyard: To some he comes at the third Hour in their Youth; to others, at the sixth Hour in their Manhood; to others at the ninth Hour in their declining Age; and to some again at the eleventh Hour, even in their old Age. O then, I say again, I beseech you have a Care, that none be hindered of their Entrance into the Vineyard of Christ, of no Age or Sex whatsoever; for he may be loitering in the Market-place of the World this Day, that may be hired into the Vineyard of Jesus Christ To-morrow; for Christ of a *persecuting Saul* may suddenly make a *preaching Paul*; one Voice from Heaven can do it; through Mercy I know it by good Experience, and therefore I am the bolder to assert it; and that provoketh me the more earnestly to beg again and again, that no Violence be used, because the Householder, *Mat. xx. 1.* is said to hire, not to frighten, nor beat, force, or constrain, but to hire Labourers to go into his Vineyard, telling them what they shall have for their Pains, if they will labour when they are there: And as I told the King in my *Fanatic's Mite*, in Page the Ninth of the last Impression, *That a Gospel Minister was not as a General in an Army, to frighten, beat, or fight Men into Faith, but as an Ambassador, to persuade and invite, and gently treat with, and to intreat into the Way of God, the one being Gospel or Evangelical, but the Way of Force being diabolical and of the Devil, and proceedeth from the Fruits of the Flesh, a Part whereof I told the Mayor of London, in Christian Love to his Soul, the Danger whereof, in my Alarm given to him in his Quarters, in Page 34, in which some of them are clearly laid down, and how they will exclude a Soul from Heaven's Glory.*

Again, it is required, that *all Things be tried, and that which is Good be held fast*; but how shall there be a Trying of all Things, if there be a Constraint only to one? for, how can there be a Choice where the trying any but one is restrained? the which Restraint confounds the Choice. Again, if those of the *Episcopal Government* do look upon *Toleration* or *Liberty of Conscience*, simply so considered, to be a Sin, then I query if it be not an Evil to *tolerate* any? and whether that Evil is not then more aggravated if they shall *tolerate* that *Opinion* or *Religion* that they would have us swear against, because they say it is idolatrous and sinful? And whether there is not a farther Aggravation, if the worse be allowed, and the better be suppressed? And whether they will not evidence themselves to be such as judge not as God judgeth, if they shall *tolerate* the Great, the Rich and Mighty, and suppress the Mean, the Poor and the Low? when God *respecteth not Persons, but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted of him.*

228 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

And therefore I would earnestly beg every one (the Bent of whose Spirit carrieth him that Way) according to the Requirement of the Apostle, to *try their Spirits whether they are of God or not*, 1 John iv. 1. and to examine their Wisdom in this Case of *Persecution*, whether it be that Wisdom that is *from above*, which is *first pure, then peaceable, gentle and easy to be intreated, full of Mercy and good Fruits, without Partiality, without Hypocrisy*, Jam. iii. 17.

Whether it be without Partiality? whether they would be willing to be served so themselves? whether if they have at any Time undergone *Persecution* for Conscience Sake, and have not cried out against it as abominable, as the *Roman Catholics* and *Episcopals* have done in that grand Usurper *Oliver Cromwell's* Days, and the general *Baptists*, confident I am should have done, had he longer continued; even as they with others now do, and as that People of the Presbyterian Persuasion suddenly (unless my Judgment greatly fail me) will do, if this horrid *Rome-bred persecuting Spirit* still be predominant in *England*, which is contrary to the true Spirit of God, whose *Fruit is Love, Joy, Peace, long Suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Meekness, and Temperance*; against which *there is no Law*; no Law of God, although there be now some Laws of Man intended to be made against them: Oh! that this were taking upon your Spirits, that now sit at the Stern!

Was not your Loyalty to King *Charles* the First, and King *Charles* the Second, a great Cause of your Hardships, most of you? How fared it with you, you that were continually in *England*? Were not those that bore Sway in *England*, your continual Tormentors, your Fear and daily Dread? and those that were away, Did they not feel the Smart of it? Did you not all, both abroad and at home, cry out of *Oppression, Cruelty, and Tyranny*? Did you cry out of them, and think you that others will not cry out of you, if you be found such Actors to others? Was it evil in them to use you so, for your Loyalty to King *Charles*? And can you be so cruel to those that are loyal to King *Jesus*, and never acted any thing against King *Charles* the First, nor King *Charles* the Second, or against the meanest of you, nor ever took Part with them that did? Did the Hand of God follow them for their cruel and unjust Actings to you and the King, as most of you do say it did? And, can you be the same to others, for their Loyalty to Him who hath righted you of them, and brought you to your own again; and that against some of them too that never got the Worth of one Farthing by all their Pillagings, Plunderings, or Sales, neither of Goods nor Lands? Can you be contented to enjoy your own? And, are you not willing that those that never harmed you, should enjoy theirs? Are you glad that you are brought into the Land of your Nativity again? And, would you now most cruelly jostle others out? Are you now setting up that Worship that you judge to be agreeable to the Mind of God? And, will you now force others to forsake what they are persuaded to?

Oh! that you would but consider, what your own Oppressions were, and who you are now about to oppress; let not your Fury, nor Revenge fall heavy upon the Innocent; Why should Iniquity and Injustice be found in your Hands?

Oh!

Oh! consider with yourselves apart, and discourse it each with other seriously, what such a Judgment as I, in the Singleness of my Soul, have laid before you, can, or ever did do you Harm; who never did any Acts of Violence for, nor against, you or the King, nor ever shall resolve to do; who have not gone with a defensive Weapon so much as to defend myself with, above this fifteen Years; and am of the same Judgment with our Brethren of *Holland*, whose innocent and harmless Behaviour, confident I am, many of you, in that Time of your Absence from this Land of your Nativity, are well acquainted with; the which I am confident the strictest of you have no just Exception against, either for endeavouring to undermine Government, or to pull down Governors, or by Fraud or Force to have to do with any Man's Possession, Goods, or Estate; who am willing to *do by another, as I would have another do by me*, and am as willing another should live as myself, whose Endeavour, in all my Teachings, have been to persuade Persons to forsake and avoid all Acts of Violence and Oppression, and to cleave to God with Purpose of Heart, and to persuade those that have owned God in his own Way, to continue stedfast in the same, and to prove faithful to him, whose Laws teach the best Loyalty to our earthly Princes, and purest Love to all, yea to our very Enemies, who with Single-heartedness to all, and without either Fawning or Flattery, have and shall still resolve to tell every one, with whom I have to do, the worst of their Condition, and shew them the Danger they are in, by Reason of their Misdoings; with an earnest Desire that in order to their eternal Well-being, they would refuse the Evil and choose the Good.

And so I have at this Time done with you, the great Council of the Nation, and if for my Plainness of Speech either as to the Matter or Manner of it, you shall become mine Enemy, because I deal so plainly with you, I shall let you know, that notwithstanding, I shall, in the Singleness of my Soul pray for you, and for your Conversion, not in the least endeavouring or plotting your Confusion.

And now I shall earnestly desire both the King, his People, and you their Representative, to judge with Equity our innocent Cause, that so, when you shall yourselves be summoned at that great Session, before that great Tribunal and righteous Judge, who shall give to every Man according as his Work shall be, that then you be found innocent and without Blame, as to your Actings against the peaceable ones of Christ's Flock, whose Sentence, of either, *Come, ye Blessed, inherit the Kingdom*, or, *Go ye Cursed into everlasting Fire*, will be of an eternal Extent; and that upon the Account of Men's Actings to his People, either for doing them good, or for refusing to do them that Good they might have done them; who looketh upon what is either neglected or done to them, to be done unto himself: And hence it is, that he uttered that from Heaven, saying, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest*, Acts ix. 3, 4. And after the same Manner will be his Sentence at that great Day of Account, even, *Go ye Cursed into everlasting Fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels; for when I was hungry ye fed me not, and naked ye clothed me not, sick and in Prison, and ye visited me not; for in as much as ye did it not to one of these little Ones, ye did it not unto me.*

Oh then

Oh then I beseech thee, whoever thou be, that art of a persecuting Spirit, I say again, I would beg thee seriously to consider, Oh persecuting Spirit, that if the Lord Christ will thus severely punish the neglecting the doing Good to his People, when hungry, naked, sick, and imprisoned; what then will be the Portion of those that cause them to come into such Difficulties and Straits, as Imprisonments, Hungerings, Nakedness and Sickness; and cause them to be thrown, as it were, on Heaps, one upon another, as some of the Baptists lately have been 60 in one Room, some nine Foot broad, and fourteen Foot long, in *Newgate*: And much after the same Way in several other Gaols and Prisons in the Nation; enough to breed Infections and Diseases, had not the God whom we serve appeared mightily on our Behalves.

And seeing the eternal Sentence will be so severe against such violent Actors, in love to their Souls I cannot choose but give them a timely Caution, and in their Behalves with that Servant of the Lord, *Deut. xxxii. 29.* cry out and say, *O that they were wise, that they would understand this, that they would consider their latter End.*

And now let not the King, his Peers, nor his People, be angry, and I will speak but this once more in the Behalf of myself, and all that are of the Separation, of what Judgment soever, that so, if possible, I may be instrumental, that the Peace of the Nation be preserved and kept; and this I shall humbly beg, that if you are not willing that we should serve our God, in that Way which we have received, but that we shall be taken into Custody for our so doing, that then you would commissionate some Peace-Officers for that Work to have to do with us, and that we be not left to the Mercy of the rude Multitude, nor the violent Laws of the mercenary Soldiers, whose Actings towards the Peaceable have been very rude and inhumane, in *London* and *Westminster*; where, at one Meeting, they wounded one Man so dangerously on his Arm, that it is greatly feared he will lose the Use of one of his Hands.

At another Meeting-place they rudely came and drank up the Wine that was provided by that Congregation to celebrate that holy Ordinance of communicating at the Table of the Lord.

At another Meeting-place, the Congregation being generally dispersed before they came, in Revenge whereof the Soldiery set on the rude Multitude to break in Pieces the Table that they used to make Use of to celebrate the Lord's Supper upon.

At another Meeting-place they rudely behaved themselves, violently casting some of them head-long down the Stairs, but the Stairs being winding, and some People upon them, the Force of the Falls (through Mercy) being thereby broken, there was not much Harm done as to the People, the greatest Harm that was done, was by one of the Soldiers to himself; for he set that up then upon his own Score, the which (unrepented of) will exclude him Heaven's Glory, if the Saying of our Apostle be true, in *1 Cor. vi. 9.* who would *not have Men to be deceived, for saith he, neither Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor effeminate, nor Abusers of themselves with Mankind, nor Thieves, &c. shall inherit the Kingdom of God*: And such was one of them who stole a Bible, as I am informed by one, who saith, that at the very Interim of Time charged

charged him with it, in the Face of the Congregation ; and if such Acts of Deceit should be winked at and allowed, we should be in as bad a Condition, as when our Houses were searched, upon the late Insurrection, when who would, came and forced into Houses, and took and bore away what they pleased, to the great Hindrance of some, as can be clearly evidenced ; and when our Pockets were searched in the main Guard, and our Knives and other Things taken from us, and never restored to us again ; and if such Acts of Violence be not restrained, our peaceable and well-governed Land, in a short Time may (it is to be feared) become *Acheldama*.

And therefore, in the Behalf of myself, and all others, whose Light it is to walk in a separated Way, if by your Appointments, we shall be taken into Custody for our peaceable Meeting together, in the Service of our God, I shall humbly beg, that we may have the Privileges of free-born *Englishmen*, and that which the worst of Offenders enjoy ; who, though the Laws both of God and Man, will condemn to the shamefullest Death, yet they are apprehended by Peace-officers, and peaceably preserved from the Hands of Violence and Cruelty, till they be legally charged, adjudged and condemned ; the which Security, if this great Assembly shall vouchsafe us, and that the Nation be forbidden to make any tumultuous Insurrections contrary to the Peace of the Nation, and that they forbear to commit any Acts of Violence upon us, either in our peaceable Assemblings together, or apart at our Habitations, or elsewhere, till further Order from the Assembly ; the which, if this national Assembly shall vouchsafe us the Privilege of, we shall, in all Humility and Thankfulness acknowledge it ; but if not, yet it shall be our great Care in our Meetings, to perform our Duties in Obedience to our God, and to follow that Christian Advice of his Servant, in 1 Tim. ii. 1. *To make Prayers, Supplications, Intercessions, and giving of Thanks for all Men, for Kings, and all that are in Authority ; that under them we may lead a peaceable and quiet Life in all Godliness and Honesty ; because it is good and acceptable in the Sight of God our Saviour :* And this shall be the Resolution of him, whose only End and Aim is the Glory of God, the good of the King, the Well-being of his People, and the eternal Benefit of all your Souls ;

Who in the Singleness of Heart, in the Sight of the All-seeing God, shall subscribe himself a Friend to your Souls, in order to your eternal Well-being, in the Behalf of himself, and those he hath Communion withall.

HENRY ADIS.

To

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes, in Parliament
aſſembled,

The humble PETITION of *Oliver Flemming*, Knight,

Humbly ſheweth,

THAT your Petitioner, after fifteen Years Service to his late Maſteſty, of ever bleſſed Memory, in foreign Negotiations, having contracted therein a great Debt, and being left abroad, deſtitute of all Supply for his Subſiſtance, he was forced to return home at ſuch a Time as his Maſteſty's own Afflictions had made it unſeaſonable and impoſſible for him to expect any other Relief or Re- compence than his Maſteſty's Acceptance and Royal Compaſſion, of both which your Petitioner had a large and ample Teſtimony.

That ſtaying in Town by his Maſteſty's Command, he was, by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, put upon the Office of Maſter of the Ceremonies, which he ſeveral times performed to his Maſteſty (who well knew and conſidered your Petitioner's ſad Condition) with his Favour and Approbation; yet after an innocent and faithful Diſcharge, for ſeveral Years, of his Truſt therein, he was again, upon that fatal Uſurpation and Change of Government, left in a State much worſe than when it was firſt put upon him, as by the humble Narrative annexed more fully appears.

That for the third Stroke of this Shipwreck of his Fortune, he was thrown upon executing the ſame Office to Perſons whom he could not reſiſt, and by his own invincible Neceſſities he was forced to act paſſively; in which, his leaſt Miſery was the utter Ruin of himſelf and Family, and his only Conſolation, his conſtant Refuſal to repair it, in that deteſtable Way, out of the Spoils of his gracious Maſter, the Ruins of the Church, or the Deſolation of private Families, although often preſſed and urged upon him.

Your Petitioner therefore, far ſtricken in Years, and out of all Employment, with the ſo near Concernment of a Wife and Children, yet unprovided for, in extreme Poverty, humbly begs, that your Honours would commiſerate his deplorable Condition, and take into Conſideration his Debts contracted in the public Service, and order ſuch Relief as his extreme preſſing Calamities require, and as ſhall ſeem fit to the Juſtice, Charity and Generoſity of the Parliament.

And your Petitioner ſhall pray, &c.

The

The Humble Narrative of *Oliver Flemming*, Knight; shewing the Manner how I came to execute the Office of Master of the Ceremonies, with my Comportment and Sufferings therein for the Space of near eighteen Years.

I Had the Honour to serve his late Majesty (of blessed Memory) in the Quality of his Resident, for the Time of fifteen Years, to the Cantons of *Switzerland*, *Grizons*, *Geneva*, several *German* Princes, and to some Imperial Cities; but by Reason of the then growing Troubles at home, I found myself totally abandoned, great Arrears due to me, no Money transmitted for my Subsistence, nor could I expect any for the future, and not able to suffer any longer my extreme Misery, being incredibly afflicted to see his Majesty's Honour and the public Reputation wounded through my Sides, I was forced to come home.

At my Arrival, I acquainted his Majesty with my sad Condition, who was graciously pleased to be very sensible of it, but not able at that Time to help me. I also acquainted his Majesty with some secret Negotiations which I had had, with the Directors of the late Duke *Bernard* of *Weymar*'s Army, according to Instructions I had to that Purpose. Some Propositions were made unto me of great Importance, concerning *Brisac*, and the rest of the said Duke's Conquests in *Alsatia*, and other adjacent Parts, which I then delivered his Majesty in Writing. It did much trouble his Majesty, that the Posture of his Affairs then was such, as that he was altogether unable to lay hold on those Overtures, so honourable and advantageous. I was commanded to return them Thanks for their good Will and Affection to his Majesty; but they finding themselves destitute of their Hopes, were forced to stick close to their former Agreement with *France*.

His Majesty was then at *Windfor*, when I waited on him; and at his Departure thence was pleased to command me to stay at *London*, and to make what Shift I could for my Subsistence, promising and assuring me, that when God should restore him to his Authority again, he would take Care for the Payment of my Arrears, and some fitting Encouragement for my long Service. He was then also pleased to command me to be vigilant and industrious to keep Life in that Business of *Brisac* and *Alsatia*, hoping that in Time he should be in a Condition to embrace it.

After his Majesty's Departure, the Ambassadors and Residents continued their Residence in *London*; where having observed from time to time the Beginnings, and seen some sad Events of our civil Wars, they did successively make their Addresses to the Parliament.

It was then thought necessary to find out a Person fitly qualified, to execute the Place of *Master of the Ceremonies*. Some were pleased to name myself, and so I was commanded, by an Ordinance of Parliament, to discharge that Place.

This was done, not only without my seeking (not having spoken to any Friend either for this or any other Place whatsoever) but to the contrary; (from

a serious Desire to be excused from that Employment, and in a private Station to attend the good Issue of his Majesty's Concernments) I did urge some Friends of mine, that I might be dispensed with, which can be witnessed by Persons of eminent Quality yet alive. But the Ordinance being passed both the Houses, I did, not without Reluctance, accept of it, and this is the Manner of my being engaged in that expensive, and to me ruinous, Employment, which I have ever since executed with unwearied Diligence; and so far as the Calamities of the Times, so full of Distraction, Factions, Disorders, and Confusions, would permit, constantly managed the Things which came within the Sphere of my Activity, with all possible Prudence and Dexterity, to the Profit and Honour of the Nation.

This punctilious Place I was constrained to execute alone, without any Help, only when the Lords and Commons sat, I made Use of some Gentlemen of Quality, that out of Affection to the public Reputation did voluntarily assist me, when there was Occasion of any such public Service, during which Time, and his Majesty's Restraint, I was commanded, upon several Occasions, and to several Places, to conduct Ambassadors to his Majesty's Presence, who was pleased to approve of those Services, and graciously to reiterate his former Promises to me.

Shortly after, it pleased God for the Sins of these Nations, to permit wicked Men to perpetrate an Act of the greatest Atrocity; the King was put to Death with no less barbarous Cruelty than unheard of insolent Ostentation, such as no History can parallel since the Creation. This fatal Blow given, and the Peers ignominiously laid aside, and left a Skeleton only of their innate Dignity and Honours, and the most zealous, faithful, and prudent Patriots of the House of Commons forcibly secluded, and the whole Foundation of the antient Government subverted, a democratical Commonwealth declared for; but, in effect, it proved to be a lawless and tyrannical Oligarchy, which was ingenuously confessed by some of the most judicious amongst them, foretelling that all would come to Confusion and Ruin.

Foreign Princes and States send their Ambassadors to acknowledge and congratulate this new Government, with great Obsequiousness, conforming themselves with great Difficulty and Aversion, to the Capriciousness of those that did manage the Affairs, who did unhinge all Decency and Order therein.

They did send their Emissaries abroad, with great Expence and Ostentation, accompanied with extravagant Instructions, which was Matter of Laughter to some of our Neighbours. The great Concourse of foreign Ministers, made some of them think it fit to have a Committee to regulate Affairs of that Nature, and how to manage the public Negotiations with foreign Ministers, and what Course and Form to be established in the Distribution of national Civilities toward Strangers, according to their several Characters and Qualities; but no such Committee was appointed. Some were of Opinion, that all Ceremonies were superfluous, that Substantials were to be minded, as if there were no Substance in the Transactions betwixt Nation and Nation; that such trivial Things might be taken into Consideration, according to the emergent Occasions. The Duty that I owed to the Honour of the Nation, begot in me an afflictive Repentment

sentment of these Disorders, yet from a plain-hearted and sincere Desire to be as instrumental as I could, to prevent further Violations thereof, and from a Necessity against which I had no Defence (my then Condition considered) I was forced to act in this Place, and (to the Intent I might better accomplish those public Ends, which I then designed) having more Work than I was able to wield, and no Gentleman persuaded to assist me as formerly, they being weary of that Trouble and Thankless Office, I did remonstrate the Necessity of having some Help, alledging the Example of the King's Court, and of all other Courts and Governments; and did instance in Sir *Lewis Lukenor*, who had for his Assistance Sir *William Button*, and Sir *John Finnet*, beside a Marshal of the Ceremonies, whose Office was to go before, and to make Way at Audiences, and to be sent by the Master, upon ordinary Occasions, to the public Ministers. The Assistants did officiate, in case of Sickness, or other necessary Absence of the Master, but all my Endeavours proved fruitless. I was told by some of them that they needed no Pedagogue to instruct them; that their Government was of that Power and Authority, that they could establish Things of that Nature, without being minded of former Examples in *England*, or of what was practised in foreign Parts; that I ought to rest satisfied with what Orders I should receive from time to time, and for to help and assist me they would give Order to their Messengers to wait upon me to that Purpose. I desired that it might be seriously considered how much it would reflect upon the Honour of the Nation, to employ Men of that Condition, Breeding, and odious Employment, no ways capable nor qualified to act in a Business of such a punctilious and delicate Nature; that the public Ministers could not choose but be sensible of such Attempts and Affronts put upon them; but all I could say was in vain, and as I did foresee, the public Ministers did greatly storm at this Indignity, and did make their Complaints, but no Redress was given, and they calmly at last did endure it with Patience, contenting themselves to laugh at our extravagant Ways, and despotical Actings, making themselves merry with the Gallantry of the Sergeants and Gaolers (as they called them) that were appointed to accompany them to their Audience. All which I was forced to hear and see, to my extreme Grief and Vexation; and sometimes taking occasion to speak of these Things, hoping thereby to procure a Remedy, I was answered, they were sent, and not sent for, and that they might return whence they came, if not pleased with the Government of *England*.

When Ambassadors came, then on a sudden all Things were huddled up with Confusion and Disorder, and acted according to the imperious Humour of some few, who with great Superciliousness did arrogate to themselves an infallible Knowledge of all State Negotiations and Affairs, which others taking for granted, did acquiesce in the Judgment of those self-creating State-Grandeers, who created also these Innovations in Matter of Audience, that it must not be demanded of the Master of the Ceremony, according to the general Practice of all Nations, but must be demanded by Letter to the Speaker; when granted, then the Master of the Ceremonies did bring them to the House, where being fate, they delivered their Credentials to the said Master, and he to the Speaker. In private Audience with the Council of State, it must likewise be

procured by Letters from the public Minister to the President, and then an Order to the Master of the Ceremony to bring him : None were permitted to have Audience in the House, but extraordinary and ordinary Ambassadors, other public Ministers of lesser Characters must not be admitted into the House ; but a Committee was chosen and sent up to the House of Peers, and the Chairman received his Credentials from the Hand of the Master of the Ceremonies. The House of Lords was not constantly made Use of, but sometimes the inner Court of Wards was appointed, which sometimes did beget Disputes, because they who had not their Audience in the House of Peers, conceived it a Disparagement to their Masters : But that which did most justly offend those public Ministers of the lesser Classes, and in them their Masters, was, that contrary to the Practice of the whole World in all the Sorts of Government, they were not permitted to deliver their Credentials themselves, to that which was looked upon as the supreme Authority ; but when they saw their Complaints and Quarrellings did produce no Satisfaction, they were ordered by their Masters to connive at such Punctilios, to the End it might not be an Impediment to more material Businesses. The public Ministers in their reciprocal Visits would comfort one another, that they must do in *England*, as those that did reside in *Turkey*, *Muscovy*, and other barbarous Princes Courts ; and as to their State Negotiations, that they had as little Satisfaction ; for they did meet with so many Difficulties, Delays, unaccustomed and uncivil Ways of Treating, that they could not tell how to behave themselves, their Commissioners being often changed, and so constrained to ravel into Business, that had been upon the Matter already agreed upon.

The Truth is, that the public Ministers were generally ill used, unequally and uncivilly dealt withall, the Laws of Nations violated, affronted in their Persons, arrested in their Coaches, violent Hands laid upon them by Bailiffs.

An Extraordinary Ambassador from *Venice*, being upon his Way hither, had sent some of his Goods by Sea, the Ship being of *Holland*, was taken and brought into *England*, and the Goods seized upon by the Prize Office ; the Secretary of that State claims the Ambassador's Goods, but no Restitution endeavoured : A while after the Ambassador comes himself, and at an Audience prays, that his Goods might be restored unto him again, offering to discover some Persons that had some Part of his Things, especially some fair Looking-glasses, and had nothing but fair Promises, and went away without Satisfaction.

This is but a Touch, incidental to this Discourse, it would require a Volume to enumerate the Injuries that have been put upon public Ministers. When great Faults were committed, and of so gross a Nature, that even those who had usurped the Authority, were ashamed of them, then was I made Choice of, to excuse and apologize for them, and desired to take the Fault upon myself ; some of the Ambassadors would smile, and say there was a little Civility in the Excuse, but that they knew well enough from whom those Affronts came. These Things were swallowed and dissembled, to the Admiration of all those who had any Knowledge in foreign Affairs.

No Presents were to be given to public Ministers, contrary to the Custom of all Nations and Governments ; no, not the Warrants for Bucks and Does in
their

their Seasons, as was constantly used to be in the regal Government ; and to the End that this might not seem to be a sordid Frugality. it was tempered with an Act of Generosity (so called by them) towards public Ministers, which was to forbid me to accept of the Donations due to my Place, and an odious Command laid upon me, not to permit any others employed in the Service of public Ministers, to receive any Gratuity from them ; but some said that this was a great Wrong and Injury to me, and that I and others ought to be reimbursed out of the public Purse, which was promised, but not performed in the least. With no small Difficulty and shameful Sollicitation, the public Ministers had their wonted Proportion of Wines allowed them, Custom and Excise free ; but towards the latter End, the Residents were abated a fourth Part of their accustomed Proportion, all which I was constrained to bear upon my Heart as Matter of much Sadness and Sorrow, having no other Comfort left me, but the Constancy and Integrity of my Endeavours, to prevent the prostituting of the Nation's Honour by such Miscarriages.

I humbly conceive, that this rational Question may be asked me, why I did act all this Time, and that in all Changes whatsoever, whether my Reason could dispense and approve of these frequent Revolutions ? To which I answer in the Negative : For as I was unwilling, at first, to meddle with this Office, which hath been my Undoing, so did I from time to time express my Dislike of Proceedings, when and where I could do it with Prudence and Safety, in a Time when the Power of the Nation was wielded with so much Passion and Violence.

But my invincible Answer is, that lawless Necessity is an irresistible Tyrant, which forced me to act passively, or to perish ; for, as I humbly shewed, in the Beginning of this Narrative, I was deeply engaged for his late Majesty (of ever blessed Memory) which Debts are since doubled, the Creditors reckoning Interest upon Interest for twenty Years together, this made my Burden so heavy and sad, nay almost insupportable, that Men did admire how I was able to bear it.

And I seriously considered with myself, that my serving in that Place was very innocent, as consisting in holding forth to Strangers the Civilities of the Nation ; and indeed, during the whole Course of my Service in this Office, my End was fixed upon the Service, Interest and Honour of the Nation, constantly hoping, that God, in his Providence, would, in his good Time, deliver us out of our Distractions, and resettle the three Nations again, upon the ancient Basis of our former Government, which we see now effected, in great Mercy, by the happy Return of his sacred Majesty to his Throne. That this is not a flattering Insinuation, but a sincere and real Truth, is sufficiently known to such, as I durst open my Thoughts unto. Besides, the Duty of my Loyalty, and my Confidence of the Public's Re-establishment, and therein my own particular Concernments, were a strong Motive thereunto ; for I found that I could not expect any Justice, much less Favour, from Men that did look upon me as an old Courtier, and so not much to be trusted ; and to this I may add, the Hatred that some leading Men did bear me secretly, for having with
Freedom

Freedom of Discourse expressed my Aversion, against Enthusiasts, and their new heterodox Principles in Matters of Religion.

I acted all along by the abovesaid Ordinance of Lords and Commons, who had declared for a King and Parliament; during which Time, I had the Honour to be commanded to conduct Ambassadors to his late Majesty's Presence, who was graciously pleased to accept of my Service, as is above-mentioned; and I have in all Changes, constantly shunned all other Patents, Commissions, and Powers of whomsoever, which was not without great Difficulty and Increase of Jealousy and Distrust, which, besides the Operation it had, in obstructing the just Payment of what was due to my Place, did even hinder the Re-imbursing of what I was out of Purse for their public Service; nay, their Suspicion went so far, that some that had the Management of State Affairs, did secretly request the public Ministers not to acquaint me with their Negotiations; but they frequently coming to visit me, did impart to me what had been said to my Prejudice, blaming greatly their Ingratitude, Jealousy and Ignorance, professing the greatest Comfort they had here was my Conversation.

This can be witnessed by many Ambassadors and others yet alive. The Necessity of speaking of these Things, I hope, will apologize for this seeming Ostentation. I did easily perceive, that their Drift in revealing these Things concerning myself was to have wrought a Discontent and Resentment in me, and to have made some Use of me to the public Prejudice, which our raw Statesmen (not having past their Noviciate) did not dive into; and the Truth is, that upon this Score of Revenge, and my known Poverty, some of them thought they had gotten such Intimacy with me, that they might attempt to feel how the Pulse of my Fidelity did beat; not doubting but their Injuries, added to my extreme Necessity and ill Usage, would make me malleable enough for their Ends, and to become an Instrument for the furthering of their Master's Designs: To this Purpose, considerable Sums of Money were offered, but were by me refused with a generous Resentment, justly abhorring any thing of that Nature that might any way tend to the Dishonour or Disadvantage of the Nation, or to my particular Infamy. I am ready, when required, to name the Parties. It may easily be conceived, that during the Space of so many Years, and the constant Concourse of so many public Ministers, and important Negotiations, if I had sought myself, I had Opportunities, many and great, to have made my Fortune, especially considering that I (almost alone) was permitted to converse with them daily.

When his Majesty (of blessed Memory) his Goods and Moveables were sold, then was I earnestly advised and pressed to lay hold on that Opportunity for the Payment of what was due to me, and fitting Recompence for my Service. The same was offered me when the King's, Queen's, and Church Lands were to be sold to pay those to whom they were indebted, but I did loyally, constantly and conscientiously decline and shun those Ways of Payment and Compensation; neither would I meddle with any confiscated particular Man's Estate, rather chusing extreme Poverty, than to be obnoxious to the Curse of the true Owners; and this I did, in Times when there
was

was little or no Probability to be called to an Account by Man. I was also told, that I should be employed on some considerable Embassy, but in a prudent Way did shun all Occasions that might engage me in any such odious Employment, although the Allowance was incomparably beyond all former Precedents, and better paid, being permitted to draw Bills of Exchange upon their Masters, a Thing never heard of heretofore.

Many other great Promises were made to me by the successive Powers, but none performed in the least; nor could I ever obtain so much Justice as to have some appointed to sign my Bills, according to Custom, for the Money I had continually Occasion to disburse for the public Service. By the Ordinance of Parliament, I was to enjoy the Office, with all the Allowances, Perquisites, Rights and Privileges as hath at any Time, or doth belong to any Master of the Ceremonies; which I found did formerly arise by 200 *l.* annual Fees, an Allowance of twenty Shillings a Day for every Audience, twenty Shillings a Day for a Coach out of Town; if in Town, ten Shillings; and besides other Incidents, one of the greatest Benefits, the Right of receiving the accustomed Donations and Presents from Ambassadors, and other public Ministers: But I have not received any of these Perquisites and Rights belonging to the Place, according to the Ordinance; only I received a great Part of the two hundred Pounds Salary *per Annum*, with great Pains, Sollicitation, and extraordinary Expence. What I received on that Account will appear on the public Receipts. I am out of Purse above a thousand Pounds for Coach-hire, and a thousand Pounds for Audiences and Conferences; and besides the several Journies to his Majesty, for five and twenty Journies to *Gravesend*, and elsewhere, to fetch in, and to re-conduct Ambassadors back again; each Journey, computed one with another, did cost me ten Pounds at the least, considering the Expensiveness of Distance of the Places, and the Number of such as were ordered from time to time to attend that Service. The Donations and Presents due to the Place, from Ambassadors and other public Ministers, were courteously sent by them to me, and by me civilly sent back again. What those Presents did amount to in so long a Time, I cannot exactly set down; but according to my best and most conscientious Estimate, I conceive that it might amount to something above five thousand Pounds.

I find myself, after near five and thirty Years public Service abroad and at home in this sad and unparalleled Condition, that I am eight thousand Pounds worse than nothing, although far beneath what is justly owing me from the Public. I have been forced to pawn and sell what I had of Worth, even to my wearing Cloaths. What I have set down in this Narrative (as to the Substance of it) I affirm to be a positive Truth, and ready to make Oath upon it, if required: Therefore I do humbly pray, that some present Relief may be afforded me (to prevent my otherwise inevitable Ruin) and that a Course may be taken for discharging a Debt contracted in his late Majesty's Service abroad and at home, in Obedience to public Commands, upon an indeclinable Necessity.

240 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

I do in all humble Manner crave Pardon for this prolix Discourse; but I hope the Extremity of my Condition will apologize for me, and plead my Excuse.

A LIST of the Members of both Houses of Parliament that were forcibly secluded by the Army in the Year 1648, or since excluded by a few of their Fellow-Members, confirming that which they formerly disowned.

The House of Peers.

Viscounts.

THE Earl of Northumberland
 The Earl of Rutland
 The Earl of Pembroke, the
 Earl of Salisbury, and sitting as
 Commons.

The Lord Viscounts Say and Seale
 The Lord Viscount Conway.

Barons.

The Earl of Warwick
 The Earl of Exeter
 The Earl of Lincoln
 The Earl of Nottingham
 The Earl of Manchester
 The Earl of Denbigh
 The Earl of Oxford
 The Earl of Bridgwater
 The Earl of Elgin
 The Earl of Winchelsey
 The Earl of Dorset
 The Earl of Middlesex.

The Lord Gray of Warke
 The Lord Dacres
 The Lord North
 The Lord Roberts
 The Lord Montague
 The Lord Wharton
 The Lord Barckley
 The Lord Brook
 The Lord Rochford
 The Lord Daincourt
 The Lord Stanhose
 The Lord Maynard
 The Lord Craven.

Of the House of Commons.

Bedfordshire.

Sir Roger Burgoyne, Knt.
 Sir Beauchamp Saint John
 Sir Samuel Luke

} Burg.

Berkshire.

Richard Winwood, Esq;
 Robert Packer, Esq;

} Burg.

Cornwall.

Major General Brown
 William Drak, Esq;
 Francis Drak, Esq;
 Peregrin Hobby, Esq;

} Burg.

Hugh Buskawen, Knt.
 Thomas Gewen, Esq;
 George Kekewich, Esq;
 Thomas Povey, Esq;
 Francis Hollis, Esq;

} Burg.

Thomas

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 241

Thomas Waller, <i>Esq</i> ;		Sir Jo. Northcot, <i>Kt. and Bar.</i>	
John Thomas, <i>Esq</i> ;		Charles Vauhan, <i>Esq</i> ;	
John Thynate, <i>Esq</i> ;		Edward Thomas, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Henry Willis, <i>Esq</i>		Samuel Brown, <i>Serj. at Law</i>	
John Arundell, <i>Esq</i> ;		Christopher Martin, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Francis Buller, <i>Esq</i> ;			
Sir Thomas Trevor			
John Carew, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.	Dorsetshire.	
William Prynne, <i>Esq</i> ;		George Scutt, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Lionell Copley, <i>Esq</i> ;		Denzel Hollis, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Mr. Tempell		Sir Walter Earle, <i>Knt.</i>	
Charles L. Car. <i>E. of Ancram</i>		John Bond, <i>Doctor of Law</i>	
Richard Erifey, <i>Esq</i> ;		Thomas Ceelie, <i>Esq</i> ;	
William Priestley, <i>Esq</i> ;			
Thomas Dacres, <i>Esq</i> ;			
		Essex.	
Cumberland.		Sir Harbottle Grimston	Burg.
Richard Tolson, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight	Sir John Clotworthy	
		Capel Lukin, <i>Esq</i> ;	
		Gloucestershire.	
Cambridgeshire.		Sir John Seymour, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight
Sir Dudley North	Knights	Nathaniel Stephens, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Sir Francis Ruffel		Edward Stephens, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Henry Lucas, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.	John Stephens, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Nathaniel Bacon, <i>Esq</i> ;			
		Huntingtonshire.	
Cheshire.		Edward Montague,	Knight
Sir George Booth,	Knight	George Montague, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Chester City.		Hertfordshire.	
William Edwards, <i>Esq</i> ;	Cit.	Sir William Litton	Knights
John Ratcliffe, <i>Recorder</i>		Sir Thomas Dacres	
		Richard Jennings, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Derbyshire.		Edward Wingate, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Sir John Curson,	Knight		
		Herefordshire.	
Devonshire.		Edward Harly, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight
William Morrice, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight		
Simon Snow, <i>Esq</i> ;	Cit.	Hereford City.	
Sir John Young		Benet Hoskins, <i>Esq</i> ;	Cit.
John Mainard, <i>Serj. at Law</i>		Robert Andrews, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Sir Edmund Powel		John Birch, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Edmund Powel, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.		
Eliez. Crimes, <i>Esq</i> ;		Kent.	
Charles Pim, <i>Esq</i> ;		John Boyes, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight
Sir Francis Drake, <i>Bart.</i>		Thomas Twisdin, <i>Serj. at Law</i> ,	Burg.
Robert Shapcot, <i>Esq</i> ;			

242 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

Lincolnshire.

Sir Anthony Irby
William Wray, *Esq;*
Col. Edward Roffiter
Thomas Hatcher, *Esq;* } Burg.

Lancashire.

Sir Ralph Ashton } Knights
Sir Richard Haughton }
Sir Robert Benloes }
Col. Robert Shuttleworth } Burg.
Peter Brock, *Esq;* }
Richard Shuttleworth, *Esq;* }

Middlesex.

Sir Gilbert Gerard, *Bart.* Knight

Westminster.

John Glynne, *Serjeant at Law* } Cit.
William Bell }

London.

Sir Thomas Soume } Cit.
Samuel Vassall }

Monmouthshire.

Northamptonshire.

William Lord Fitzwilliams }
Sir Richard Nappier } Burg.
Richard Knightley, *Esq;* }
John Crew, *Esq;* }
Sir Martin Lister }

Norfolk.

Sir John Pottes } Knights
Sir John Palgrave }
Sir John Holland } Burg.
John Spilman, *Esq;* }

Northumberland.

Sir John Fennick } Knights
William Fennick, *Esq;* }
Robert Ellison, *Esq;* } Burg.
Robert Scowen, *Esq;* }
John Fiennis, *Esq;* }

Oxfordshire.

Thomas Viscount Wenman } Knights
John Fiennis, *Esq;* }

Oxford City.

John Dayly, *Esq;* } Cit.
John Nixon, *Alderman,* }
Sir Robert Pye } Burg.
Nathaniel Fiennis, *Esq;* }

Surrey.

Sir Richard Onslow } Knights
Sir Ambrose Browne }
John Eveling, *Esq;* } Burg.
Edward Bish, *Esq;* }
George Eveling, *Esq;* }
William Owfeild, *Esq;* }

Staffordshire.

John Bower, *Esq;* Knight
John Swinsen, *Esq;* } Burg.
Col. Edward Leigh }
Samuel Terrick }

Shropshire.

Sir John Corbet Knight
Thomas Hunt, *Esq;* } Burg.
Robert Clives, *Esq;* }
William Pierpont, *Esq;* }
Esay Thomas, *Esq;* }

Southampton.

Col. Richard Whitehead, *Esq;* } Knights
Col. Richard Norton, *Esq;* }
Sir John Leigh }
Sir John Barrington } Burg.
Sir William Waller }
John Button, *Esq;* }
Sir William Lewis }
Sir Henry Worley }
John Bunckley, *Esq;* }

Suffolk.

Sir Philip Parker, *Knt.* } Burg.
Alexander Bence }

Maurice

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 243

Maurice Barrow, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.		<i>Yorkshire.</i> oo	
Sir Thomas Barnardiston			Sir Charles Egerton	} Burg.
Brancis Bacon			Henry Stapleton, <i>Esq</i> ;	
<i>Somersetshire.</i>			William Ayscough, <i>Esq</i> ;	
George Horner, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight		John Nelthrope	
			Henry Arthington	
<i>Bristol City.</i> oo			Sir Henry Cholmley	
Alexander Popham, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.		<i>Cinque Ports.</i>	
Col. William Strode, <i>Esq</i> ;			Sir John Pelham	
Thomas Hodges, <i>Esq</i> ;			Henry Oxenden, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Thomas Grove, <i>Esq</i> ;			Samuel Gott, <i>Esq</i> ;	
William Carrent, <i>Esq</i> ;			Sir Norton Knatchboul	
<i>Suffex.</i> oo			Sir Edward Bambridge	
<i>Chichester City.</i>			Sir Thomas Parker	
Sir John Temple	} Cit.		Francis Gerard, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Henry Peek, <i>Esq</i> ;				
Harbert Springet, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.		<i>W A L E S.</i>	
Arthur Onslow, <i>Esq</i> ;			<i>Anglesey.</i> o	
Paul Ravenscroft, <i>Esq</i> ;			William Jones,	Burg.
<i>Westmorland.</i>				
Henry Laurence, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight		<i>Brecknockshire.</i>	Burg.
<i>Wiltshire.</i>			<i>Cardiganshire.</i>	Knight
James Harbert, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight		Sir Richard Price	
William Wheeler, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.		<i>Caermarthenshire.</i>	Knight
Edward Baynton, <i>Esq</i> ;			Col. John Lloyd	
Thomas Moore, <i>Esq</i> ;			<i>Carnarvanshire.</i>	Knight
Sir Nevil Poole			Richard Wynne, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
Henry Hungerford, <i>Esq</i> ;			William Foxwift	
Sir John Eveling			<i>Denbighshire.</i>	Knight
Walter Long, <i>Esq</i> ;			Sir Thomas Middleton	
Edward Poole, <i>Esq</i> ;				
Major Gen. Edw. Maffy, <i>Esq</i> ;			<i>Flintshire.</i>	Knight
<i>Worcestershire.</i> oo			Thomas Trevor, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
John Nash, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.		Thomas Middleton	
Samuel Gardner				
<i>Warwickshire.</i> oo			<i>Pembrokeshire.</i>	Knight
<i>Coventry.</i>			Arthur Owen, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.
John Baker, Alderman	Cit.		Sir Robert Needham	

244 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

Montgomeryshire.

Edward Vaughan, *Esq;* Knight

Radnorshire.

Arthur Annesly, *Esq;* Knight
Robert Herley, *Esq;* Burg.

The Remainder of the House of Commons, which have excluded both Houses and sit themselves.

Buckinghamshire.

Edmund West, *Esq;* } Knights
George Fleetwood, *Esq;* }

John Dormer, *Esq;* }
Thomas Scot } Burg.
Simon Mayne }
Richard Ingoldsby, *Esq;* }
Bulstoke Whitlock }

Essex.

Sir Henry Mildmay Burg.

Gloucester.

Thomas Pury } Cit.
John Lenthal, *Esq;* }

Huntingtonshire.

Valentine Walton, *Esq;* Knight

Berkshire.

Henry Martin, *Esq;* Knight
Cornelius Holland } Burg.
Daniel Blagrove }
Edward Dunch, *Esq;* }

Kent.

Augustin Skinner Knight
Sir Thomas Walsingham } Burg.
Sir Michael Lievesey }
Augustin Garland }

Cornwall.

William Say } Burg.
Sir John Trevor }
John Fielder, *Esq;* }
Nicholas Gold }

Lincolnshire.

Thomas Lister, *Esq;* } Burg.
William Ellis, *Esq;* }

Cambridge University.

John Lowrey Burg.

Leicestershire.

Sir Arthur Haselrig Knight
Peter Temple, *Esq;* Burg.

Cheshire.

Sir William Brereton Knight

London.

Isaac Pennington Cit.

Derby Town.

Nathaniel Hollowes, Alderman Burg.

Northamptonshire.

Sir Gilbert Pickering Knight

Devonshire.

Oliver Saint John, *Esq;* } Burg.
Philip Skippon, *Esq;* }

Nottinghamshire.

John Hutchinson, *Esq;* } Knights
Jervise Piggot, *Esq;* }
Gilbert Millington Burg.

Dorsetshire.

John Pyne, *Esq;* } Burg.
Roger Hill, *Esq;* }
John Bingham, *Esq;* }
John Tranchard, *Esq;* }

Norfolk.

Erasmus Earl, *Esq;* Cit.
Miles Corbet Burg.

Northum-

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 245

<i>Northumberland.</i>		Robert Goodwin, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.
<i>Sir</i> Thomas Widdrington	Burg.	John Baker, <i>Esq</i> ;	
		John Downes	
		Harbert Hayes	
<i>Oxfordshire.</i>		<i>Wiltshire.</i>	
William Lenthal, <i>Esq</i> ;	Burg.	Edmund Ludlow	Knight
<i>Rutlandshire.</i>		Michael Oldworth	} Cit.
<i>Sir</i> James Harrington	} Knights	John Dove	
Thomas Waite, <i>Esq</i> ;		Robert Reynolds	} Burg.
<i>Surry.</i>		Robert Cicell, <i>Esq</i> ;	
George Thompson	} Burg.	<i>Worcestershire.</i>	
Lord Mounson		John Wild, <i>Serjeant at Law</i>	
John Goodwin, <i>Esq</i> ;			
<i>Staffordshire.</i>		<i>Yorkshire.</i>	
Thomas Crompton, <i>Esq</i> ;	Knight	Luke Robinson, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.
<i>Sir</i> Peter Wentworth	} Burg.	<i>Sir</i> John Bouchier	
John Corbet, <i>Esq</i> ;		Thomas Chaloner	
		Francis Thrope	
<i>Southampton.</i>		James Nelthrop	
John Lisle, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.	William White	
Nicholas Love, <i>Esq</i> ;		Henry Darley	
<i>Lord</i> Lisley		Richard Darly	
William Hevingham			
Robert Wallop, <i>Esq</i> ;			
<i>Suffolk.</i>		<i>Cinque Ports.</i>	
John Gurdon	} Burg.	John Fagg, <i>Esq</i> ;	
Brampton Gurdon		Benjamin Wilson, <i>Esq</i> ;	
		<i>W A L E S.</i>	
<i>Somersetshire.</i>		<i>Cardigan.</i>	
James Ash, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.	Thomas Wogan	Burg.
<i>Sir</i> Thomas Worth			
Walter Stricklan;		<i>Glamorganshire.</i>	
<i>Dr.</i> Palmer		Algernon Sidney	Burg.
<i>Sussex.</i>		<i>Merionethshire.</i>	
William Cawley, <i>Esq</i> ;	} Burg.	John Jones	Knight
Harbert Morley, <i>Esq</i> ;			

By

246 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

By this List of the Members of both Houses, it appears that the Members then sitting, or having Liberty to sit, which call themselves *The Parliament*, are in Number Eighty-nine, viz. Sixteen Knights of the Shires, Six Citizens, Sixty-seven Burgs.

Whereof for	Kn.	Cit.	Bur.		Knights
<i>Buckinghamshire</i>	2	0	5	<i>Cornwall</i>	- - 2
<i>Berkshire</i>	1	0	3	<i>Cambridgeshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Cornwall</i>	0	0	4	<i>Cheshire</i>	- - 1
<i>Cambridge</i>	0	0	1	<i>Derbyshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Cheshire</i>	1	0	0	<i>Devonshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Derby</i>	0	0	1	<i>Dorsetshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Devonshire</i>	0	0	2	<i>Essex</i>	- - 2
<i>Dorsetshire</i>	0	0	4	<i>Gloucester</i>	- - 2
<i>Essex</i> Sir Henry Mild-				<i>Huntingtonshire</i>	- - 2
may alone	0	0	1	<i>Hertfordshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Gloucester</i>	0	2	0	<i>Herefordshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Huntingtonshire</i>	1	0	0	<i>Kent</i>	- - 1
<i>Kent</i>	1	0	3	<i>Lincolnshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Lincolnshire</i>	0	0	2	<i>Leicestershire</i>	- - 2
<i>Leicestershire</i>	1	0	1	<i>Lancashire</i>	- - 2
<i>London</i>	0	1	0	<i>Middlesex</i>	- - 2
<i>Northamptonshire</i>	0	1	0	<i>Monmouthshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Nottinghamshire</i>	2	2	0	<i>Northamptonshire</i>	- - 1
<i>Norfolk, Norwich</i>	0	0	1	<i>Norfolk</i>	- - 2
<i>Northumberland</i>	0	0	1	<i>Northumberland</i>	- - 2
<i>Oxfordshire</i>	0	0	1	<i>Oxfordshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Rutlandshire</i>	2	2	0	<i>Surrey</i>	- - 2
<i>Surrey</i>	0	0	3	<i>Staffordshire</i>	- - 1
<i>Staffordshire</i>	1	1	2	<i>Shropshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Southampton</i>	0	0	5	<i>Southampton</i>	- - 2
<i>Suffolk</i>	0	0	2	<i>Suffolk</i>	- - 2
<i>Somersetshire</i>	0	0	4	<i>Somersetshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Sussex</i>	0	0	6	<i>Sussex</i>	- - 2
<i>Wiltshire, Salisbury</i>	1	2	2	<i>Westmorland</i>	- - 2
<i>Worcestershire</i>	1	0	0	<i>Wiltshire</i>	- - 1
<i>Yorkshire</i>	0	0	8	<i>Worcestershire</i>	- - 1
<i>Cinque Ports</i>	0	0	2	<i>Warwickshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Wales, Merioneth</i>	1	0	0	<i>Yorkshire</i>	- - 2
<i>Cardigan</i>	0	0	1	<i>Wales, Anglesey</i>	- - 1
<i>Glamorgan</i>	0	0	1	<i>Breaknock</i>	- - 1
				<i>Cardiganshire</i>	- - 1
Whereof			Knights	<i>Caermarthenshire</i>	- - 1
<i>Bedfordshire</i>	-	-	2	<i>Carnarvanshire</i>	- - 1
<i>Berkshire</i>	-	-	1	<i>Denbighshire</i>	- - 1
				<i>Flintshire</i>	

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 247

Knights.				Knights.			
Flintshire	-	-	1	Montgomeryshire	-	-	1
Glamorganshire	-	-	1	Radnorshire	-	-	1
Pembrokeshire	-	-	1				

Citizens excluded out of these Cities, and out of London.

York	-	-	2	Chichester	-	-	2
Bristol	-	-	2	Carlisle	-	-	2
Norwich	-	-	1	Canterbury	-	-	2
Chester	-	-	2	Rochester	-	-	2
Exeter	-	-	2	Bath, &c.	-	-	1
Oxford	-	-	2	Winchester	-	-	2
Lincoln	-	-	2	Coventry, &c.	-	-	2
Worcester	-	-	2	Westminster	-	-	2

The Acts and Monuments of the late RUMP, from the
Time of their last Sessions, until the coming in of the
Secluded Members.

Printed in the Year 1660.

To the READER.

Courteous Reader,

I Have bestowed some Pains in collecting the Occurrences and Proceedings of the late Rump; but I perceive I am partly prevented, by a Thing called the Proceedings, Votes, Resolves, of the late Half-Quarter Parliament: Yet, notwithstanding, I am resolved to proceed, in regard I had compacted within the Compass of one Sheet of Paper, all (and it may be more than all) the Matter which the Author of the aforesaid Pamphlet hath comprized in three Sheets.

The Acts and Monuments of the RUMP.

O Rdered, That one Month's Pay be provided for the private Soldiery, both Horse and Foot, and the rest of their Arrears when they can get them.

Ordered, That the Excise and Customs shall be continued, and that they be improved to the best Advantage of the Commonwealth, since we are in great Need of Moneys.

Resolved, That on the 5th of January the House will take into Consideration the Cases of absent Members, and how to supply the Places of those that
are

248 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

are wanting; provided that none of the Members seclused in 1648 be admitted to sit in Parliament.

Ordered, That no Forces shall be raised but by Authority of this present Parliament, provided that this Vote extend not to the Forces raised by General *Monk*, because we cannot help it.

Resolved, That a Committee be appointed to look into the Act making it Treason to levy Money of the People without their Consent in Parliament, and to extenuate the Force thereof in regard the Parliament knew not well what they did when they passed that Act.

Resolved, That the Sum of 20000 Pounds be forthwith borrowed of the City for the Use of the Commonwealth, provided that they take the public Faith for their Security.

Resolved, That the Commissioners of the Army take Care for the recruiting of *Dunkirk*, before the Duke of *York* lays Siege against it.

Resolved, That a Day be set apart for hypocritical Humiliation for God's Blessings to the Parliament, and that Mr. *Burgeffe*, *Venning* and *Jenkins* do assist in carrying on the Work of cheating God and the World.

Resolved, That there be a Declaration put forth in the Name of the Parliament, wherein they do declare, that they will perfect the Work by them begun, in settling the Government by Way of a Commonwealth and Free-State, without a single Person or House of Peers; and the Nation shall have their annual Representatives, provided that this present Parliament doth continue in being as long as any of them have a Day to live.

Likewise, they do declare, that they will countenance a pious and learned Gospel-ministry, and uphold the Maintenance of the same by Tithes; until such Time as they shall be able, by the Help of the Fanatic and Sectarian Party, to overthrow the Church of God both in its spiritual and temporal Subsistence.

They do further declare, that they will uphold the Universities and Schools of Learning, until they can fitly and conveniently ingross all their Lands and Incomes to their own proper Use, and bring a Cloud of Ignorance over the whole Nation.

They do also consider the low Ebb of Trading in this Nation; and in regard we are at Enmity with all the World for their Sakes, and do desire us to be patient a while, for that they are in Hopes to surprize those golden Mountains of the King of *Spain's* in the *Indies*, for all *Oliver* missed them, and then they will abundantly satisfy all the rich Men in *London*, who cannot live upon their Trades, but are forced to spend upon their Stocks.

Ordered, That all Clerks and others, in whose Hands were any of the Letters, Books, Journals, and Papers of the Committee of Safety, do bring them to the Clerk of the Parliament, that they may be called to an Account for all Money received during the Time of the said Committee of Safety, for that we will have none to cheat the People but ourselves.

Resolved, That Sir *Robert Pye* and Major *Fincher* be sent to the Tower for petitioning the Parliament for the public Good.

Ordered,

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 249

Ordered, That the Council of State do take the Office of Postmaster into their Hands, it having been formerly very beneficial to us, and all others that have from time to time oppressed the People.

Ordered, That the Lands of Sir *George Booth*, and all other Delinquents and Traitors, be forthwith sold, and divided amongst us the Members of this present Parliament, as a Part of the Recompence due unto us for our Pains for the Good of the three Nations.

Ordered, That *Thomas Scott* do receive all Informations of private and public Intelligence, in regard he is so well versed in the Cunning, Trapannings, and Slights of Whores and Bawds.

Resolved, That the Parliament doth justify and approve of the Actions of General *Monck*, because they dare do no otherwise.

Resolved, That there be a thousand Pounds a Year settled on General *Monck* and his Heirs for ever, and that this Act be repealed as soon as we can send him to the other World.

Resolved, That General *Monck* do forthwith destroy the Gates and Portcullices of the City, to render himself odious in the Sight of the People, that so we may the better destroy him.

Resolved, That a Petition be preferred to the Parliament, tending neither to the Glory of God, nor Good of the People, by *Praise-God Barebones*, in the Behalf of many Thousands of the City of *London* and *Westminster*.

Ordered, That Qualifications be brought for the Members that are to fill up the House, which were these following: 1. That no Cavaliers, or Son of a Cavalier, do sit in this House. 2. That no Presbyterian, who is for a Settlement in Church or State, be admitted to sit in Parliament. 3. That no Man whatsoever that makes any Conscience of violating Oaths and Protestations, shall sit in this House. 4. That all such as have purchased neither King's, Bishops, Deans, nor Chapters Lands, shall not be capable of sitting in Parliament. 5. Whoever hath not had a Hand in murdering the late King, shall not be received as a Member of Parliament. 6. He that makes not Religion a Pretence to drive on his own particular Designs of Ambition and Self-Interest, shall not sit here. *Lastly,* All those that are not as arrant Rogues as ourselves shall have nothing to do in this Parliament.

Ordered, That four Aldermen, eight Common-council-men, and twelve Apprentices, be forthwith hanged to terrify the City, and keep them in Obedience to the Parliament.

Ordered, That Dr. *Trigge*, or some other most excellent Quack-salver, do provide an *Italian Fig* for General *Monck*, and that he be sent away in Time (as was *Essex* before him) lest he obstruct and hinder our Designs.

Ordered, That Colonel *John Lambert* be proclaimed Traitor, and his Goods and Lands to be confiscated, in case he doth not with all Speed raise an Army of Sectaries for the Defence of the Parliament.

Ordered, That *Charles Needham* do still continue the State's News-monger, notwithstanding his Defection in the Time of the Committee of Safety, since never a Knave in *London* can manage the Place so well.

250 *A Third Collection of T R A C T S on all Subjects.*

Resolved, That all Heretics whatsoever, viz. Quakers, Anabaptists &c. do provide themselves of Musket and Pike, with Swords, Daggers, and Cut-throat Knives, to murder all honest Men who endeavour after Order in Church and State; and in case the secluded Members be brought into the House by General *Monck* (as 'tis to be feared they will) it is resolved that *Thomas Scott* do secretly furnish himself with Horses, Saddles, Swords, Pistols, Holsters, Colours, and all other Necessaries, for the raising of certain Regiments of Horse, for and in Behalf of the Parliament, against *Monck*, the City, and secluded Members: And that the said *Thomas Scott* do carry on his Design warily, for Fear of being discovered and carried to the *Tower*.

Resolved, That all these Resolves be forthwith printed and published.

THO. ST. NICOLAS, *Clerk of the Parliament.*

A Seasonable SPEECH, made by Alderman *Atkins* in
the Rump-Parliament.

Printed in the Year 1660.

MR. SPEAKER,

AFTER so many Dispensations and Outgoings of Providence, we are now the third Time returned to sit in this Honourable House again; but how long we shall do so, I believe the wisest of us all cannot tell: For the Soldiers have, of late, set up Governments as Boys do Ninepins, to throw them down again: But how oft soever they turn us out hereafter, I shall never doubt to get in again; for I perceive those Changes and Revolutions (as they call them) are just like casting of Knaves at Cards, where some play, and some sit out until the Set be up, or the Gamesters fall out and throw up their Cards, and then they stand fair to get in again. But notwithstanding so many Interruptions and Disturbances, many mighty and great Works have been carried on by us Worms and no Men. You, Sir, have a new Wainscot Chair, and our Seats, that were but covered with Mats, when we came first to sit here, are now lined with good Broad-cloth of 16 s. a Yard, and the whole House is hanged in a better Manner than any Man expected. But this is not all that we have done; for we have reformed Religion, and brought the Church as nigh to what it was in the Primitive Times among *Jews* and *Pagans* as may be; for the Christians have sold all they had long since, and laid it at our Feet, and we begin once more to have all Things in common. Beside, Sir, we have done strange Justice on the late Tyrant, and transformed the Kingdom into a Commonwealth, as *Nebuchadnezzar* was into a Beast. But there is one Thing that we have omitted, no less necessary than any Thing that we have done, and which indeed the People have much more

more Reason to expect from us; for Reformation, as well as Charity, should begin at home: To hold forth my Meaning in brief to you, Sir, it is the cleansing of our own *House of Office*; and if that Name be not mannerly enough for this Place, it is in your Power to help it: For there is a spare Name that hath been lately conferred on this Honourable House by the People, which was once called the House of *Parliament*, as it is now the *Rump*. This Name, in my Opinion, we cannot better dispose of, than in conferring it on the House I spoke of, that not only that, but all other Houses of the same Quality (of which ours is the Representative) may in the Right thereof hereafter be called a *Rump*, as being a Name more proper and significant, in regard of the Relation it hath to that Part. And truly, Sir, I believe, the Wisdom and Justice of this House can do no less, if you please but to consider the near and intimate Correspondence that House has ever held with this, as having ever been entrusted with the most urgent and weighty Matters that we ever carried on, and so necessary, that I may boldly say, without that Recourse which we have had to it in our greatest Extremities, this House might have suffered for it many a Time and oft. It is now, Sir, as full, as this Honourable House was once of Members, and as unuseful, until we take some Course to empty it, as we did this, which, I humbly conceive, we can by no Means avoid: For, under Favour, I do not think we can use this House as we did the House of Lords, I mean, vote it down, when it will serve our Turn no longer; no, this is a Matter of a higher Nature, and more weighty Concernment; and as the Difference is very great in Reason of State, so is it also in Point of Conscience. For though it is true, we engaged and swore to maintain the House of Lords, yet we did it not after a right Manner: For we read, it was a Custom among the *Jews*, when they made any solemn Vow, to put their Hands under one another's Hams; and if we had done so when we swore that, and kissed the Book, I grant, we had been bound in Conscience to have upheld it longer than we did, I mean, longer than we had Need of it: But we, quite contrary, held up our Hands, and so are not bound to keep it otherwise than we took it, that is, Hand over Head; for unless we differed from the *Jews* in other Matters more than we do, I know no Reason why we should in this.—But now I speak of the *Jews*, give me leave, by observing one Passage in their History, to hold forth unto you the Danger of suppressing the aforesaid House. *Saul*, for want of such a Convenience, going into a Cave where *David* had hid himself, had like to have lost his Life; for if *David* had been one of us, I know what had become of *Saul*, he would rather have cut off his Head than a Piece of his Coat, as I wonder he did not, since, being a Prophet, he might have made Scripture of Purpose to have proved him a Tyrant and a Traitor, as we did Law to condemn the late King after he was put to Death. But though *David* were wiser than his Teachers, he was not so wise as we were; 'tis true, for his own Advantage, he knew how to make the silly *Philistines* believe he was mad; but I am mistaken if we have not outdone him that Way too, and made the wisest think us so. But to return to the Purpose. Suppose, Sir, the Army should have Occasion to give this Honourable House a Purge again, you would be loth it should work here; and

truly I do not know what other Way you have to avoid it, unless we should make Use of that Place where the Assembly of Divines lately sat, which, for my Part, I like very well, if it were nearer; and certainly they have no Reason to take it ill, for it is according to the Example of the best reformed Churches. And I know no Reason why we may not as well sit there, and make four Faces at our own Charges, as they did at the Charge of the Commonwealth. For mine own Part (did not the common Good provoke me to it) I have as little Reason to speak as another, and perhaps less; for my Breeches are made close at the Knees, and so better fitted against a Mischance. Beside, I know the worst of it; for I believe you have often heard what I have suffered in the Service of my Country. But let that pass, though it were the worse for my Reputation and my Breeches, it was the better for my Body and my Soul too, for I have edified much by it. 'Tis true, the Boys hold their Noses, and cry *Fogb*, when they see me in the Streets; but, what of that? A wise Man knows how to make an Advantage of the greatest Disasters, and so have I done. For there was a Time (Mr. Speaker) when this Honourable House had like to have been a foul House; and when was that? Truly it was when the 'Prentices came hither to shew us one Trick more than ever we taught them: Then did I take this worshipful Chain off my Neck, and very politically put it in my Cod-piece; for I know well enough, that no body in this Town, where I am so well known, would venture to look for it there; and I was not mistaken, for here you see I have it still. The same Thing I did at another Time, and that was, when (as you may well remember) a Piece of Plaister falling from the Roof, some of the Members cried *Treason*, and many made Haste to get out of the House as fast as they could; so did not I, no, Sir, I resolved to stay by it; and therefore, having put my Chain in my Cod-piece, I crept under the Bench in this very Place where I now sit, and there I lay close, until I heard some that were near me say, they smelled Gun-powder; but then I knew it was a Mistake, and so it proved indeed: But if it had been otherwise, no Danger should have made me forsake my Duty. No, Sir, I have been so faithful to this House, and so constant to my Principles, that I have not changed so much as my Seat since the happy Beginning of this Parliament. In this very Place did I then sit; on both Sides of me sat two Members, that afterwards proved Malignants; for they took Snuff at something that fell from me in my Zeal to the Cause, and ran to *Oxford* to the King; their Estates are long since sold, for which the Commonwealth may thank me: For verily, Sir, I have not been altogether an unprofitable Member, according to my Talent, and the Dispensation of what was in me; for my Bowels have been often poured out for the Prosperity of this House; and, I hope, my Conversation hath held forth so much of the inward Man, as may be sufficient to satisfy the well-affected, by whom I am intrusted. And as for my Back-biters, I forgive them freely; alas, they hurt themselves and not me; for if they get any Thing by dealing with me that Way, they must have good Luck.

Sir, I have used the more Freedom with you, because I have some Pretence to your Pardon; for I believe you have often observed, that when any Thing
has

has fallen from any of my Fellow-Members that the House has resented, it has presently been laid to my Charge, and I have always taken it upon me freely; for I shall never refuse to serve this House in any Sense whatever. I shall therefore humbly move, that you would be pleased to order this Honourable House to adjourn for a convenient Time, until the House be emptied and made sweet again; for if we should sit here before, it will not be in the Power of any one Man to own so much Stink as will be laid to my Charge.

An Account of the GAINS of the late Speaker *William Lenthall*.

In Answer to a Letter.

Printed in the Year 1660.

S I R,

THere is now again the Report of the great Gains of your Friend the late Speaker, so fresh in every one's Mouth, and so much related to his Prejudice and Danger, that 'tis most necessary that the Truth of it should come to public View. And because I have heard you so rationally discourse the contrary, and assuring me that never any one in any great Employments made so little, nay nothing of Advantage by them; I therefore earnestly desire you to relate to me under your Hand what you then assured me; for I am very unwilling that that which is not, should be a Cause of his Ruin. Let me desire you to hasten this to me; for if I can judge, it concerns your Friend very much to be vindicated in this Particular; so expecting your Answer, I remain

Your assured Friend and Servant

From the
14 June, 1660.

G. G.

S I R,

IAM very glad you have given me the Opportunity to vindicate my old Friend, the late Speaker, in those Reports of his great Gains, in the hazardous and troublesome Employments he hath undergone. 'Tis not easy to rectify a great Mistake, when it is spread in almost every one's Opinion, which is commonly believed, without examining the Probability of it. I have been very strict in the informing myself of the Particulars, and would not have put my Hand to them, if I had not been an Eye-witness of the Truth of what I affirm, from the first Time he entered the House as Speaker, to the last that he sat there. You cannot be unacquainted with the Greatness of his Practice before he was called to that Employment; for I having seen his Accounts, 'twas more than two thousand Pounds *per Ann.* which now for twenty
Years

Years he hath lost. In the first two Years of his Speakership he kept a public Table, and every Day entertained several eminent Persons, as well belonging to the Court, as the Members of Parliament. The King taking this Expence of his into his Consideration, gave him six thousand Pounds, of which there is not to this Day the one Half of it paid. Immediately after the unhappy War broke out, and it was his Chance to have his Fortunes lie in the activest Part of it, so that his Estate, for five Years, yielded him nothing. The Office of Master of the Rolls falling, by the Death of Sir *Charles Caesar*, it was conferred on him; but for some Years he did not clear his Charges, there being but little Proceedings in the Courts of Justice, and there being great Diminutions of the Profits of that Place which his Predecessors enjoyed; but he did not, by reason that Wardships were taken away, the Profit accruing by them to eight hundred Pounds *per Ann.* at the least, and also the Bishops, who on every Creation, or Translation, paid a considerable Fee to him, which was always esteemed worth five hundred Pounds *per Ann.* and the Fines on original Writs, which were the most advantageous Fees that belonged to it; so that Wardships, Bishops, and the Fines on Originals, being taken away, there was a Loss to the Office in its Profits, two thousand Pounds *per Ann.* at the least; yet notwithstanding he performed a greater Duty to the Dispatch of Business, than has been done by any in that Employment before him, and this I think his greatest Detractors will acknowledge: But that which occasions most the Report of his Gains, proceeds from the Fee of five Pounds, which was given him by both Houses upon Compositions; and considering how much that is in Opinion, and how inconsiderable in the Reality of it, makes me as much wonder at the confident Report, as the Readiness it has in finding a Belief. What he received by them is so certainly to be known, that if any will but examine the Journal Books of the House, there they will find every Fee for Pardons that he received; and besides there is the Clerks, and the Sergeant that attend the House, have their Fees, as well on the Pardons as the private Bills, and is a Check to him; so that he cannot deceive any one that will but enquire; and with the strictest Enquiry that I can make, both by the Books, and the Attendance on the House, I cannot find that ever there could be more coming to him than two thousand two hundred and twenty Pounds, and this is the utmost that ever he made on Pardons and private Bills. There was due to him, as there is to every Speaker, a Fee of five Pounds *per diem*, which from his first Sitting to the last he never received one Farthing of; nor did he ever take any Sum of Money, any Gift of Land, or any other Recompence or Reward. What other Employment he has had, the Labour was so great, and the Requital so small, that whosoever succeeded him had a Salary for his Pains; yet he performed his Duty to the Place with great Expedition to all, without any. You have now the Reality of what he has or could gain, there being no other Way whereby one Penny could be supposed to come to him; and I hope it will give you, and all such as you shall think fit to communicate it to, full Satisfaction, as it doth me, that I can affirm this for a Truth; and also that I am

Your most humble Servant,

J. N.

London, this 19 June,
1660.

The

The Way to the **PEACE** and **SETTLEMENT** of these **NATIONS** fully discovered, in Two Letters, delivered to his late Highness the *Lord Protector*, and one to the present Parliament; wherein the Liberty of speaking (which every one desires for himself) is opposed against Anti-christ, for the procuring of his Downfall, who will not grant the same to others: And now published to awaken the public Spirits in *England*, and to raise up an universal Magistrate in Christendom, that can suffer all sorts of People (of what Religion soever they are) in any one Country, as God (the Great Magistrate) suffers the same in all Countries of the World.

Matth. v. 15. *Men do not light a Candle and put it under a Bushel, but on a Candlestick, and it giveth Light unto all that are in the House.*

By *Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-Zee*, a Lover of Truth and Peace.

Printed in the Year 1659.

To the High and Honourable Assembly of **PARLIAMENT**, representing the whole Body of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, Ireland, &c.*

Lords and Gentlemen,

HAVING seen that Policy and Religion (which ought to be universal) was divided and severed into many Sects, my Spirit was much troubled; and looking round about me, where to make a Beginning to rectify those Evils, I found no better Object in Christendom than his late Highness the *Lord Protector*; whereupon I resolved for a while to leave my Family and native Country, fearing, if I should not manifest to the Magistrates in *England* what was upon my Spirit, that they (having much to do with other Affairs) might (through the Subtilty of the Clergy, as in other Nations) easily be deceived: Therefore making first my Address to some of the Counsel, and so (by the Favour of them) to his Highness (delivering the Two following Letters and Addresses to him) I was several times heard by him with Patience, doing my Endeavour to preserve *England* from that great Dishonour which hath befallen other Nations, by setting up instead of the Form and Doctrine of Christ, the Forms and Factions of Men: But being obstructed in my Proceeding, through the unexpected Death of his Highness, I was put to some Stop, waiting for a better Opportunity; and hearing that
your

your Honours were to assemble together upon the 27th of *January*, my Spirit was revived, hoping that my Design (for the Peace and Welfare of these Nations by that Means (better than heretofore) might be accomplished: Whereupon I resolved to bring the Business (formerly propounded to his Highness) to your Honours Consideration, being persuaded in my Heart, if you (who are now entrusted with the weighty Affairs of these Nations) have fixed your Eyes upon God, as the Eyes of the good People in these and other Nations are fixed upon you, that the Proposals laid down in the Two following Letters and Addresses will have a great Influence upon your Hearts; especially if you consider and remember the notable Words of *Solomon*, where he speaks to the Kings and Rulers of the Earth, that a sharp Judgment shall come upon them that are in high Places; for Mercy will soon pardon the Meanest, but mighty Men (not standing in the Council of God) shall be mightily tormented: Therefore give ear to him, you that rule the People, and glory in the Multitude of Nations; for he shall try your Works and search out your Counsels: Set your selves as true Servants of the Commonwealth (in Opposition to Anti-christ) against all Oppressors, that so they that seek with *Haman* to destroy and trample upon the Innocent (contrary to their Expectation) may be disappointed. Let some Course be taken, that all Persons may buy their Estates free from Tithes, that thereby henceforth now in all your Dominions may be forced to pay Tithes to the Ministers or others; for that hath been, and is still the chief Cause of Persecution and Discontent in these and other Nations. Suffer by no Means (you having Respect to the Honour of Christ) that any Confession of Faith be set upon the Throne, as equal with the Holy Scripture; for Confessions are only to distinguish one Sect from another. Assist not with the Sword, or Money of the Commonwealth, any Sect or Person in Particular, that you may not hinder the Truth (which hath been long kept under) from manifesting itself by its own Power; for Magistrates (as Magistrates) have no Permission to favour any Sect or Person in Particular: If any of them (being considered as a private Person) will be a Member of a particular Congregation, he hath his Liberty as well as others, and may honour the same with his Presence, with his Tongue, with his Pen, and with his own Money; but not with the Sword or Money of the Commonwealth; for the Magistrates (being chosen by the Generality of the People) are to stand immovable in the Centre (as Moderators) between all Sects: They are, in regard of their Office, as Treasurers, who are intrusted with a Sum of Money to employ the same, not for their own, or any one's private Advantage in Particular, but for the Benefit of all those that have intrusted them, if it were the Magistrates Work to set up a National Ministry according to their own Will, then we should be in Danger to have as many Religions as there be several Ways of Government in the World, and the Magistrates changing their Opinion, the whole National Ministry must also as often be changed. What is that then but to do his own Will, instead of the Will of God, and to have his Pleasure upon the Souls of Men? It were better, and belongs especially to your Office, not to follow the Traditions of Men, but to examine and reform the Laws now in force, and to disannul such as are destructive and with-

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out Mercy, contrary to the Law of Nature, and the revealed Will of God ; which ought to be in all Ages, and in all Countries, only our Rule. It is also your Honours Work and Business, diligently to consider what properly belongs to the Office of a Magistrate, before you put the Sword, and Power of these Nations into their Hands ; for through want of Care in so weighty a Matter, the whole Commonwealth is in Danger (as in Times past) to fall under the Dominion of one particular Sect, whose Ministers (to bring the Common People, and so the Magistrates, under their Jurisdiction) are commonly infecting with their Forms, not only the public Meeting-places, and the Houses of the Poor, or Hospitals, but also the Schools (called Universities) which have by the Subtilty of them in all Countries, almost lost the Name *Universal*, by being misapplied to Self-ends and Interests. Now to reform these Corruptions, it is necessary that the Magistrates (whose Work it is to have an Eye to the Good of all) do expel out of those public Houses or Colleges (being builded with the Money of the Commonwealth) all meer human Forms of Religion, that they may not longer make a Trade and Merchandize of the Things of God, granting an equal Liberty to all peaceable People (as being but Reason) that such as have ventured their Lives and Estates in the Time of War, should in the Time of Peace enjoy a like Liberty with others ; which may soon be, if you seriously consider the Things all along propounded : Not that I am come unto *England* to be your Instructor, but to bring to your Honours Remembrance those very Things which have been upon your own Hearts, in order to the establishing of such a general Liberty as hath been for many Years of late pretended unto ; being the only Way wherein you may expect the Blessing of God upon you and your Posterity, against all Oppressors, to the taking away of that shameful Reproach that the Magistrates and Ministers in *England* have brought down the King and Bishops, rather to succeed in their Places, than to bring the People to Peace and Happiness. If the Power (to defend the Good against the Evil) in all Countries be ordained of God, *Romans* xiii. then Reason requires that all sorts of People, of what Nations soever, being in one Country together, should be protected, as well as if any of them severally was in his own ; which cannot be, except there be a good public-minded and godly Magistrate, that will suffer all sorts of People (of what Religion soever they are) in one Country, as God (the Great Magistrate) suffers the same in all Countries of the World ; which I expect first in *England*, and so from thence to break forth (as a Light) to all other Countries and Nations, as having long enough walked (as in the Night) by the Glimpse of particular Lights. It is Time that the universal Work of God (as the Sun) do out-shine all that is Particular ; to which End I implore the Presence of the Most High God to be in your Assembly, to guide and direct your Hearts in all those Things that may be acceptable to him, and most agreeable to his good Will and Pleasure.

London, the 24th of Jan.

1659. *Holland's Stile.*

Your Honours, and all Men's humble Servant,

Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-Zee.

Give Ear to the Poor, for the Cry of them is exceeding great in these Nations.

VOL. II.

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Peter

Peter Cornelius, V. Z. (*together with some others, Lovers of the common Good*) to the mighty, potent, far-renowned (yet mortal) Lord, Oliver Cromwell, Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. for the promoting of good Government, wisheth long Life, Wisdom, and foreseeing Counsellors of State, to the End, that his Actions may tend, not only to the convincing of all that envy him, but that also he may be a Light, and an Example to all Dominions and Governments in the World.

Worthy, and (as I hope) favourable Lord, being come into England during the Time of your free Government, I have, with much Cheerfulness beheld the great Freedom which this Nation (since the putting down the Authority of Bishops) doth enjoy, which I hope, by Degrees, will more and more prevail in the World, to the taking away of all Force upon Consciences, that Men may be led and governed by Reason, as Men, and not as Beasts, by compulsive Power. And that those who are (once delivered from the antichristian Captivity, may not be taken Captive again by others; who, together with the great Antichrist, seek their own Greatness; it is most highly necessary that the Example of Christ (to reconcile all into one) should be followed; for those that force the Conscience, being not able to bring all under them by worldly Power, do commonly manifest their own Inclination to be void of Christian Love and Forbearance, by gathering into Sects and Schisms, so that besides the great Antichrist, there are many little Antichrists that endeavour to rise up. None of which, being able to endure any Opposition or Gainsaying, do seek to gain, and draw a Part of Christendom under their Jurisdiction. On the contrary, the Lord Jesus Christ hath taken Captivity Captive; that is, put those to Shame that held others Captive, by his Ascension into Heaven, and gave Gifts unto Men, that they should not be led astray again, viz. he gave, as Means to Salvation, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers; whose Doctrine alone, while it is yet through God's Mercy, as a Measuring Line or Clue of Thread in the World, we should set that on the Throne, treading under Foot all meer human Traditions, as Idolatry: That so all Christendom, being divided into divers Sects (as formerly the Jews were) a general Way of Church-meeting may be instituted, for the hearing of God's Word read, unaltered and unsophisticated, leaving a Freedom for all Sects, as well the one as the other, to assert their own Apprehensions and Understandings upon the Lessons of their Master Christ, without being tied to one another's Opinions.

For it belongs only to God and Christ to have Dominion over Consciences, and to Magistrates to prevent any from exercising Lordship over the Consciences of others; in so doing they would be true Maintainers and Defenders of Liberty, when they use not their Power against those that assert their own Meanings, but against those that would compel others to be of their Opinions. For this, viz. to deal equally in Matters of Religion towards Subjects, is not only good and pious, but is also the Foundation of a good Government. Whereas otherwise, when one Sect shall be encouraged and commended to the Church,

Church, and the other excluded, then Jealousy and Envy will spoil all ; so that the Magistrate, instead of being beloved, may often fear that their State will be undermined, and at length totally destroyed ; especially, when that one Party is become numerous, or do join with a foreign or home-bred Enemy. Wherefore, though they should want the Fear of God, yet for their own Peace-sake, they should give Freedom to all ; and the rather, seeing thereby the noblest and best of Understandings, are from all Places invited and convened in : For whose Wisdom-sake (as of *Joseph's* in *Egypt*) without respect of Persons, they ought to be suffered to come in by the Magistrate for the common Good and Welfare. So that there may not only be a refining in civil, or politic, but chiefly in spiritual Matters. For, as formerly amongst the *Jews* (when Men began to believe that the Priests under the Law could not err, as to their Institutions and Traditions) God's Commands were made void or of no Effect : After the same Manner also hath it been since the Time of the Apostles, in Christendom, that instead of the holy Scriptures only (having been confirmed by Miracles) which should be held a Rule of Faith ; yet some (being Lovers of themselves) have taken upon them a Dominion, jointly with Christ, giving out, that Men must believe and hold for Truth, whatever the Church (*viz.* the Bishops, or other Superintendants thereof) do declare as Truth ; the common People not perceiving (by reason of the great Respect which they bear to those that are set over them) that some of them seek to make themselves great, they have soon attempted to hold forth the Authority of the Scriptures, according to their own Sense ; upon which, when they have introduced Matters contrary to Reason, and People have refused to receive them for authentic, they have, by their acquired Authority, hindered the People from so much as to speak or whisper against it ; constraining them to believe what they say, and also to rely upon them and their Absolution : And to take away all Scruple from the People, have given out that they will answer for them at the Day of Judgment ; yea, moreover (which is far more terrible) will undertake to pawn their Souls for theirs. By which Persuasions, the People, being in Anxiety, fall into their Bosoms, as in former Times, in their gross Darkness, oppugning the holy Scriptures and the Consciences of some, with greater Earnestness, are resisted and rejected. Yet these being driven out by Tyranny, and separated from Popery, have commonly something of that sour Leaven remaining in them, to bind others to their Opinions, making, as a Foundation of their Fellowship, new Forms, over and besides the holy Scriptures : Whereby they have not exalted Christ but themselves ; they have not held close to that only Name, which was given for Men to be saved by, but many Names, as Heads of Parties, according to the different Forms they have brought into the World ; whence great Strangeness, making of Parties, yea, sometimes War and horrible Blood-sheddings have ensued ; which have been managed, not for the Sake of the Holy Scriptures (which they all held for Truth) but to keep up their own Opinions : Till again, some more understanding Men, perceiving the various Differences of the Forms and Ways, and the Mischief and wicked Disturbance which this Strife and Variance, in Writings of Disputations and Controversy hath produced ; have justly

rejected all Names and Rules, besides the Name and Rule of Jesus Christ, living among them as Men full of Love and Forbearance, whose Understandings and Life clash not against the holy Scriptures and sound Reason, although they differ among themselves in Apprehensions upon some Places of the Scripture, but do continue in brotherly Love and Unity ; by which Forbearance, they do not only set others in the right Way (so far as they are in the Truth) but are also by others brought out of the Way, wherein they themselves did err ; a Thing which ought to bear Sway with all Men, according to the Words of Christ (*as you would that Men should do unto you, so do you unto them also*) that they should bear with one another's Opinions and Conceptions, as they would themselves be born withal in theirs. For it hath more the Resemblance and Appearance of compelling the Consciences, and of Tyranny, than of Reason, to press any one to come up to another's Apprehension, as necessary, before he can apprehend it with his own Understanding to be good and necessary.

This hath been, in former Ages, the Policy of Persecutors, and Makers of Sects and Schisms, who not only have cast out by their Power, such whose Understanding they could not bring to agree with theirs ; but being unable to do it, have made great Broils, Rents, and Divisions in the World ; whereas every one (since God is so long-suffering) ought with constant persevering Love (without despairing in the Work) to labour according to their Power to enlighten others, that are in Darknes. For if those that have the Light reject others, or depart from them ; then the Blind having no good Leaders, must needs go astray, and being led by the Blind fall into a deep Abyss of Ignorance. On the contrary, all true Lovers of the common Good, do labour not only to take out of the World Factions, but also all human Inventions (as much as in them lieth) that so the Lord Jesus may alone remain Lord and Master ; whose Saying they bear great Honour and Respect unto, although they possibly cannot understand the Meaning of some Particulars ; yet being confirmed by Signs and Wonders, do hold the same for good and true : In which Thing, as to the Salvation of Man, they will put no Trust or Affiance in any besides Jesus Christ ; nor yet receive any Thing as Truth, but that which they themselves can apprehend to be good and agreeable to his Doctrine ; therefore do they themselves not set up or own any Authority, whereby Men should rely upon it, nor yet should give any others Authority whereby to draw Men into their Party, but should bind all Men unto Jesus Christ, whom they acknowledge only for Head and Saviour.

We desire, from the Bottom of our Hearts, that all Men might be gathered together under that one Name, and that your Highness (from whom almost every one expects some special Work) will help to cleanse the Christian Religion, and Worship of God, from all prevailing Exorbitancies ; and to that End would institute (as an eternal Memorial and Example to all Dominions and Governments in the World) in every City and in every County throughout *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, one general Christian assembling or meeting Place, in such a Form, that all People may see one another round about, by the Help of Seats, rising by Steps, having before them convenient Leaning-places

places to read and write upon ; also one Desk aloft on one Side or End, to hear the Holy Scriptures read at a set time, giving Freedom, after that Reading, to all People, orderly to confer together, concerning the Doctrine and Instruction of their Lord and Master Christ : That all lording over Consciences being prevented, all People might come together, without receiving any Obstruction by any human Forms or Contrivances, even as the *Jews*, being divided into several Sects (as *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essenes*, and *Herodians*, &c.) met together in one Temple, so we would not deny any particular Congregations of their Freedom, of peaceable Meeting among themselves about the Ordinances of Jesus Christ (as the Orders or Synagogues of the *Jews* were not at all infringed) nor bereaved the Ministers or Teachers of their Benefit, which they do receive of their own People for their Maintenance ; for they having a fit Opportunity, may the better bring in their Sense with others, into this general Church-meeting ; that so the Truth getting Enlargement, the honest Party may be resolved into Unity, and the bad (that cannot endure the Light) may be discovered and made known ; who only seeking Dominion and Rule, should not by any Means be employed in high Places, in Matters civil or spiritual ; that so the Seat of Government may not be usurped by their Adherents, when Things go contrary to their Minds (being cruel Wolves) who in seeking of their Advantage will not spare the Flock, over which the Rulers who should be placed to keep the People in Order) ought especially to take Care, that they do not hinder them from the Liberty of speaking freely, as it happeneth commonly in particular Assemblies or Congregations, contrary the laudable Practice of the *Jews*, Acts xiii. 15. who themselves, after the reading of the Scriptures, did invite and stir up *Paul* and *Barnabas* (being Strangers) to speak. Hence (when Understandings might be so free and uninterrupted) there would not only arise a clearing of the Understanding, and reforming of the Lives of People ; but also a yielding, submissive, condescending Love : For the wisest and expertest Men daily coming thus together, to teach and to be taught, it would incline the Hearts of those that should behold them, one towards another, which we may discern in worldly Matters (as in making of Treaties or Peace with Nations) whereas otherwise they being drawn up, and stretched beyond their present Apprehensions, by the supreme Authority, they stand upon their Guard in opposition to one another, as well in spiritual as civil Affairs. This now being so, it will especially concern your Highness, whilst the Eyes of all are fixed upon you, to set a complete Example, that all People (*that do slander you as to have no Religion*) may evidently perceive, that you do only maintain the Christian Religion, and not countenance any other particular Name or Head whatsoever. For Jesus, the only heavenly Teacher (who hath been long enough trod under Foot by Sectarians) ought to be set up above all ; and that all Men, as Brethren be joined together, is the only Way to abolish all lording over Consciences ; which hath already driven him out of his Seat, and many hundred Years since possessed his Place, that at length the spiritual Usurpation, with its antichristian Dominion, may be laid down at his Feet.

Thus

Thus doing, you will be accounted a Follower of the Example of the good King *Josiah*, 2 *Kings* xxiii. who to reform the *Jews* Worship of God, threw down all *Chimerims* and Idolatry, and brought forth the Book of the old Covenant, to the Ears of the People; and all the People stood in that Covenant. So will all Christendom (unless any would set up Man, to rule together with Christ) commend your diligent and wise Forecast and Circumspection, and pray for the Prosperity of your Estate, to the Ruin of the *Romish* Seat, which (together with all that would force Consciences) hearing the Report of this noble Freedom, will begin to tremble, yea, even their silenced Children, whose Mouths have been muzzled by compulsive Restraint, will begin to speak; and so in time of need, seeing your free Government, may come to shrowd themselves under your Wings. *To which God the Father, who beholdeth you and all Mens Actions, afford his Grace through Jesus Christ. Amen.*

To his Highness, Oliver Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, &c.

Mighty, and (as I hope) prudent Lord, being by the Loadstone of your free Government drawn to come into *England*, I have not only beheld the Multiplicity of Opinions, and various Differences of Sects (who have been long held together in a false Peace) but also have laid before you an Expedient (in my Letter of the 24th of *June*) to bring them together to a true real Unity.

I hope (seeing the Bonds of Antichrist are in a great Measure broken in *England*, by the Effusion of much Blood) that you, as a skilful Pilot, will keep your Hand at the Helm, and your Eye upon the Sail, that so the little Antichrists, who seek to rule over Consciences, may not bring your Work to Shame and Reproach, by exciting you to Tyranny, and thereby obstruct you in perfecting the same. For several Princes and Magistrates have formerly laboured to bring down Antichrist; but not rightly knowing the Nature thereof, have (unawares) not observed the little ones, while they oppose the great ones only, as Bishops and others; and the little, self-seeking ones to become great, have to their Power helped the Magistracy (as if themselves were Enemies of the spiritual Domination) only that they might succeed in the others Places, which evidently appeared as soon as ever they began to take Breath, in that they have instituted new Forms (the Cause of Sects and Parties) by framing new Articles of Faith, over and besides the Holy Scripture, thereby to shut Men up within the Park or Inclosure of their own Opinions; by which Means they set not up Christ in the Hearts of Men, but their own Kingdom and Dominion, which is Idolatry. And the Rulers being brought on their Side, Oppression hath been exercised upon such as have not worshipped their Images (I mean their contrived Forms) without Life.

Now, to oppose these deceitful Spirits, who in an angelical Humility and Lowliness, come with great and lamentable Complaints and Petitions, the good Magistrates, to the End they be not deceived, should, for the protecting of the Innocent, be armed with a divine Foresightfulness and Circumspection; for they by all Means (as if the Magistrates could make their dead Forms live)

live) do incessantly implore the interposing their Authority, well knowing that there is no better Way to bring the Common People (wherein the Strength of a Nation consists) under their Jurisdiction, and do sometimes set the Magistracy (which to govern well cannot be too high) by Degrees higher and higher; yea, upon Hopes thereby to have their Forms subscribed unto) resolve to make any body their King or Emperor; being well assured, that when he hath thus given up his Power to them, and set them on the Throne, they may afterwards do with him what they will.

For the most Part, all Kings have lost their Power, by giving too much Authority to the Ministry or Teachers, and have become (instead of Lords) Servants; yea, (fearing the Opposition of them and their Followers) have for their Sakes become Tyrants.

Considering these Things, the Magistrates to whom (and not to the Teachers) the Sword is given, for the Protection of the Good, should hold it fast, to prevent and frustrate all cunning and subtle Practices, and instead of giving Ministers or Teachers Power and Authority, should (by their general Assemblies set up in all Cities and Countries) draw the Common People out of their Bosoms and Dominion, that they may loose their usurped Power, that so the Sword may return into its right Place, for which God hath ordained it, without the Magistrates needing in their Government, to have Dependance on the Ministers or Teachers, who are wont to incense the People against them. This (besides that the whole Power will come into the Hands of the Magistrates) will bring many Thousands a Year to the Commonwealth; for the People having Opportunity to come into the general Assemblies, out of Love to hear many wise understanding Men, will not need to give Maintenance to the Hirelings, who lord it in particular Congregations, whereby the Magistrates (who now begin to lighten or ease the Burden of Maintenance) will be loved more than formerly. Then shall we first be able rightly to discern, when the Power is come into its right Place, what the Magistrates are, who now many times are accounted Oppressors and evil Governors; though it may be that Oppression and evil Government doth proceed more from the Nature of the Teachers than of the Magistrates, who (now the Way to make the Teachers powerless is opened) will begin to appear more evidently than formerly, and the more, because the common Assembling-place may be instituted for drawing off the People from the Ministers in all Places, without Compulsion of any Man, bringing all Sects (without giving Wages to any) as Brethren to equal Privileges: But if those that are of one and the same Opinion, will have particular Congregations and set Ministers, let themselves pay them as a Master doth his Servant; for it's no Reason that a Man should help to maintain another's Servants; especially if they be such as (in his Judgment) are Soul-destroyers, who (being in his Senses) would assist such Enemies as do countermine him. Is it not to be wondered at, that the Ministers (who would be esteemed more than the Magistrates) should (to the Shame of their Church or Congregations) desire Wages of them, for whom they have not laboured? Neither is it the Mark of a true Church, where the Members thereof are so covetous and unmerciful, that they will not maintain or provide for
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their own Ministers, and the Teachers (loving the Wages of Unrighteousness) do (contrary to the Tenth Commandment) covet the Goods of others, whereof the Apostles and their Congregations would have been ashamed to think, much less would do it: Yet I hope that once the Conscience-burdening Law of constraining to pay Tithes to the Ministers (who seek rather after Lucre than the Truth) for the rest of these Nations will be made null and void; some Course being taken to supply the Necessities of the Ministers, who by such Act (that none shall be forced to pay Tithes to them) may be brought to a want of Subsistence; and yet that this may be so done, only for those that are now made destitute, but no Encouragement for any others in time to come; and by this the Magistrates (while every Sect maintain their own Ministers) will be freed from laying such intolerable Burthens on their Subjects, having to provide for none else but those who are appointed in the general Assemblies or Meeting-places, to read the holy Scriptures, and keep the People in Order; to shew that they are no Maintainers of Sects, but of the Christian Religion, being as Fathers and Mediators, to bring the Good together, out of all Sects, to unite under the Name of Jesus, to the End that his Kingdom and Government may be enlarged for an Example to *Holland, Denmark, Sweden, France,* and other Kingdoms, who seeing there is no Force nor Constraint used, will easily be brought to a firm Bond of Unity. This being the only Means by forsaking all Men and human Forms, to be blessed by Christ (whose Honour only is fought) against the Antichrist, contrary to the Way of other Kings and Princes, who being separated from Popery, have made themselves unworthy of the Blessing of Christ, by giving Honour to the bare Name of *Luther, Calvin,* and others, instead of giving it to Christ, having been deceived by the little Antichrists their Followers, who as well as the great one, seek their own Glory, Ease, and Idleness; and as if they had no Fellowship with the great Antichrist, have put the holy Scriptures into the common People's Hands, which before was prohibited to be read, only seeking that we should agree with them in their Forms, applying and fitting themselves (such is their Subtlety) to the Temper of the Times, as a Fowler gives Scope to a Bird he hath already in a String, that so at length it may be content to live in a Cage. Now against these little Antichrists (who under the Name of giving Liberty, would bind People to their Opinions) the Magistrates (being taught by Experience) should as well counter-work, as against the Great, that they may come to the very Root, bringing the Holy Scripture (which was formerly prohibited to be read) with great Triumph into the general Assembly or Meeting-place, and set it on high, to the End that the Sound or Report of this, to wit, that Christ alone must rule (by his Word) in the Hearts of Men, among all Nations (according to the great Work done in *England*) may be heard, giving Liberty to every one, after the Reading of the Scripture (contrary to the little Antichrist who will have it understood only according to their own Forms and Expositions) to set forth his own Apprehension, without being bound to any one's Opinion: That spiritual Matters being applied to spiritual, Antichrist may be stormed with two Armies, *viz.* the Truth against Error, and the material Sword against Oppressors, who by their arrogating Disposition and Exclusion
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of others, do seek to restrain the Liberty of speaking, which discovers the Errors of the Understanding for the Cure thereof; whereas, by stopping the Mouths of the People (as heretofore) they make Men incurable.

Now to further this, that the Weakness or Ignorance of some may be remedied by the Knowledge of others, without Disturbance or Confusion, it will be necessary that the Authority of the Magistrate interpose in this general Assembly or Meeting-place, that every one may speak in their Order, staying their Time; and those that break Order may (after due Warning) be ejected till they are better disposed, without oppressing them by Imprisonment or otherwise.

This would be glad Tiding, yea, a true Year of Jubilee, for those that lie in Prison, only for asserting their Opinions in Matters of Religion; that now they may (together with others) bring in their Understandings into this general Assembly, to receive or give Light: And to the End that Antichrist (or he that exalts himself above others) may be continually shut out, it is exactly to be observed, that no Preheminence or sole Privilege be granted to any (of offering any thing, or of speaking first) that so every one being at Liberty and unhindered, may bring forth that which is most conducing to the common Welfare, according to the Words of *Paul*, 1 *Cor.* xiv. 26. All of them sitting still so long after the Reading of the Scriptures (as being swift to hear and slow to speak) till any one think it fit (in his judicious and humble Mind) to propose somewhat for mutual Edification, endeavouring withal to make his Discourse short, that another may have his Turn likewise, contrary to the Custom of the common Teachers, who only, or solely speaking, do lengthen out their Discourse to the Weariness of their Auditory; for which End the Moderators (who ought to be meek and understanding Men) are to observe that there be due Order kept.

This (seeing no Forms or Articles are made in it beside the holy Scripture) will be a Council and Synod, standing always open, to all rational People, without imposing any Man's Conclusions, contrary to the former Assemblies, who have excluded all Nations and Posterity (by their Self-conceitedness) dividing People, as by a Wall of Separation, one from another, by their Forms; whereupon great Estrangement hath ensued, as if they were different Nations; and the better to set up their Antichristian Kingdom and Dominion, have so contrived their Catechisms, that they have bound up, and so spoiled the Understanding of their Children, before they come to have the Use of Reason, holding their Dependants, or Members, captive under them in their Net, as Beasts, contrary to the Order of their Creation, well knowing, that if they gave them the Liberty of Speaking, they would not be long worshipped as Idols, or sacrificed to, as *Bell* at *Babel*.

Contrariwise, People, in the general Assemblies, when all Understandings and Tongues are free, will be stirred up to the Exercise thereof, and by conferring together, will come to Knowledge, Love, and Familiarity. The Truth (which hath been long kept under, or with-held in Unrighteousness) will scatter the Lies, as Light doth Darkness; and the great Credit which we

have given to some Teachers in Particular, will by Opposition be diminished, and the Power of all Sects (the one dispelling the Errors of the other) will be broken.

This will be the Place where we shall discern and learn to know the most wise as *Solomon*, and meek as *Moses*; which out of all Sects (only such as seek to domineer over others excluded) may be appointed as Counsellors, to keep steady the Balance of Government, without respect of Persons, to the End that the Spirit of God be not confined; which will be a sure Mark that Wisdom (for the Sake of which Kings, in Times past, were blessed) is (under this Government) esteemed above Gold and Silver, being the Principal to distinguish all Things, chiefly Policy from Religion, for the common Good; for Magistrates (if they would remain without usurping the Office of Christ) may not make Laws in Matters of Religion, but against evil Deeds, to protect the Good; to the End, that their Subjects (from whom they receive Taxes and Impositions) may be protected in Peace, of what Religion soever they are; for the Power to punish evil Doers is ordained of God in all Lands, without respect of Religion; and whosoever opposeth that Power, opposeth the Ordinance of God; not that all Officers (though they rule ill) are of God, or are his Ministers, but those only who administer their Office rightly, according to God's Will; otherwise, those who heretofore have risen up against Tyrants, opposing their Persons, should have been indeed Opposers of God's Ordinance, contrary to that of the Apostle, *Rom. xiii.* who hath said, that such as are the Ministers of God, are continually employed in the Defence of the Good, until they have, by false Teachers, been drawn besides their Office, to domineer over Consciences, and so brought into the Service or Ministry of Satan, to the Grief of their Subjects.

But I hope that once the Sword (which hath been with-held from Lyars and Oppressors) shall cut them off together with the Cable of their Hope (the Tithes) that so the Ground of almost all Oppression, being taken away, not only the Subjects, but also the Magistrates, may live in Peace, who are now continually liable to hear the Complaints of the head Sectaries, who seek to domineer over others, it being the Nature of such, who finding their own Weakness, do make Power and Force their Refuge, contrary to the Example of Christ and the Primitive Saints, whose Strength was only the Evidence of Truth: Wherefore all People, and chiefly Magistrates, are to take Heed that they assist not Lies, using their Power (according to God's Ordinance) only against those that are to the Prejudice of good Government, or the Hurt of Mankind in general, without mingling Policy and Religion, which were ordained for several Ends; the one to defend the good Men against the Evil, and the other to make the Evil good: There remains only, that the Magistrates (for an Example to their Subjects) do null all human commanding and constraining Laws in spiritual Matters, that so all Plants which the heavenly Father hath not planted, may (according to the Saying of Christ) be rooted up, which will best take Effect, when the Dominion of the Teachers is through the Power of the Governors, come to an End, and their Hope of domineering over others cut off; for Magistrates, instead of lording it over
Con-

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 267

Consciences, ought, on the contrary, to hinder all Lordship over Consciences, that complaining and murmuring may come to an End, and that the Righteous may rejoice.

For which End, that we may transmit the World unto our Posterity, in a better Condition than we first found it, I have contributed this little to my Power.

I beseech your Highness, let not any Pre-engagement oblige you, to what you may afterwards see inconsistent with the Magistrates true Interest, with the due Liberty of God's People, and the free Propagation of the Gospel. It were better for you, and more for your Honour, with *Abasbuerus*, to contradict your own Hand and Seal, than with *Herod*, to perform a rash Engagement.

But while it is yet in your Highness's Choice, let not the Right-hand of brave Atchievements for the Vindication of Liberty, be ever stained with authorizing (to the Honour of Men, and Dishonour of Christ) any Confession of Faith, Ordinance, or Decree, which will in the least intrench thereon, or indulge the Enemies thereof. Be not deceived, by such Persons as pretend to advance your Honour, as in the Time of *Daniel* was done to King *Darius*, that the good People in those and other Nations may not be disappointed of their Hope and Expectations in you.

I do wish for Conclusion, that your Highness, and all your Counsellors of State, to the bringing down of Antichrist, and all his Adherents, may have a great Heart, and humble under God and Christ; that the great Work done in *England*, come not to the Honour of a mortal Man, but to the Honour of him, who hath received the Power over the Kingdoms of the Earth. *Be wise as Serpents and innocent as Doves*, Matth. x. 16.

O Lord of all Lords and Magistrates, teach them that rule as Gods in the World, to consider, that they are but Men in thy Eyes; that they may handle their Subjects, after such a Manner as they wish to be handled by thee in thy Judgment.

For the King and both Houses of Parliament ; being a brief, plain, and true Relation of some of the late sad Sufferings of the People of God called Q U A K E R S, for worshipping God, and exercising a good Conscience towards God and Man ; by reason whereof eighty-nine have suffered till Death, thirty-two of which died before the King came into *England*, and fifty-seven since ; of which fifty-seven, by hard Imprisonment and cruel Usage, forty-three have died in this City of *London* and *Southwark*, since the Act made against Meetings.

IT is not unknown, that we have been a persecuted and suffering People for many Years, even by all the Powers that have ruled in these Kingdoms ; and many hard Imprisonments, Scourgings and false Judgments we have undergone, and much evil Dealing hath been exercised towards us, and all this for, and because only of, our Religion and good Conscience to Godwards, and not for any Rebellion, Sedition, or wrong doing towards them or our Neighbour : For it hath been our only Care how to walk justly and innocently in the Sight of God, towards Rulers and People, and have been peaceable towards all ; and herein we have desired to approve our Hearts in much Integrity and Sincerity, that we might be found blameless before the Lord, as himself doth bear us witness.

Yorkshire.

Robert Barwick for refusing to swear, was sent to *York* Castle the 24th Day of the 11th Month, 1660, and on the 28th Day of the first Month he died a Prisoner.

Peter Caiph of *Wyton* was taken out of a peaceable Meeting by Constables, without any Warrant ; and he and several others for refusing to swear, were sent to *York* Castle the 13th of the 12th Month 1660, and the second Day of the second Month 1661, *Peter* died a Prisoner.

Robert Storr of *Hilston*, for the same Cause was imprisoned in *York* Castle, and on the 25th of the first Month 1661, he died a Prisoner.

Benjamin Nicholson of *Tickell*, and *Abraham Decow* of *Fishblock*, being committed upon the same Account to *York* Castle, died in Prison.

And there hath died nine more in *York* lately, whose Names are not as yet sent up.

Surrey.

Thomas Patchen being sick of a Fever, was taken out of his Bed, and drove twenty-five Miles on Foot, and in their Cruelty, they overdrove him, in so much that it was beyond his natural Strength, so that in a few Days after he was in the *White-Lyon* Prison, he died.

Hampshire.

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 269

Hampshire.

William Rutter on the 17th of the 12th Month, 1661, was taken out of a Meeting, and had to the main Guard in *Portsmouth*, and from thence to the Mayor, who tendered him the Oath of Allegiance, and for refusing to swear, he was committed to the common Gaol, and falling sick on the 14th Day of the first Month, he died a Prisoner.

Bedfordshire.

John Rusb of *Kempston Hardwick*, was kept in Prison about a Year for not paying Tithes to Priest *Wells* of *Wilkbanistead*, who kept him in Prison until he died, which was the first of the 11th Month, 1661.

Huntingdonshire.

Simon Sandford and *Francis Lamstead*, being both committed to the Gaol in *Huntington* for refusing to swear, died in Prison, *Francis* the 7th Day of the first Month, and *Simon* the 18th of the 12th Month, 1661.

Worcestershire.

Richard Walker, a sickly weakly Man, and hath been so long, was (with many more) on the first Day of the 11th Month, 1662, taken out of a Meeting in *Evisham*, by one Major *Wild*, who, with the rest of his Party on Horseback, forced the poor sick Man with Haste and Rigor, to travel on Foot Part of the Way to *Worcester*, and his sick Body being wearied, not being able to travel so fast as their Horses, one of the hard-hearted Soldiers took him by the Arm, and drew him violently along; the Mayor also rode with his Horse against him, and struck him down with his Horse Brisket, and plucked out his Pistol, and threatened to pistol him; and when they saw he could not travel so fast as they in Haste rode their Horses, then they set him on a Horse, and one of them whipped the Horse forward up Hill and down Hill, without Pity to his weak Condition; and the said *Wild* committed him to the County Gaol in *Worcester*, where being far from his tender Friends who nourished him in his weak Condition, his Sickness increased, and he soon died.

London and Southwark.

Daniel Abraham being imprisoned in *Newgate*, with about three hundred more Friends, for refusing to swear, in the 12th Month, 1660, fell sick and died.

Walter Bellamy being at the same time imprisoned in *Newgate*, and there being one hundred, or thereabouts, imprisoned in that Room where he was, it is judged that so many being together, for want of convenient Air and Lodging, he fell sick, and in the third Month, 1661, he died a Prisoner.

John Stanton, having a Wife and several Children, was taken out of a Meeting by rude Soldiers, and committed to *Newgate*, and falling sick, died a Prisoner the 21st Day of the 4th Month, 1662.

Thomas Kirby a young Man, a Haberdasher by Trade, being newly out of his Time, was taken out of a Meeting of the People of God, and committed to Prison to *Newgate*, where he fell sick, and on the first Day of the fifth Month, 1662, he finished his Testimony by Death.

Richard Hubbertborne, a faithful Minister of the Lord, being declaring the Truth at the *Bull and Mouth* Meeting, was taken by Soldiers, and carried before

270 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

fore *Richard Brown*, who took hold of the Brim of his Hat, and lugged it upon his Face, and committed him to *Newgate*, where he and two more lay in a dark Hole; and falling sick on the 17th of the sixth Month, 1662, he laid down his Life for the Testimony of Truth.

Anthony Skillington, being at a Meeting of the Lord's People on the 13th of the fifth Month, 1662, was by the rude Soldiers taken out of the Meeting, and brought before *Richard Brown*, who sent him to Prison, with many more; and being innocent, they demanded a free Prison; and so the Gaoler put them in the Hole, which is the Place they put Felons in after they are condemned to die; and there eleven of them remained two Nights, and then were had out, and put in a stinking Hole amongst the common Felons; and *Anthony* often complained of the bad Smell before he fell sick; and by reason of want of Air, and such a stinking Smell, he and several more fell sick and died; and the Jury that viewed his Body, concluded that they did believe his close Imprisonment, and the stinking Smell, surfeited his Body, which was the Cause of his Death, it being in the Heat of Summer.

John Giles, a faithful Minister of the Truth, was taken out of a Meeting where he was ministring the Truth, and committed to *Newgate* by *Richard Brown*, where falling sick the 29th of the sixth Month, 1662, he laid down his Life for the Truth's Sake.

William Watson of the Parish of *White-Chapel*, was taken from a Meeting, and committed to the common Gaol in *Newgate*, where he fell sick, and on the 25th of the sixth Month, 1662, died a Prisoner.

William Eldridge and *John Shoot*, were both committed to *Newgate* by *Richard Brown*, for meeting to worship God; and they fell sick, and the latter End of the sixth Month, 1662, both died, and were carried from *Newgate* together to be buried.

Richard Bradley, for the Cause aforesaid, was committed to New-Prison, where he fell sick, and on the first Day of the seventh Month, 1662, he laid down his Life for the Truth's Sake.

Henry Boreman, being committed to *Newgate* for selling Friends Books, fell sick and died in *Newgate* the 17th of the eighth Month, 1662, and left a Wife great with Child, and three small Children besides.

Thomas Birkley, *Benjamin Bromly*, *John Witlock*, and *William Snowk*, being committed to the *White-Lyon* Prison, for meeting to worship God (with several others) they fell sick for want of Air and Conveniences to lodge; and in the ninth Month, 1662, all died in the Prison, and gave up their Lives for the Truth's Sake.

John Dison, *John Wostenholm*, and *Richard Page*, being committed to the *White-Lyon* Prison for the Cause aforesaid, with about eighty more, were kept in three little Rooms, where, by reason of the Closeness of the Place, they fell sick, and in a short time, being about the 6th of the 10th Month, they there finished their Testimony by Death.

Thomas Anstee and *William Hawkes*, being committed to *Newgate* by *Richard Brown* for the Cause aforesaid, fell sick, and both laid down their Bodies in the Prison for the Truth's Sake.

Thomas

Thomas Rogers, a young Man, was taken also out of a Meeting of the People aforesaid, and committed to the common Gaol, where he fell sick about the tenth Month, and died in a short time a Prisoner for the Truth of God.

Mark Close and *Gabriel Shaller*, being committed by *Richard Brown* for the Cause aforesaid, where they fell sick, and about the latter End of the tenth Month, 1662, died in the common Gaol in *Newgate* for the Truth's Sake.

John Cooper was by *Richard Brown* committed to the common Gaol in *Newgate* for the same Cause, where he suffered the Loss of his Life for the Truth's Sake, the 30th of the tenth Month, 1662.

Thomas Hansler, *William Pryor*, and *Samuel Petchet*, being committed by *Richard Brown*, for meeting together, about the 6th and 7th of the 11th Month, died in the common Gaol in *Newgate*; *William Pryor* leaving a Wife and Children behind him, whose Maintenance did consist on his Labour; and *Samuel Petchet* was a young Man newly come up out of the Country about Business.

John Trowell, being at a Meeting at the *Bull and Mouth*, the latter End of the sixth Month, was dragged out of the Meeting by rude Soldiers, and one of them knocked him down for dead in the Street, and then trampled upon him in the Street, and he lay sick ten Days, and then died, and his dead Body was carried to the *Bull*, where he received his Bruises and Blows; and the Coroner and Jury viewed his dead Body, and many others, who judged him to be murdered, his Body being black with Bruises, and even rotten and like a Jelly; it cannot well be expressed what grievous Blows had fallen on his Body; one of the Officers having a Club in one Hand about a Yard long, which seemed to be as much as he could well handle, for Bigness and Weight, with which he laid on about him without Mercy, as did the most of his Party, regarding neither Age nor Sex: One Friend was knocked down five Times; and the Blood lay in the Streets, and run down Men's Faces and Shoulders; and one Hanger and one other Weapon were both broken by Force of Blows over Men's Heads.

Humphrey Bache, and *Humphrey Brewster*, were both committed to *Newgate* for meeting; and by the Closeness of the Prison their Bodies were corrupted, so that in a short time after they were released, they died.

Humphrey Leaver, *Richard Davis*, *Robert Cross*, *Thomas Wingreen*, *John Ratcliff*, were all imprisoned in the common Gaol in *Newgate*, by *Richard Brown*, for meeting to worship God, where it is judged, through the Smoke and noisome Smells their Bodies were corrupted; so that soon after they were released, they died, who we may reckon, with the rest, to have sealed their Testimony with the Loss of their Lives.

Edward Burroughs, a faithful Labourer and Minister of the Lord, being imprisoned in *Newgate* for ministring the Truth to the People at the *Bull and Mouth*, he remained a Prisoner near three Quarters of a Year, and notwithstanding the King sent an Order under his Hand and Seal to release him, yet *Richard Brown* would not release him: The Beginning of the twelfth Month the said *Edward Burroughs* fell sick, and the 14th Day of the same Month he finished his Testimony by Death.

And

272 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

And there hath suffered Imprisonments, Stockings, Whippings, Loss of Goods, and other Abuses, for keeping a good Conscience towards God and Man, before the King came into *England*, 3170 Persons.

And there hath suffered Imprisonments for refusing to swear, and for meeting together, and refusing to go to public Worship, and for keeping a good Conscience towards God and Man since the King came into *England*, 5400 Persons, notwithstanding the King's personal Endeavours, at sundry Times, by Letters, Warrants, and Proclamations for their Delivery, and for the Mitigation of the Harshness of his inferior Officers towards them in the Cases above-mentioned.

And there died by Imprisonment, and other hard Usage, before the King came in, thirty-two Persons.

And there have died, by reason of Imprisonment, and hard and cruel Usage since the King came in, fifty-six Persons.

And there remains at this present in Prison in *England*, who suffer for good Conscience Sake, five hundred Persons.

From the People of God called QUAKERS.

James Nailor's Recantation, penned and directed by himself to all the People of the Lord, gathered and scattered; and may most fitly serve as an Antidote against the infectious Poison of damnable Heresies, although couched under the most specious Veils of pretended Sanctity.

Printed in the Year 1659.

To all the People of the Lord, gathered and scattered.

IN the Fear of God, and Love to his Truth and People, do I declare, in the Spirit of Meekness, what hath long oppressed my Soul, concerning those unclean Spirits gone out from the Unity of the Truth and Light, by which we have been called and gathered into one Christ Jesus, the Head over all his Blessed for ever; whose Name hath been greatly dishonoured by many wild Actings, and his innocent Spirit grieved, and many simple Souls deceived, many oppressed, and many offended against the Truth; for which Work my Soul hath been much troubled, who to this Day raven about from Place to Place amongst the People of God, seeking to enter where they can, so to strengthen themselves into Parties, to trouble such as they cannot enter, seeking to spoil the pleasant Pasture of the Lambs, that they should not feed in Peace; and, for that End, haunt after the Meetings of the People of God. All which Practices and Pretences I deny in my Soul, and the Spirit that acts therein.

And

And the more it lies upon me, from the Lord to warn the simple innocent Ones of his thereof openly, in that through me these Spirits have got much Head and Entrance into the Minds of some who were simple towards God's Truth : And this the envious One hath done, in the Night of my Trial, and Hour of Darknes and Temptation, taking Advantage of my Sufferings, in the Day when my Judgment was taken away, and led Captive under the Power of Darknes, which all along hath sought my Life, had not the Father held, and with his Hand upon me, stayed me in those great Temptations, to to whom alone I give the Glory of my Deliverance from that great Destruction, as his Promise was to me before I came into that Trial, who also hath brought me up again, and hath given me to see those evil Spirits, and that the Work of the Murderer and Devourer is therein, against the Life of God in his Temple ; which, though they seek Entrance under Pretence of Humility, promising some great Things, and more Holiness in that Way, to steal into simple Minds, yet being got in, exalts himself above the Seed of God, and tramples the meek Spirit under Foot, and so darkens the Vessels ; and being exalted in the Openings of the Imaginations, leads the Creature as God above that of God, and so against that of God, he wars in others, where God is above.

And this Mystery of deep Iniquity hath the Lord God in the Spirit of the Lamb revealed unto me, whose powerful Working I have felt, working in me above the pure Measure and unspotted Life of God : And also in the Simplicity of Jesus Christ, I had given up my Body all along a free Offering to the Will of God in Life or Death, for the Seed's Sake yet ungathered in the World (as God knoweth I lie not) yet could I often feel that exalted One above, secretly tempting to Envy against the People of God already gathered, pretending another Thing to come some other Way. But this was ever judged the Life of God also. I was often buffeted therewith, sometimes so strongly as to force Words from me above the meek and lowly Principle, all which Words were soon judged with the Sufferer which lay under, and with his Life be they condemned for ever, and this lieth upon me to declare openly, which God hath revealed unto me, for the Sake of the simple ones, who may be deceived therewith, but would not, did they know his Subtilty.

And by this you shall all perceive that Spirit, whatever it pretends, it will secretly withdraw your intire Love from the Flock of God, already gathered, and cool your Affections and Zeal towards their present Meetings, and if you judge it not there, it will grow on with an evil Eye, to spy out for their Failings, and to delight to hear of them with an hidden Joy, whispering them to others, and adding thereunto, with a Desire to see them broken, and their Nakedness laid open, if any Thing be amiss.

And thus it hath wrought in a Mystery of Wickedness in some unjudged, until it be seated in the Throne of open Enmity and Strife against the Lambs of Light, preferring the Society of the Profane before them, and taking Part therewith against them, joining to any who seek to scatter them.

And whatever Pretence this Spirit covers itself with, this I declare against it, having been kept by the good Hand of God, to see it revealed in its Ground and End, that it is the old Spirit of the *Ranters*, which now, in a new Way,

make head against the Light of Christ, and Life of the Cross, which is the only Thing which stands in its Way, by condemning its Filthiness in every Conscience.

And so they, in whom this is entred, being exalted above the living Witness in themselves, would devour it in others; and this in the Presence and Fear of God I declare, without the least Prejudice against any Man or Woman, but in Obedience to God, and for his Seed's Sake, lest any more of the Simple should be deceived, and that such as are deceived already may recover themselves out of Satan's Snares, having no selfish End therein, God knows.

And long Time hath my Soul travelled, ere I could obtain Power herein (so strongly hath he that letteth withstood my Way) and therefore in the Bowels of tender Love I warn you all to take Heed how ever you come under that Spirit, under what Pretence soever, but let the Fear of God, and sound Judgment, in the Spirit of Meekness, preserve you all above it; for wheresoever it enters by Consent, it is hard to be got out again, and if it be, it is not without much Sorrow: And this I have found in the Depth, which, for your Sakes, I declare in Plainness and in Truth, as I have learned of the Lord, labouring with him without ceasing, that the rest of the People of God, every where, may be saved from this Devourer, who daily goeth about to deceive; and whosoever he takes he casteth into the Earth and into the Sea; for Wickedness is with him wheresoever he goes.

Even the Lord God Almighty arm you all against his Wiles, being warned thereof in his Love, and the eternal Power of Holiness preserve you all clean to himself, who are dearer to me than ever, and that in no other Thing but that innocent Principle in which you were kept free from all the Pollutions of the World, and fleshly Liberty, and do stand Witnesses for God, against it, before all Men; and in no other Thing have I Fellowship with any, which is that I seek to set up above all.

And this I was moved to give forth to go every where a Witness against that unclean Spirit wherever it goes, feeling its Work is to run to and fro to deceive, and that all may be warned by what I have learned in Sufferings; and that they that will not may be left without Excuse.

JAMES NAILOR.

For the KING and both Houses of PARLIAMENT,
sitting at *Westminster*, and for every Member thereof
to read.

FRRIENDS! Oh Friends, in the Power of God dwell, that lasteth for ever, which doth remain and abide; and mind the higher Power, which God hath ordained, which goes over all Transgressors, Sinners, and Evil-doers; which Law and higher Power was not made for the Righteous, but

but Sinners and Transgressors, to be a Terror to them, and for the Punishment of them, and for the Praise of them that do well : Now, them that do well, the Righteous, this Law and higher Power was not made for, and doth not take hold upon them ; to which higher Power every Soul must be subject : The higher Power, I say, that is higher than all Transgressors, Evil-doers, and the Devil, who went out of the Truth, that led into Sin and Transgression ; therefore to Sin and evil People are not to yield themselves ; but their Souls unto the higher Power, as I said before, that goes over Sin and the Devil, the Author of it, to this Power must the Soul be subject : Therefore you Rulers and Magistrates are to put a Difference between the Precious and the Vile, the Righteous and the Wicked, such as the Law was made for, Sinners and Transgressors (for which Cause it was added) and the Righteous which it was not made for ; for this higher Power that goes over all Sinners and Transgressors was not made for the Righteous, which the immortal Soul must be subject to. This immortal higher Power, that higher Power answereth, and is one with the Spirit and Witness of God, that witnesseth for him, against Sin and Transgression of the Law and Power of God in every one.

Secondly, Keep all in the Fear of God, departing from Sin and Evil, that ye may receive God's Wisdom from above, that is pure and gentle, and easy to be entreated, and is full of Mercy and Goodness, which is not earthly, sensual, nor devilish, but keeps from Hard-heartedness ; and that with that Wisdom you may be ruled, and order and govern with, and by all Things under your Hands to God's Glory, by which Wisdom all Things were made and created, that to the Lord you may be a Blessing, and a sweet Savour in your Generation, and in the Hearts of all People, answering the Witness of God in them all, that you may be Eyes to the Blind, Legs to the Lame, taking away every Weight and heavy Burthen, and breaking the Jaws of the Wicked, that would rend and tear the Innocent to Pieces, that in that you may be a Mouth to the Dumb, and a Strength to them who cannot help themselves, in that you will get the Honour of God, and bow the Hearts of the People.

Again, let Wickedness and Violence be stopt ; Swearing, Oaths, Drunkenness and Prophaneness, of which much abounds in the Land, that Truth and Righteousness may be set up and established, and run down the Streets ; for that is it which establisheth the Kingdom ; for the higher Power is that goes over all, the Devil, and all the Powers of Darkness, and over Sinners and Transgressors, which answereth that which all Men do transgress.

And let no one be persecuted and imprisoned for worshipping of God in Spirit and Truth, which the Devil is out of : seeing Christ and the Apostles did not give any Command or Example that they should be imprisoned, persecuted and banished, though there hath been much Persecution about the Church Ministry and Worship, and Ceremonies, since the Days of the Apostles and Christ, in the Flesh ; though, as I said before, from them they have had no Example nor Command from the Apostles and the Church in the primitive Times to do so ; such as will grieve the Spirit, quench the Spirit, despise the Prophecy, were forbidden by the Apostles.

276 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

And let there be no Persecution nor Imprisonment of them that be in Differences in their Opinions in Religion, which all professing the Name of Christ, whose Command is to all them who follow Him, and own Him, that they should love Enemies: Let this Command be obeyed and minded, and not trodden under Foot; for that is it which overcomes Enemies.

And again, do to all Men as you would have them do unto you, for this is the Law and the Prophets: And if this had been minded in the whole Christendom; that is to say, the Law and the Prophets, and practised and obeyed, and not trodden under Foot the Life of it, by them who have professed the Words, there would have been better Order in the whole Christendom and Creation; for this we say, and know, *He that is born of the Flesh will persecute him that is born of the Spirit.* Let not this Birth be found amongst them that profess themselves Christians, and profess Christ Jesus, and own the Church in the primitive Time, which was among the Apostles. Now, the Fruit of the Birth born of the Flesh is *Persecution*, &c. the Fruit of the Birth born of the Spirit is *Love, Peace, Gentleness, Righteousness, Goodness and Temperance*, &c.

Let there be no compelling about Worship, about Days, Meats, and Religion, nor forcing of a Maintenance for a Ministry; for so doing there is no Example among the Apostles, nor Command neither from Christ nor them; but on the contrary, all Things must be done in Love and Bounty, as amongst the Apostles, and in the Church in the primitive Times, *for freely they had received, and freely they were to give.* This was the Command of Christ Jesus, who is the same To-day, Yesterday, and for ever. Christ Jesus, who is the Head of the Church, and chief Bishop, who did not give forth any Law or Command, or Example to his Ambassadors, Apostles, and Friends, for them to force or compel any about Worship, or Religion, or Maintenance, or about Days, or Meats, or Drinks; from the chief Shepherd, the great Bishop, there was no Command nor Example for so doing, nor from his Disciples, nor Apostles, nor the Church in the primitive Times; but they brought People off the Figures, Types, and Shadows, and from their Affections on Things below to Christ Jesus the Substance; and moreover said, That the Body, which is the Church, was to edify itself in Love, of which Church Christ Jesus is the Head, who is the Bishop, Prophet, Priest and King, to rule, to teach, and to offer; and Christ Jesus is the End of the first Covenant, the first Priest-hood which had the Tithes and the Offerings; for there was the Tithe which was the Heave-offering, which Christ ended, and the Priest-hood and the Law, and the Commandment that gave them, *Heb. vii.*

So the Church of Christ stands in the End of the Law, first Covenant and Priest-hood, as is said, Christ is the End of the Law for Righteousness Sake, to them that believe; and his Church is made up of Believers, which passeth from Death to Life: So all the Ministers and Teachers in the whole Christendom, that will not preach without a Bag, and without a Magistrate's Staff to punish, and a Bag to relieve them, and will fill their Bag of such they do not work for, and of such you have Experience; and do, and may know, that they are not like unto the Disciples which Christ sent forth without Bag or Staff,

Staff, and such as was amongst the Apostles, whom they said must not be Strikers, nor Persecutors, nor covetous, nor greedy of filthy Lucre, and they must be proved before they must teach: So read the Scriptures of Christ and the Apostles, and there you may see the Life, Doctrine, and Commands, by which you may measure the Ministers and Teachers of Christendom; and tho' in the Law among the *Jews*, by the Law they were to put to Death the Blasphemers, false Prophets, and the like; which Law Christ ended, and came to save Men's Lives, and to destroy the Devil and his Works; for this Purpose was he made manifest; for the Devil was the Author of Blasphemy, and false Prophets, whom Christ destroys. Blasphemy and false Prophets are the Devil's Works; yet Christ saved Men's Lives, and rebuked the Zeal of his Disciples, that would have Men's Lives destroyed; and the Apostles, which were the Ministers and Teachers, and Ambassadors of the Lord Jesus Christ, their Weapons were spiritual, and not carnal, and they did not wrestle with Flesh and Blood, but with spiritual Wickedness, and the Powers of Darknes; so the Men being spiritual, and their Weapons spiritual, wrestling not with Flesh and Blood, their Hands were kept clean, and Fists not wicked, who could pray to God, lifting up holy Hands: There were no Complainers about Church-maintenance, Worship and Religion; neither were they Strikers; but all in the whole Christendom, since the Apostle's Days, and the Church in the primitive Times, that have killed, persecuted, forced, imprisoned, about Church Worship and Religion, Maintenance, and have wrestled with Flesh and Blood, and destroyed Creatures, which have been the Workmanship of God, instead of wrestling with the Powers of Darknes and spiritual Wickedness: These have not been spiritual Men, neither have they had spiritual Weapons; neither have their Hands nor Fists been holy and clean; and so they have not been agreeable, nor according to the Apostles, nor Christ Jesus, and his Church in the primitive Times, but contrary to his Mind, Doctrine, and Commands, and his Church, of whom he is Head.

The Law that was among the *Jews* commanded them to worship at *Jerusalem*, and come up to the Temple, or at the Mountain of *Samaria*; but Christ Jesus, who ends that Law which brought People up to worship, then he saith, *That the Hour is come, and then was, that they that worship the Father must worship him in the Spirit and in the Truth*; for such were they the Father seeks to worship him. Now, every one that worships the Father in Spirit and Truth, must come to the Spirit in their own Particulars, that mortifies Sin and Evil, and into the Truth in their own inward Parts; and this differs them from the Will-worshippers, and from the Worship of the Devil, that is out of Truth, where all the compelling Worship is.

And concerning our Meetings, Christ and his Disciples they met in Houses; yea, the wise Men ministred to Christ and his Mother in the Stable; and Christ and his Disciples met in the Wilderneses and in the Mountains, and he bids them go into the high Ways and the Hedges, and preach on the Housetops and in the Markets; and the Apostle in the midst of *Mars Hill*, and sometimes in the Temple, and in the Synagogues, and amongst the Heathens, to bring them off Types, Figures and Shadows, and their own Inventions, to
Christ

278 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

Christ the Substance: Therefore, now that Christians should hinder one another that profess and own the Name of Christ, for meeting together and edifying and building upon another (though they all profess the Name of Christ) this is to quench the Spirit and limit the holy One, and is against the edifying of the Body itself in Love, and the building up one another in the holy Faith, in Love, who are not to forsake the assembling together, nor the edifying of one another, by how much more the Day doth appear: Now, they that be against this be not in the Day, but in the Night, and are contrary to the Apostles Doctrine, and the Practice of the Church in the primitive Times; therefore, though there be Diversities of Gifts, and divers Operations, and several Gifts, and several Opinions and Judgments, who with spiritual Weapons with spiritual Men, are these to be ordered, and not with carnal, with Clubs and Staves, and Prisons; for these Weapons are of the *Heathens, Jews, Judasses*, and of *Cain*, who was the first that killed and persecuted about Religion and Worship upon the Earth, whom God said was a *Vagabond*; and the Apostle *Paul* said, *Woe be to them that go in his Way*, who said his Weapons *were spiritual*, and so not like *Cain's*, who slew his Brother, concerning his Faith and Doctrine: Therefore consider who are of Faith, and have the Faith, they have the Shield, the spiritual Weapons; and who have the Word of God, they have the Sword of the Spirit, and the Hammer and the Fire, that which is to cut down, and hammer down, and bar up that which is contrary to the Word, which makes a Separation from God; and these are the Spiritual-weaponed Men.

And Christ Jesus said, who hath all Power in Heaven and Earth given to him, who is the End of the Prophets, Law, first Covenant, and first Priesthood, *It hath been said of them of the old Time, thou shalt not forswear thy self, but shalt perform thy Oath to the Lord: But I say unto you, swear not at all, by Heaven nor Earth, nor any other Oath; but in all your Communication, let your Yea be Yea, and your Nay, Nay; for whatsoever is more cometh of Evil: And likewise the Apostle James, who followed Christ's Command, and obeyed Christ's Doctrine, saith, Above all Things, my Brethren, swear not, neither by Heaven, nor by any other Oath; therefore we and they, that keep out of Evil and Condemnation, cannot swear, but rather obey the Doctrine of our Saviour Christ Jesus, and the Apostle, who is the Son of God; and if the Angels command us to swear, we cannot; for the Son of God commands us the contrary, and to Him the Angels must bow. If Solomon, who was a King, and David and Moses, or Abraham, commands us to swear, we cannot; for the Son of God commands the contrary, who was before Abraham was, and is greater than Solomon, whom David called Lord, even CHRIST JESUS, who is King of Kings, and Lord of Lords: And if the Jews Laws commands us to swear, we cannot; for Christ Jesus, who ends the Jews Law, and the Oath, and redeems to God, commands us we should not swear; so our Redeemer and Saviour, who is our Life and Truth, our Way, our Rock and Salvation, his Commands we cannot transgress: And if they that be Christians, and do profess the Name of Christ, do persecute us for obeying of Christ Jesus his Command, and because we will not transgress his Command, and the Apostles, we say, the Will of the Lord be done. And we do say, it is not well for*

Christians

Christians to persecute or imprison such as obey the Command of Christ, who in their Communications use *Yea* and *Nay*, according to his Doctrine; and if their *Yea* be not *Yea*, and their *Nay*, *Nay*; and if we break our *Yea*, and break our *Nay*, then let us suffer as much for breaking of that, as others for breaking their *Oath*: This Imprisoning and Fining us, because we cannot swear to the breaking of the Command of Christ, hath got up since the Apostles Days; for which doing so, and Practice among the Apostles and Church in the Primitive Times, there is no Command nor Example.

And we desire to have (who pay their Taxes and Assessments) as much Liberty as Stage-Players, and Mountebanks, and Ballad-Singers, who meet together in Hundreds, to the Dishonour of God, and likewise all other Plays, which we do not hear are called tumultuous Meetings, as ours are, who meet together to edify one another in that which is good, to worship God; and this is allowed in the Scripture, *they that feared the Lord, spake often together*, whom the Lord heard, and these were cast out and hated in the Days of *Isaiah*; for they were such as trembled at God's Word; but Sports and Plays the Scripture does not allow of, but the Lord by his Servants rebuked such.

Let no one be put to Death for Cattle or Money, but let them restore; and if they have not wherewith, let them labour till they have, in the Thing that is good, and so that they may have Space to repent; and this is agreeable to the Scriptures.

Let all Writs and Indictments, Subpoenas, Warrants, have no more put in them, than the Things that are truly charged against him; and all Laws drawn in a short Volume, that all may know them, that all Things may be kept wholesome and sweet, that to the Lord God you may be a good Saviour; and let all Prisoners that have lain four or five Years in Gaols, Prisons, and Houses of Correction, be brought out to a Trial, before their Accusers, and see who there is that accuses them, and let them not lie to perish in Gaols and Prisons, that Mercy and Tenderneſs, Justice and Truth may flow among all People, that to the Lord you may be a good Saviour, and in your Generations, and a Praise to God.

And again concerning Religion, and several Opinions, and Judgments in the Worship of God; let every one speak his Judgment, speak his Opinion.

Let all Magistrates keep Peace with his Magistrate's Sword, and keep down the Hand and Fist of People, that they shall not strike with their Fists, Clubs, Swords and Staves; for envious Persons, Strikers and Manslayers, the Law is against: And let the Magistrates be like *Gamaliel*, who said, *If it was of God, it would stand; if it was not, it would fall*; who said to others, *They should take Heed, lest they were found Fighters against God*; so let the Patience of an Hea-then be an Example to Christians, which indeed them that profess the Name of Christ, should be beyond *Gamaliels*; so whatsoever Opinions, Judgments, that are not of God will fall; but take Heed, do not fight against it, lest you be found Fighters against God; and consider Christ's Mind, who said, *Let the Tares and the Wheat grow together till the Harvest*: Therefore you may see he stopped his Disciples from pulling up, lest they should pull up the Tares and Wheat together, and so prevented that Danger; therefore mind that Caution: And *Saul*, before he was converted, in his first Birth was a Persecutor, running

running up and down from the Chief Priests, with his Packet of Letters, to hale and persecute from City to City, such as lived in the Life of *Christ Jesus*; but of this Action he repented when he was converted; and the Apostles had no such Agents as the *Jews* Chief Priests had, with Packets of Letters, to persecute them, and hale from City to City; and they that have done so since the Days of the Apostles, gone up and down with their Packets of Letters, haling and persecuting such as have been in the Life of *Christ Jesus*, have been like the unconverted *Jews*, and Priests, and *Saul*; but not like the Church in the Primitive Times, and converted *Paul*. So here you may see the converted and the unconverted; he that is in the Birth born of the Spirit, and he that is in the Birth born of the Flesh.

And concerning of what Sort of People the Lord made Use of, and spake to in the *Old Testament*; and concerning also what Sort his Son *Christ Jesus* made Use of, and spoke to in the *New Testament*; in the *Old*, such as were Herdsmen, Plowmen, Keepers of Cattle, Gatherers of Fruit, Threshers of Corn, Keepers of Sheep: And these were hated of the World, as *Abel*, a Keeper of Sheep, and *Moses*, a Keeper of Sheep, and *Jacob* a Keeper of Sheep, and the Prophet *David*, a Keeper of Sheep; and these confounded the World, and such like as these speak forth the Scriptures. And *Christ* chose Fishermen for Soul-Gatherers, *Paul*, a Tent-maker, &c. And these had not been at Universities, and Schools of Learning to train them up in; but *Christ Jesus* was their Teacher, who did not call many of the great Doctors, and learned Men, who is the same To-day, Yesterday, and for ever, both God and *Christ*. And if he make Use of the same, and such-like now, be not offended; if he fill the Earth with his Knowledge, and cover it with the same as the Water of the Sea, let none be troubled and offended: *For all the Children of the Lord shall be taught of him, and in Righteousness shall they be established, and great shall be their Peace*, according to *Isaiab's* Prophecy, *Isa. liv.* which Prophecy many of us do witness: And likewise we do witness the Promise of God, who said, he would make a new Covenant, not according to the old: For he said, *I will put my Law in their Minds, and put them in their Hearts; whereby they shall not have Need to say to one another, Know the Lord; for all shall know him, from the greatest to the least; and I will be to them a God, and they shall be to me a People, &c.* and this we witness: And so we need not to have Teachers, saying, *Know the Lord*. So therefore, we need not be compelled to such Teachers, who would keep us always in Teaching, that we might be always paying of them, who keeps us always learning; under whose Teachings we were never able to come to the Knowledge of the Truth; under whose Teaching we were kept in Reprobation from Faith, which *Christ* is the Author of now, unto whom we look, and need not say to one another, *Know the Lord*. And *Christ* is the Head of every Man, who is our Head, who is our Leader, who is our Way, and we need not another. For God now speaks unto us by his Son, who is the Heir of all Things; upholding all Things by his Word and Power; of whose Grace have we received, who is our Covenant with God and our Life; of whose Kingdom we are Heirs, that is everlasting without End; and in whose Dominion is our Life, that is an everlasting Dominion, which hath no End; which is over all that has an End. And our Cross of *Christ*

Christ is the Power of God, that crucifieth us from the World, and keeps us over and from the Power of Ungodliness that is therein; and for this Cross Sake are we persecuted; in which Cross is our Fellowship; and our Gospel it is the Power of God, which is the everlasting Gospel, which lasts for ever; in which we are shod; and our Helmet is Salvation, and our Fellowship is in the Spirit, which baptizeth into one Body, which plunges down the Corruption that is got up since the Transgression, which separates from God; in which Spirit is our Fellowship, in which we were all made to drink; and into this we would have all People to come, that they might have Fellowship and Union, and Drink; and the Head of our Church is Christ Jesus, who hath all Power in Heaven and in Earth given unto him: Christ, who is God's Wisdom to govern it, who is the Rock to uphold it above all Storms and Tempests: And our Religion is pure, from above, and we cannot own that which is below, amongst whom the Profession lieth in Lips and Mouth, and Tongues at Liberty, and Hearts afar off from God; Tongues at Liberty, and not bridled: And our Manners lies in the Power of God, and Spirit, and the Light of Christ Jesus, that keeps us from evil Words, that corrupts good Manners. So where the good Manners are not, the Tongue is not bridled.

And again, let no one be persecuted, nor imprisoned, nor fined, for not putting off his Hat or Cap, which satisfieth the Lust of the Eye, and the Lust of the Flesh, and the Pride of Life, which is of the World, and not of the Father: So we cannot seek Honour one of another, as the Pharisees did, to whom Christ said, *How can you believe, who seek Honour one of another, and not the Honour which comes from above only?* Therefore, who believe and are the Believers, and seek the Honour which comes from God only, which is from above, such seek not the Honour that is below, as the Pharisees did one of another. So the Believer is the Converted, born of God, and will not persecute, for not having that Honour that is below given to him; neither will he seek it, as the unconverted Pharisees did, *John v.*

And again, for we to honour all Men, is to have all Men in esteem; therefore we esteeming all Men, do love them, and not hurt them, and so are come into the Mind of Christ Jesus, who commands *to love Enemies*, who is the Saviour of all Men, but especially those that believe: And the Mind of God is, that all Men should come to Repentance, and to the Knowledge of the Truth; but all Christendom have professed that Scripture, and said, *Honour all Men*, &c. which hath been Hat, Lip, and Foot, but have hurt, murdered, killed one another, their Heads and Princes; and these have been with the Honour below, which God hath, and will lay in the Dust; for to *honour all Men*, is to have *all Men in esteem*, and to have *all Men in esteem*, is to hurt no Man: And if this had been so in the whole Christendom practised, then would never a Man in the whole Christendom have been hurt by one another, but every Man in the whole Christendom would have loved one another as himself; and they that rule well, such are worthy of double Esteem, more than they that are ruled, which are all to be had in Esteem which are honoured: And if this Practice had been followed in the whole Christendom, there had been more Love and Unity, which hath been lost since the Apostles Days, which Practice

was amongst them, which the Honour of a Magistrate lies in the higher Power, and likewise the Honour of all Men, which every Soul must be subject to the higher Power; and in that Power *they honoured all Men*, and in that Power they give them that rule well double Honour, which before this Honour is the Humility; so he that will have the Honour, must have the Humility, for it goes before the Honour, which higher Power brings him to be humble, in which higher Power he hath the Honour, and this is from above, higher Honour in the higher Power, higher I say, and above the Devil and all his Works, and Workers and his Transgressors; a higher Power is higher than them all, is over and above them all, and it is above the Honour which is below, which God will stain; and in this Power we do esteem all Men, and do give double Esteem to them that rule well; and so honour them not with that Honour which the World honours them withal, which is below; and the same that will honour them with Hat and with Knee, will dishonour them and God both; which they with that Honour in the Power of God, which is from above, which Honour they honour withal, will not dishonour God nor Man.

Now you have tried us, by long and cruel Imprisonments, in Dungeons, and Holes, and Vaults, and Cellars, and Stables, and Houses of Correction, where we have been thrust upon Heaps, and have not had so much Liberty in many Places as Felons; nor have not had so much Room in many Places, as to lie down by one another: Through which cruel Sufferings and hard Usage, twenty-one have died, and besides many more are weak, and not suffered to have Necessaries to come in; and many Tradesmen, and Seamen, Merchants, and Husbandmen, their Callings and Families have been neglected and wasted: So you have not acted towards us as Christians, nor minded *Solomon's Council*, who saith, *a Kingdom is maintained by Husbandry*.

So these twenty-one which are dead, their innocent Blood, through cruel Sufferings, we leave to the Lord to require; and can say, *the Lord forgive you, and lay not these Things to your Charge*; but that ye may do so no more, and not bring innocent Blood upon yourselves and the Land. For the Lord will make Inquisition for Blood; *for precious are the Death of his Saints in his Eyes*. Though we are killed all the Day long, and are as the Sheep for the Slaughter; and by these long and cruel hard Sufferings, of above five thousand since the King's Arrival; from whom we did not look for such Measure of Sufferings: And three thousand of us have suffered by the Powers before him; which many of them yet lye in Prison, and have lain this four or five Years, in the Names of the Protectors, and Commonwealths, for Conscience Sake, and yet by you have not been set at Liberty, though they do not lye in your Names, in your Gaols.

And notwithstanding all this Trial of us, by which ye have tried us under cruel Sufferings, and have not found us guilty of Plots, Insurrections, Tumults against the King, or the Peace of the Nation, or any Man's Person or Estate, our Liberty is not restored to us, as to meet together to worship God according to the King's Word and Declaration, which is but a just Thing; we not being found to be such (as his Proclamation limits) who have made ill Use of his Indulgence, neither have we forfeited our Liberty: Therefore it is not
Equity

Equity to number us among such who have forfeited their Liberty. Now therefore, our Desire is, that a Proclamation may be set forth that we may have our Liberty, seeing we have not forfeited it, according to the King's Word, and that Men may not run upon us with Arms, Clubs, and Staves, which are not Christians Weapons, to run upon People who are met together to worship God; which is the spiritual Mens Place to meddle with spiritual Things. And it is the Son of Perdition that sits in the Temple of God, which exalts himself above all that is called God, who must be destroyed by the Brightness of his Coming, and by the Breath of his Mouth; and have cried the Ministers we cannot serve our Bellies of the People, if we have not the Magistrates Swords to compel and forbid People not to meet together to worship God and pray together, and declare his Goodness, and confess his Name; for with the Mouth Confession is made to Salvation; you may as well bid us deny God our Salvation, and not confess ourselves to be Christians, and to live without the Fear of God; for they that feared God, met often together, as in *Malachi*, whom the Lord heard: And is not the Scripture full of these Sayings, that the Saints should tell of the Wonders of God, and declare what God had done for their Souls? And what! Christians limit us from this. And must we be limited from confessing Christ before Men? Is not Christ ashamed of them before his Father, that be ashamed of him before Men? And must Sons and Daughters be limited from prophesying, upon whom the Lord hath poured his Spirit? And doth not the Apostle say, *Quench not the Spirit?* And is not this his Doctrine? And doth not God say, *Limit not the Holy One, and despise not Prophecy?* And doth not the Apostle say, *God is not worshipped by the Handy-works of Men*, by that which Men's Hands have wrought and set up for Worship? That is a large Word, but God is worshipped in Spirit and Truth; this is Christ's Doctrine: And let none be compelled to the public Worship, nor fined, nor imprisoned; for that was never the Practice nor Doctrine of Christ, nor the Apostles, to compel any against their own Consciences, who were not first persuaded by the Spirit of God.

This is from the People of God called Quakers, and subscribed by us this 13th Day of the third Month, 1661.

G. Fox,
J. Stubbs,

F. Howgil,
H. Fell,

R. Hubbertborn.
R. Scothrop.

P O S T S C R I P T.

LET no one be persecuted about Religion, Worship, Ministers Maintenance; let all be done freely in Bounty and Love, as it was among the true Churches in the Primitive Times; for *Cain* killed his Brother about Worship, Religion and Sacrifice, which *Cain* built a City; by that you may see he was a Ruler; for which Fact, killing his Brother, God said, *He was a Fugitive, a Vagabond in the Earth, for murdering and killing his Brother.*

The *Jews*, by the Law of God, were to kill Heretics and false Prophets, that were Setters-forth of strange Gods ; and this they were to do by the Law of God, which Law of God Christ ended, who hath all Power in Heaven, and in Earth given unto him, who was the chief Magistrate upon the Earth: And the *Jews*, in a Pretence of killing the false Prophets, they killed the true Prophets and stoned them to Death, before Christ the great Prophet came in the Flesh, and they crucified him, and caused many of the Apostles to be persecuted and killed, and they thought they did God good Service, having God's Law to kill such that set forth strange Gods, or another Way ; therefore they thought they did God good Service in killing the Prophets, killing the Son, killing the Saints, and so do all Religions else, as do the Antichrists and Papists, that have killed and put to Death so many Hundreds, that were contrary minded in Religions, which with them was vagabonded from God, by which the Earth hath been stained with the Blood of the Innocent, in killing, persecuting, and putting to Death about Religion since the Apostle's Days ; *and the Church went into the Wilderness, Rev. xii. Yea the very Earth hath not yielded her Increase, but it hath brought a Curse upon it ;* though they have been Sacrificers and Killers, as *Cain*, which Sacrifice God hath no Respect to ; but to such as are of *Abel's* Faith, that do not kill, but have the spiritual Weapons : Therefore, let there be an universal Liberty about Religion, and let no Christian persecute a Christian, seeing all profess Christ in Words ; but let them be ruled with spiritual Weapons, and their Religion defended with spiritual weaponed Men, else they are but like *Cain*, the *Jews*, *Judas*, and the Papists, and not like the Apostles in the Primitive Times, who said, their Weapons were not carnal but spiritual.

And if you say, how should we know the true Disciples of Christ Jesus ? here is their Mark, they are such that love one another ; hereby they are known to be Disciples : And if you do say, How shall we know the true Believers in Christ Jesus ? these are they that are passed from Death to Life, and such love both Brethren and Enemies.

Now, though there were Haters, and Persecutors, Deniers of the Resurrection, Blasphemers of God and Christ, who had all Power in Heaven and in Earth given unto him, the chief Ruler upon the Earth, which ended the Law, did not persecute any, nor cause any to be put to Death, to be persecuted or banished by the *Jews* Law, but he said, *Love Enemies* : Here they differed from the *Pharisees*, here was their Mark of being Children of the most high God. And the Apostle saith, *He that is born of the Flesh will persecute him that is born of the Spirit* : So here is each Birth, (and they which are the Children of the Flesh, these are not the Children of God) the one will persecute, and the other is persecuted, and the Apostle bids *overcome Evil with Good*.

So all the true Worshipers, that worship God in the Spirit, in the Truth, which the Devil is out of, these cannot persecute any about Religion, Church and Worship, but are the spiritual Men, and have the spiritual Weapons, and these are like unto the Apostles in the Primitive Times : Therefore, as the Papists have persecuted about their Church, Religion and Sacrifice ; for which
Example.

Example they have had none from the Apostles in the primitive Times: Let none follow their Examples; but Christ, who said, *Love Enemies, and wrestle not with Flesh and Blood*; but Christ said to the Disciples, who would have had Fire come down from Heaven, to consume them who were contrary-minded, he reprov'd them, and tells them they knew not what Spirit they were of.

Wherefore they that do destroy Men's Lives about Worship, Church and Religion, do not know what Spirit they are of; wherefore how can we trust our Bodies, Souls and Spirits into the Hands of such as know not what Spirit they are of themselves?

Let there be no forced Maintenance to the Ministers that profess the Gospel, but let all be done by Freeness and Bounty; as it was in the Apostles Days; for the Papists that set up Tithes, and pretend the Law of God, hath been since the Apostles Days; which Law of God Christ ended, and Tithes both, as in *Heb. vii.*

Let no one be put to Death for Cattle, or Money, or such Things as many be; but let them live to restore four-fold, or be sold for their Theft, and to work with their Hands in the Thing that is good, according to the Apostles Doctrine, and Command of God; for the Law of God is just and equal, and perfect, going over all Transgression, answering the transgressed Principle in all, and to all Men to do as as they would be done by.

And many say the Lord's Prayer, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, then fall a Persecuting and Revenging, although with their Lips they say these Words; for if they had forgiven, there had never been Persecution in the whole Christendom since the Apostles Days.

Wherefore they that say these Words, *Forgive us our Trespases, as we forgive them that trespass against us*, and do not the Things, are the Sayers and not Doers, like the *Pharisees*.

Wherefore consider, for CHRIST JESUS, the Lord of Life, the King of Glory, Lord of Heaven and Earth, is come to reign, to reward every one according to their Works, and give every one a Reward for his Doings; wherefore fear and dread the Lord God of Hosts, of Heaven and Earth; for now you have Time to prize it, spend it not as a Tale, nor as one that dreameth, pass it not away; for Man must perish, or will perish, living in the Earth, out of the Life, being in the Separation from God; wherefore fear and tremble before the Living Mighty God of Heaven and Earth, *The Lord of Hosts is his Name*.

Now, whereas there is a great Noise of stopping and imprisoning the Leaders and the Heads of the *Quakers*. Thus Christ is their Head, *and the Head of every Man* (as in *Corinthians*) and Christ in the Female, and he is the Head there, who is their Leader to God, who destroys the Devil and his Works, and all the Powers of the World cannot limit him. Christ, who hath all Power in Heaven and in Earth given unto him, and he in the Male and Female, is King, is Head, is the Leader, is their Commander, is their Wisdom, Justification and Sanctification, is their Redemption, and the Resurrection, bringing them to God, into a Life that is everlasting, without End:

So

286 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

So Christ is the Prophet, and King, a King to rule, a Prophet to teach, an everlasting Priest-hood, that offers up the spiritual Sacrifice to God ; he is in Man, in the Male, in the Female ; so Christ is in all, except they be Reprobates ; and if he be within, he is the Teacher, he is the Head, he is the Elder, he is the First, he is the Last : So here is no such Thing among the *Quakers*, which know their Election before the World began, whose Salvation is wrought out with Fear and Trembling, that are redeemed from all them that have cast the Fear of God behind them, and live without it, without God in the World, and no Assurance of Election, who hire Men to lead them, and teach them, where there is exalting, and Heads many over them, whom Christ is the Head, to Condemnation that hate the Light : Among them are the several Masters, like *Pharisees* ; but to the Disciples he said, *It shall not be so among you*, who is the Head of his Disciples, their Teacher and Leader, so they have but one Head, if they be ten thousand Times ten thousand, Christ is the Head in the Male and Female ; and here is no exercising Lordship among them over one another, as among the *Gentiles* ; and the apostate Christians are got into the Lordship, and are offended if they will not give them earthly Honour : And the Lord saith, *His Children shall be taught of him, and they shall be established in Righteousness* ; and these are them which the Teachers and Professors of the World persecute. And the Lord saith, *Every one that hath heard, and learned of the Father, cometh to the Son* : And the Apostle saith, *They have the Anointing within them to teach them, and they need not Man to teach them, but as the same Anointing did teach them*. And this he wrote to the Saints concerning them that did seduce them ; and he told them many Antichrists and false Prophets were gone out into the World, and those be them that be always teaching them, that they may be always paying them ; but the true Apostles brought People to the *Anointing within them*, and told them, *That the Grace of God, which brought Salvation, did teach them*. And God had put his Law in their Minds, and writ it in their Hearts, whereby they need not say one to another, Know the Lord, for they all know him, from the least to the greatest : And the Apostle said to the *Hebrews*, how that God had spoke to our Fathers by the Prophets at sundry Times ; but now hath spoke unto us, by, or in his Son, which is the Teacher, whom we witness (Thousands) to be our Teacher, and Head, and Leader, *Why persecutes thou me*, saith Christ : It is hard for ye to kick against that which pricks you in your own Consciences, saith Christ, in the Male, in the Female ; you cast into Prison, you do not visit Christ there, you do not cloath him, you do not feed him, nor give him Drink. Oh ! where will you appear ? where will your End be that do not justly ? Did not Christ lay these plainly down, saying, They cast him into Prison, and did not visit him, nor relieve him when he was sick ? and yet now you in Christendom, do not see, and are so ignorant of him, where he is made manifest in his Members in the Male and Female, who is their Head, and Teacher, and Leader into the Righteousness and Truth, whom you should love ; and you cast them into Prison for meeting together, having nothing against them to insnare them, and yet you profess the Name of Christ : Now if you did profess the Name of Christ in Truth, you would love

love Enemies (if they were your Enemies) and not persecute them that are taught of God, and Christ is their Head; for God let *Cain* have the Liberty of the Earth, though he was a Fugitive in it, for murdering his Brother: And God let the Heretic *Nimrod*, that began to build *Babel*, have Liberty in the Earth; and scoffing *Ismael* have Liberty in the Earth in the Wilderness.

And because the *Jews* had the Law of God, who had the Signs, Types, Figures and Shadows, by which they were to kill Blasphemers and false Prophets, that drew away from God; which Law and outward carnal Weapons, was a Figure of the true spiritual Weapons, and of the Word of God, Christ Jesus, that destroys the Devil, and Blasphemers, and false Prophets, which were gone out from God; and this was done by the spiritual Weapons; yea by the Sword that proceeds out of his Mouth; therefore the Christians are to love Enemies.

For they that go about to take away the Heads and Leaders of the *Quakers*, as they think, they go about to take away CHRIST, for he is the Head, not many Heads, but their Head and Leader; for the many Heads is the Beast, and is in the World, and is in the Fall from God; for Christ is their Head and Leader, and Way (in the Male and Female) and Life and Truth, who is the Way to God the Father, who is the only King, omnipotent, immortal, and everlasting, Glory be to him for evermore; who hath sent his Son to be our Teacher, Saviour, Redeemer, and our Way, and Truth, and Life, and our Resurrection, and our Offering, and great Sacrifice, by which we are sanctified and perfected for ever; who is also our Prophet, Priest and King, and his Command we cannot deny, but must confess him before Men, even Christ Jesus, who hath spoken to us in these last Days, who ends the Law, and Priests, Temples, Tithes, Offerings, Sacrifices, first Covenant, and Ceremonies, and Shadows, and the carnal Weapons, which do kill about Religion; and the Son of God bids us *love Enemies*: God's Son bids us *love Enemies*, and *swear not at all*. And this is the Son of God that speaks from Heaven: They that speak from Earth, kill and persecute one another, and say, *We must swear*, and brings it from the *Jews* Law, which Christ ends, or from the Heathens below: But we must confess Christ before Men; for he hath poured out of his Spirit upon all Flesh, and his Sons and Daughters, and they shall, and do prophesy; and the Testimony of Jesus is the Spirit of Prophecy; and this is our Testimony of Jesus, *even the Spirit of Prophecy*; and God hath given to us of his Spirit, by which we know his Things; and the Manifestation of his Spirit is given to every Man to profit withal; and they that *grieve* and *quench the Spirit*, do not profit by the Spirit, but to their Condemnation; and if any one have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.

Iter Carolinum ; being a succinct Relation of the necessitated Marches, Retreats, and Sufferings of His Majesty *CHARLES* the First, from *January* 10, 1641, till the Time of his Death, 1648. Collected by a daily Attendant upon his sacred Majesty, during all the said Time.

Printed in the Year 1660.

To the Loyal R E A D E R.

I DO here present you with a compendious Collection of thy late Sovereign's Afflictions, which are many and unparalleled, in so much, that I may truly say (though therein contradictory to the wise Man, who saith, There is nothing new under the Sun) that there was no such Deed done, or seen, from the Beginning of the World until this Day.

Look not hereon, I conjure thee, unless with Tears ; nay, indeed, how canst thou ? to see the King driven from Place to Place, affronted, neglected, despised, hungry and thirsting, reviled, persecuted, and defamed ; so that he may justly take up that of the Apostle, 1 Cor. iv. 9, 10, &c. And indeed hinc fons ille lacrymarum : From this Fountain came all our future Sorrows. This, this, I say, was the Cause of our succeeding Miseries, our inestimable Loss, and almost inexpiable Ruin ; but propitiatur Deus, so infinite is God in his Mercy, that he not only can, but will pardon, though his Justice severely denounceth this Sentence, The Soul that sins shall die.

But our present Time speaks better Things ; we have the Pool of Bethesda, whereat many have lain groaning, even despairing for Help, and now God hath sent his Angel and moved the Water, and the whole Nation, by stepping in, are healed of the Disease they too too long laboured under : O terque quaterque beatus ! Thrice happy he whose loyal Actings by Heaven have crowned been with such a blessed Success, that After-times shall call him, and confess he was his Country's Honour, and his Prince's Shield. Pardon, I pray, good Reader, this zealous Digression, and in the short ensuing Treatate, please to take Notice, that it begins at the 10th of January, 1641, when his Majesty was forced, by Tumults, from Whitehall, and is continued till his Death, after the Manner of a Diary, pointing out his Travel from Place to Place, with their Distances from each other ; his Abode therein, and Entertainment succinctly withal ; yet mystically relating the most remarkable Passages and Battles occurring in that Time. I need say no more, but let it speak for itself. I suppose there are many who will remember much thereof. I know the Author, my Father, and Self, were Testes oculati, speaking only what we had sorrowfully seen and known. Oh ! that Posterity may never know the like ! but for ever rest satisfied in their undoubted Sovereign, that his Generation may never fail to sway the Scepter in these Kingdoms, while the Sun and Moon endureth : Which is the cordial Prayer of his Majesty's most faithful Subject.

THOMAS MANLEY.

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 289

A LIST of his Majesty's Marches and Removes, since his coming from London, on Monday the Tenth of January, Anno Dom. 1641.

January, 1641.

		Nights.	Miles.
10.	F ROM Whitehall to Hampton-Court	2	12
12.	To Windsor	28	10

February.

9.	To Hampton Court, riding somewhat out of the Way	1	12
10.	To Greenwich	1	14
11.	To Rochester	1	20
12.	To Canterbury	4	22
16.	To Dover	9	12
25.	The Queen went aboard to Holland in the Lyon.		
25.	To Canterbury	1	12
26.	To Greenwich	2	42
28.	To Theobald's	4	16

March.

3.	To Royston	5	21
7.	To Newmarket	5	20
14.	To Huntington	1	24
15.	To Stanford	1	21
16.	To Grantham	1	16
17.	To Newark	1	10
18.	To Doncaster	1	28
19.	To York	110	28

July, 1642. Lincoln Journey.

7.	To Beverley	5	22
12.	To Doncaster	1	28
13.	To Newark	1	28
14.	To Lincoln	2	12
16.	To Beverley	2	45

Leicester Journey.

21.	To Nottingham	1	60
22.	To Leicester	4	16
26.	To Doncaster	1	32
7.	To Beverley	3	28
30.	To York	17	22

290 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

<i>August, 1642.</i>		Nights.	Miles.
16.	To Nottingham, Earl of Clare	2	55
18.	To Leicester	1	16
19.	To Stonely Abby, Sir Tho. Lee	3	20
23.	To Nottingham Earl of Clare, where his Majesty set up his Royal Standard	21	

<i>September.</i>			
13.	To Derby	3	12
16.	To Utoxeter	1	
17.	To Stafford	2	
19.	To Wellington	1	
20.	To Shrewsbury	3	
23.	To West-chester	4	28
27.	To Shrewsbury	15	27

<i>October.</i>			
12.	To Bridgnorth	3	
15.	To Wolverhampton	3	10
17.	To Breckinham Aston, Sir Tho. Holts	2	
18.	To Packington, Sir Rob. Fisher's	1	
19.	To Killingworth	1	
21.	To Southam	2	10
22.	To Edgcott	1	9

Edgehill Battle.

23. *Octob.* The great Battle at *Edgehill* was stricken, the Earl of *Lindsey* General for his Majesty, who was killed in the Field; and his Majesty, notwithstanding the Treachery of his chief Gunner, the Loss and Re-taking his Standard, with the Death of Sir *Edmund Verney*, the over-eager Pursuit of the Parliament's Wing of Horse by Prince *Rupert* (whose Soldiers too soon fell to plunder) remained sole Master of the Field, and the next Day had the Advantage of the Rout.

26.	To Aynow on the Hill	4	10
28.	To Woodstock	2	10
29.	To Oxford	4	6

<i>November.</i>			
3.	To Benson	1	10
4.	To Reading	4	10
8.	To Maidenhead	2	
10.	To Colebrook	2	
12.	To Hounslow	2	5

Brentford

Brentford Fight.

After *Edge-hill* Battle, his Majesty having continued his Marches, as afore-
said, towards *London*, in the Way at *Brentford*, met with some Forces of the
Parliament's there, falling into their Quarters, and with much Courage put-
ting them to the worst, till relieved by other Regiments lying near, it be-
came a hot Fight in the Fields, Lanes, and Streets, his Majesty's Forces still
valiantly maintaining their Ground they had at first got, until by Intelligence
understanding the vast Supplies both of Horse and Foot that were coming
out of *London*, finding it impossible to be absolute Victors, it was thought
fit to retreat with Honour and Safety, which they did, marching away thro'
Kingston.

	Nights	Miles
13. To <i>Hampton-Court</i>	1	
14. To <i>Oatlands</i>	1	4
18. To <i>Bagshot</i>	4	8
19. To <i>Reading</i> , which immediately upon the King's Recess was surrendered to the Earl of <i>Essex</i>	9	10
29. To <i>Wallingford</i> Dinner, <i>Oxford</i> Supper, and there during Pleasure		

November 1644.

A List of his Majesty's Marches from Oxford to Bristol, Gloucester Siege, &c.
beginning the First of August, 1643.

	Nights	Miles
8 From <i>Oxford</i> to <i>Farrindon</i> Dinner, to <i>Malmesbury</i> Supper and Bed	1	12, 16

Bristol taken by the King.

2. To <i>Bristol</i>	6	22
8. To <i>Tedbury</i> Dinner, to <i>Cirencester</i> Supper and Bed, Sir <i>Wil-</i> <i>liam Masters</i>	1	20, 8
9. To <i>Pansweck</i>	1	11

Gloucester besieged.

10. To <i>Macseon</i> , Mr. <i>Selwin's</i> near <i>Gloucester</i>	26	4
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September.

5. To <i>Pansweek</i>	1	4
6. To <i>Bantley Hill</i> Dinner, to <i>Coverley</i> , Supper and Bed	1	8
7. Dinner in the Field, to <i>Sudely Castle</i> , Supper and Bed	4	12
11. Dinner in the Field, to <i>Evisholme</i> , Supper and Bed	1	14
12. To <i>Parshall</i>	2	4

The Earl of *Essex* approaching with his Army, the King raised his Siege
from *Glocester*, and marched

	Nights.	Miles
14. To <i>Evisham</i>	2	4
16. To <i>Snowshill</i>	1	6

292 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	Nights	Miles
17. To <i>Norlich</i> Dinner, <i>Alscoc</i> Supper	1	12
18. To <i>Faringdon</i> Dinner, to <i>Wantage</i> , Sir <i>George Wilmot's</i> , Supper and Bed	1	10
19. Dinner in the Field <i>Newbury</i> , to Supper and Bed Mr. <i>Cox's</i> , and on <i>Wednesday</i> the 20th the great Battle was struck there	4	10
23. To <i>Oxford</i> , during Pleasure		20

April, 1644.

9. From <i>Oxford</i> to <i>Childrey</i> , the Lady <i>Fettiplace's</i>	1	12
10. To <i>Marlinborow</i> , the Lord <i>Seymer's</i>	1	13
11. To <i>Wantage</i> Dinner, to <i>Oxford</i> Supper and Bed, during Pleasure	15	10

May, 1644.

16. To <i>Coley</i> near <i>Reading</i>	2	22
18. Dinner to <i>Compton</i> , <i>Oxford</i> , Supper and Bed, during Pleasure	12	13

A List of his Majesty's March with his Armies towards the West, &c. beginning on Sunday the 2d of June, Anno Dom. 1644.

June, 1644.

	Nights	Miles
<i>Sunday</i> the 2d Day in the Afternoon, we went from <i>Oxford</i> to <i>Woodstock</i> , and returned back that Night; and on <i>Monday</i> Morning the 3d, about 6 o'Clock, his Majesty came back again to <i>Oxford</i>	1	6
<i>Monday</i> the 3d, and <i>Tuesday</i> the 4th, about 9 o'Clock at Night, his Majesty marched again toward <i>Woodstock</i> , but left it on the Right-hand; to <i>Burford</i> to Supper; the 4th Day, and that Night, lodged at <i>Burton</i> on the Water, at Dr. <i>Temple's</i>	2	18
<i>Wednesday</i> the 5th, to <i>Evisham</i> , Mr. Alderman <i>Martin's</i>	1	15
<i>Thursday</i> the 6th, to <i>Worcester</i> , the Bishop's Palace	6	12
<i>Tuesday</i> the 11th, to <i>Bewdley</i> , Sir <i>Thomas Littleton's</i>	3	12
<i>Saturday</i> the 15th, to <i>Worcester</i> again, the Bishop's Palace	1	12
<i>Sunday</i> the 16th, to <i>Bradway</i> , Mrs. <i>Savage's</i>	1	17
<i>Monday</i> the 17th, to <i>Burford</i> , the <i>George</i>	1	12
<i>Tuesday</i> the 18th, to <i>Whitney</i> , the <i>White Hart</i>	3	6
<i>Friday</i> the 21st, to <i>Blechington</i> , Sir <i>Thomas Cogbil's</i>	1	7
<i>Saturday</i> the 22d, to <i>Buckingham</i> , Sir <i>Thomas Richardson's</i>	4	12
<i>Wednesday</i> the 26th, to <i>Brackley</i> , the College there	1	2
<i>Thursday</i> the 27th, to <i>Culworth</i> , Sir <i>Samuel Danvers's</i>	1	8
<i>Friday</i> the 28th, to <i>Grymsbury</i> , a Yeoman's House	1	7
<i>Saturday</i> the 29th, to <i>Williamscot</i> , a very poor Man's House	2	4

July, 1644.

<i>Monday</i> the 1st to <i>Dedington</i> , the Parsonage	1	2
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Tuesday

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 293

	Nights	Miles
Tuesday the 2d, to Morton Hinmarch, the White Hart	1	12
Wednesday the 3d, to Evisham, Alderman Martin's	9	10
Friday the 12th, to Coverley, the Earl of Downe's, by Bradway and Sudely	1	16
Saturday the 13th, to Sapperton, Sir Henry Poole's, near Cirencester	1	7
Sunday the 14th, Bodmyngton, the Lord Herbert's of Ragland	1	14
Monday the 15th, to Bath, Sir Thomas Bridges the Governor's	2	11
Wednesday the 17th, to Mells; Sir John Horner's, the King's by Attainder	2	8
Friday the 19th, to Bruton, Sir Charles Bartley's	2	10
Saturday the 20th, to Ilchester, Mr. Dawes's House	4	12
Wednesday the 24th, to Charde, Mr. Barcroft's, a Merchant of London	1	12
Thursday the 25th, to Hunington, Dr. Marwood's, a Physician	1	12
Friday the 26th, to Exeter, Bedford-House, Sir John Bartley's the Governor	1	15
Saturday the 27th, to Crediton, Dinner, to Bradinch, Mr. Seuter's Supper	1	16
Sunday the 28th, to Crediton, Mr. Tucker's House	1	8
Monday the 29th, to Bow, Mr. Philips's, a mean Quarter	1	10
Tuesday the 30th, to Oakhampton, at Mr. Rotenbury's	1	8
Wednesday the last, to Lifton, the Parsonage House	1	8

August, 1644.

Thursday the 1st, to Trecarroll, Mr. Manington's House in Cornwall	1	9
Friday the 2d, to Liskard, Mr. Jeane, a Commissioner's House	6	8
Thursday the 8th, to Boconnock, the Lord Mobun's, but called from thence to make ready at Mr. Glin's of Glinford, affrighted from thence by the Militia, his Majesty lay in the Field all Night in his Coach on Boconnock Down, a heathy Place	1	5
Friday the 9th, to Boconnock again, where his Majesty quartered	21	5
Saturday the last Day, to Lestibiall, thence toward Foy, his Majesty lay in the Field, his Meat and Drink dressed at Mr. Hixt's, the Militia disarmed, E. fled the Field, the Articles confirmed	2	5
And here his Majesty's Clemency was most eminent, when having all the Infantry at his Mercy, he not only pardoned the Soldiers in general, but admitted the chief Officers to kiss his Hand, only refused that Favour to Major General Skippon, as being too great an Enemy to his Majesty's Honour and Safety.	2	5

September, 1644.

Monday the 2d, to Boconnock, the Lord Mobun's again	2	5
		Wednesday

294 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	Nights	Miles
<i>Wednesday the 4th, to Liskard, Mr. Jeane's</i>	1	7
<i>Thursday the 5th, to Tavistock, the Lady Glanvil's</i>	5	15
<i>Tuesday the 10th, to Widey, near Plymouth, Yeoman Heale's House</i>	4	10
<i>Saturday the 14th, to Tavistock, the Lady Glanvil's</i>	3	10
<i>Monday the 16th, to Oakhampton, Mr. Rottenbury's</i>	1	12
<i>Tuesday the 17th, to Exeter, Bedford-House, the Governor's, at Crediton</i>	6	20
<i>Monday the 23d, to Chard, Mr. Barcroft's at Honiton, Dinner</i>	7	27
<i>Monday the last Day, to South Parrat, Mr. Gibs, Dinner in the Field</i>	1	8

October, 1644.

<i>Tuesday the 1st to Mayden Newton, Mr. Osborne's, Dinner in the Field</i>	1	8
<i>Wednesday the 2d to Sherborn Lodge, the Lord Digby's, Dinner in the Field</i>	6	12
<i>Tuesday the 8th, to Stalbridge, the Earl of Cork's, dined there</i>	1	5
<i>Wednesday the 9th, to Stirmister Newton, Mr. Reeves, Dinner in the Field</i>	1	3
<i>Thursday the 10th, to Brianstone near Blandford, Mrs. Rogers</i>	4	7
<i>Monday the 14th, to Cranborn Lodge, the Earl of Salisbury's Dinner in the Field</i>	1	10
<i>Tuesday the 15th, to Salisbury, Dr. Sadler's Chancellor, Dinner in a little Lodge</i>	3	10
<i>Friday the 18th, to Andover, the White Hart, Dinner in the Field</i>	1	15
<i>Saturday the 19th to Whitchurch, Mr. Brooke's Dinner in the Field</i>	2	7
<i>Monday the 21st, to King's Cleer, Mr. Tower's, Dinner at Whitchurch.</i>	1	5

His Majesty's March from the West, in October.

October, 1644.

<i>Tuesday the 22d, to Newberry, Mr. Dunce, Dinner at King's Cleer</i>	5	6
<i>Sunday the 7th, a great and second Battle betwixt his Majesty's Army, and the Parliament's, by the same Hands his Majesty had disarmed and shewn Mercy to at Lestithiall, wherein his Majesty had much the better of the Day, and yet was advised to desert the Field, whereby, &c. his Majesty marched to meet Prince Rupert at Bath, Prince Maurice, General Goring, and most of his Majesty's Household about nine o'Clock that Sunday Night marched from Denyngton Castle to Wallingford, and the next Day, Monday the 28th came all to Oxford, waiting for his Majesty</i>		
	1	25

His

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 295

His Majesty's March from Bath to Oxford.

	Nights	Miles
Sunday the 27th, from Denyngton Castle marching all Night, and on Monday the 28th came to Bath, and there	2	50
Wednesday the 30th, to Churchston, a Widow's House	1	
Thursday last, to Cirencester, Sir William Masters's, Bart.	1	26

November, 1644.

Friday the 1st, to Oxford, Supper, and there during Pleasure

A List of his Majesty's Marches from Oxford towards Denyngton Castle, both to relieve it, and to draw off the Ordnance left there the 27th of October before.

	Nights	Miles
Wednesday the 6th, to Bullington Green, the Rendezvous, Dinner, Oxford, Supper, where Prince Rupert was declared General, with great Acclamation	2	1
Thursday the 7th, to Wallingford, Colonel Blagues the Governor	12	1
Friday the 8th, to West Illesley, the Bishop of Gloucester's in com- mendam	8	1
Saturday the 9th, to Denyngton Castle, where was a great Skirmish with the Parliamenteers in Newbury Field, whence we re- treated, and lay on the Castle all Night	8	1

November, 1644.

Sunday the 10th, to Lamborn, Mr. Garret's	8	2
Tuesday the 12th, to Marlinborough, the Lord Seymer's	8	5
Sunday the 17th, to Hungerford, the Bear	8	2
Tuesday the 19th, to Skelford, Mr. Brown's, the King's Birth-day	6	2
Thursday the 21st, to Charlton near Wantage, Sir George Wilmot's	6	1
Friday the 22d, to Farrington, Sir Robert Pye's	7	2
Saturday the 23d, to Oxford Dinner, and there during Pleasure all Winter	14	

Anno XXI. Regis Caroli, May.

A List of his Majesty's several Marches, beginning upon Wednesday, the 7th of May, Anno Dom. 1645.

	Nights	Miles
Wednesday the 7th, from Oxford to Woodstock	1	6
Thursday the 8th, to Stow in the Wole, Mr. Jones's	1	13
Friday the 9th, to Evisham, Alderman Martin's	1	12
Saturday the 10th, to Inkeborow, the Vicarage	1	6
Sunday the 11th, to Droitwich, Mr. Barret's	3	9
Wednesday the 14th, to Coftonball, Mrs. Skinner's, Hawkesty-House taken by Prince Maurice in our March, a Garrison	1	10
Thursday the 15th, to Hemly, near Wolverhampton, Mr. War's	1	12
Friday		

296 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

	Nights	Miles
<i>Friday the 16th, to Bishberry, near Sturbridge, Mr. Grosvenor's</i>	1	6
<i>Saturday the 17th, to Chetwin, near Newport, Mr. Pigot's</i>	3	12
<i>Tuesday the 20th, to Beaton, near Drayton, Mr. Church's</i>	2	8
<i>Thursday the 22d, to Park-hall, near Stone, Mr. Crompton's</i>	2	10
<i>Saturday the 24th, to Eaton in the Clay, Sir Thomas Millware's</i>	1	10
<i>Sunday the 26th, to Tutbury, Dinner, Lord Loughborow's</i>	2	6
<i>Tuesday the 27th, to Ashby de la Zouch, Earl of Huntingdon's</i>	1	9
<i>Wednesday the 28th, to Coat's, near Loughborow, Sir H. Skipwith's</i>	1	9
<i>Thursday the 29th, remarched to Elstone near Leicester, which we faced with Soldiers, the R. defaced with Fire</i>	2	10
<i>Saturday the last, to Leicester, which was taken by his Majesty at two, many Soldiers rewarded with the Plunder, the Slain equal on both Sides, the Countess of Devonshire's we demolished with Fire</i>	4	3

June, 1645.

<i>Wednesday the 4th, to Wistow, Sir Richard Halford's</i>	1	5
<i>Thursday the 5th, to Lubenham, near Harborough, Mr. Collin's</i>	2	7
<i>Saturday the 7th, to Daventree, the Wheatsheaf, from whence Oxford was relieved from a Siege, and victualled</i>	6	14
<i>Friday the 13th, remarched again to Lubenham, Mr. Collin's</i>	1	14
<i>Saturday the 14th, an Alarm affrighted the King and Army from Lubenham at two o'Clock in the Morning to Harborough, the General's Quarter, thence about seven towards Naseby, where the Parliament's Army quartered, rashly fought with them, were utterly defeated through the Cowardice of the Horse, which fled to the Walls of Leicester, 16 Miles, never faced nor rallied till there, whereby many of the Horse, all the Foot, were either slain or taken Prisoners, with some of his Majesty's Servants, all the Ordnance, Ammunition, the King's Stuff, Household Carriages, and all the Baggage of the Army, were totally lost, the Parliament having the clearest Victory given them from the Beginning; the King himself in Person being necessitated, with his own Troop only, to charge through their Body for his Escape; from Leicester we marched to Ashby de la Zouch in the Night, and came thither about Break of Day, and halted there</i>	1	28
<i>Sunday the 15th, to Litchfield, the Governor's in the Close</i>	1	12
<i>Monday the 16th, to Wolverhampton, Mrs. Barnford's a Widow</i>	1	12
<i>Tuesday the 17th, to Bewdley, the Angel</i>	2	13
<i>Thursday the 19th, to Bramyard, Dinner, to Harriford, Supper</i>	12	24

July, 1645.

<i>Tuesday the 1st, to Campson, Dinner, Mr. Pritchard's, to Abervageny, Supper, Mr. Guncer's</i>	3	15
		<i>Thursday</i>

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 297

	Nights	Miles
Thursday the 3d, to Ragland, Supper, Marquis of Worcester's	12	7
Wednesday the 16th, to Tredegar, Dinner, Cardiffe Supper, Sir T. Tirrel's, defrayed at the Country's Charge	1	20
Thursday the 17th, to Tredegar, Sir William Morgan's to Bed	1	8
Friday the 18th, to Ragland, Dinner, &c. on Tuesday the 22d, to Mr. Moore's of the Creek, near Black-rock, and came back to Ragland, Supper, but came in so late as made us doubt- ful of his Majesty's Return; the Scots approach, and our own causeless Apprehension of Fear, made us both demur and doubt, on the first what to resolve, and in the latter how to steer our Resolutions, which involved us in a most di- sastrous Condition, &c.	6	12
Thursday the 24th, from Ragland, to Mr. More's of the Creek, to pass over at the Black-rock for Bristol; but his Majesty sitting in Council, and advising to the contrary, marched only with his own Servants and Troop, that Night to Newport on Uske, lay at Mrs. Pritty's	1	21

His Majesty's March in July, 1645.

Friday the 25th, to Ruppera, Sir Philip Morgan's	4	5
Tuesday the 29th, to Cardiff, Dinner, the Governor's at our own Charge	7	7
August, 1645.		
Tuesday the 5th, to Glancayah, Mr. Pritchard's, Dinner, at Brecknock the Governor, Supper	1	29
Wednesday the 6th, to Gurnevit, Sir Henry Williams's, Dinner, to Old Radnor, Supper, a Yeoman's House, the Court dis- perfed	1	18
Thursday the 7th, to Ludlow Castle, no Dinner, Col. Woodhouse	1	14
Friday the great Fast, the 8th to Bridgnorth, Sir Lewis Kirke's the Governor's	1	14
Sunday the 10th, Dinner near Wolverhampton in campis, at Litch- field Supper, the Governor's in the Close	2	22
Tuesday the 12th, to Tutbury Castle, Pr. in camp. and lying at the Lord Loughbrough's	1	12
Wednesday the 13th, Ashborn in the Peak, Mrs. Cakaine's	1	14
Thursday the 14th, to Chalford, near Bakewell, Earl of Devon- shire's	1	14
Friday the 15th, to Welbeck, Marquess of Newcastle's	2	12
Monday the 17th, to Edlington, Mr. Boswel's	1	11
Monday the 18th Day, to Doncaster, the Three Cranes	2	3
Wednesday the 20th, to Redford, Mr. Lane a Lawyer	1	14
Thursday the 21st, to Newark, the Lord Danecourt's	1	14

298 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

	Nights	Miles
<i>Friday the 22d, to Belvoir, the Earl of Rutland's</i>	1	12
<i>Saturday the 23d, to Stanford, the George</i>	1	12
<i>Sunday the 24th, to Huntingdon, the George</i>	1	16
<i>Monday the 26th, to Woborn, the Earl of Bedford's</i>	2	21
<i>Wednesday the 27th, to Ascot, near Winge, the Earl of Carnarvon's</i>	1	20
<i>Thursday the 28th, to Oxford at Christ-Church, and there</i>	2	20
<i>A second List of his Majesty's Marches from Oxford, on Saturday the 30th of August, 1645.</i>		
<i>Saturday the 30th, to Morton Hin. the March White Hart</i>	1	24
<i>Sunday the last, no Dinner, Supper at Worcester, a cruel Day</i>	3	24
<i>September, 1645.</i>		
<i>Wednesday th 3d Bramyard, Mrs. Baynham's</i>	1	10
<i>Thursday the 4th, to Hereford, Dinner, Bishop's Palace</i>	1	10
<i>Friday the 5th to Lempster, Dinner at the Unicorn, to Webley, Supper, the Unicorn</i>	1	14
<i>Saturday the 6th, to Hereford, Dinner, Bishop's Palace</i>	1	7
<i>Sunday the 7th, to Ragland Castle, Supper, 17; Monday the 8th, to Abergain, Dinner, Ragland, Supper, 14; Thursday the 11th, to Ragland, Supper, Abergaveny, Dinner, 14</i>	7	45
<i>Sunday the 14th, to Monmouth, Dinner, the Governor's, to Hereford, Supper; Monday the 15th, we marched half-way to Bramyard, but there was Leo in itinere, and so back to Hereford again</i>	3	10
<i>Wednesday the 18th, the Rendezvous was at Athurstone, there dined, 10 Miles, to Hamlacy, Supper, Lord Scudainore's</i>	1	26
<i>Thursday the 18th, to a Rendezvous, five Miles from Hamlacy, with Intention for Worcester, Poins and Roscester in the Passage, whereupon we remarched towards Hereford, so to Leominster, then to Webley, thence to Prestine, there halted at Mr. Andrew's; this March lasted from six in the Morning, till Midnight, &c.</i>	1	28
<i>Friday the 19th, to Newton, Mr. Price's, a long March over the Mountains</i>	2	14
<i>Sunday the 21st, to Llanvillin, Supper, Dinner, Mr. Price's</i>	1	20
<i>Monday the 22d to Chirk Castle, Sir John Watt's, the Governor's</i>	1	14
<i>Tuesday the 23d, to Llangollen, 4; to Wrixham 8 to Chester; a great Fight between Chester and Tarvin, the King Victor, but made no Use of it, leaving Chester unrelieved. This was performed by the same Horse that fled at Naseby on Rowton Heath, against Colonel Poyntz, and the Army under his Command.</i>	2	20

Thursday

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 299

	Nights	Miles
<i>Thursday</i> the 25th, Dinner at <i>Chester</i> , marched to <i>Hawarden</i> Castle, halted there, thence to <i>Northop</i> , to <i>Skiviock</i> , to <i>Potvary</i> , to <i>Denbigh</i> , <i>William Salisbury</i> of <i>Bobambod</i> , Governor	3	20
<i>Sunday</i> the 28th, Dinner at <i>Denbigh</i> , Supper late at <i>Chirke</i> Castle	1	18
<i>Monday</i> the 29th, Dinner at <i>Chirke</i> Castle, Supper at <i>Halton</i> in <i>Montgomeryshire</i> , Mr. <i>Lloyd's</i>	1	26
<i>Tuesday</i> the last, prand. in camp. Supper at <i>Bridgnorth</i> , the Governor's	2	30

October, 1645.

<i>Thursday</i> the 2d, Dinner at <i>Ridgbeath</i> the Rendezvous, Supper at <i>Litchfield</i> , the Close	1	22
<i>Friday</i> the 3d, no Dinner, at <i>Tongue</i> , Supper, Mr. <i>Sutton's</i>	1	15
<i>Saturday</i> the 4th, no Dinner, at <i>Newark</i> , Supper, Lord <i>Dane-court's</i>	9	26
<i>Sunday</i> the 12th, to <i>Tuxford's</i> , the <i>White Hart</i>	1	12
<i>Monday</i> the 13th, Dinner in the Field, at <i>Welbeck</i> , Supper, Marquis of <i>Newcastle's</i>	1	12
<i>Tuesday</i> the 14th, no Dinner, at <i>Newark</i> , Supper Lord <i>Dane-court's</i>	18	12

November, 1645.

<i>Monday</i> the 3d of <i>November</i> , Anno Dom. 1645, his Majesty, about 11 o'Clock at Night, went out of <i>Newark</i> , marched all that Night; all the next Day, being <i>Tuesday</i> , at 12 o'Clock that Night, halted at <i>Codsbury</i> ; <i>Wednesday</i> , about 10 o'Clock in the Morning, came to <i>Banbury</i> , made an Halt and dined there at the Castle, and afterward, the same <i>Wednesday</i> the 5th of <i>November</i> , about 5 o'Clock in the Evening, came to <i>Oxford</i> to Supper, and continued there during Pleasure	4	90
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His Majesty went from *Oxford* the 27th of *April* 1646, towards *Newark*, to the *Scottish* Leaguer there; but in regard of the *Privateness* of his going away, *Oxford* being at that Time beleaguered by Sir *Thomas Fairfax's* Army, and the fewness of his Attendants, being at the most but two, we have no Certainty where he staid by the Way, but shortly after he appeared in the *Scots* Army, who pretended to protect him from his *English* Rebels; and for the better securing his Majesty's Person from Danger, as was pretended, they staid not long after at *Newark*, but, by easy Marches, removed with his Majesty's Person from *Newark* to *Newcastle*; where the solemn Argument between his said Majesty and Mr. *Henderson* happened, concerning *Episcopacy* and Church Government, to his Majesty's everlasting Honour. But such was the horrid *Perfidy* of those treacherous *Scots*, that, instead of the expected Safety of his Majesty's Person, Judas-like, for Money (though a far greater Sum)

300 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

sold and delivered their Sovereign Lord and King, into the Hands of his *English* Rebels, who by this Means had, under God, a Power to resettlement the Kingdom's Peace : But they were blinded to their own Destruction ; and having taken the Lord's anointed in their Pits, they now used him as they listed, carried him whither they pleased, and indeed treated him no otherwise than as their Prisoner ; for with a strong Guard of Horse and Foot, in the Month of *February* 1646, the Depth of Winter, they begin to remove him from *Newcastle* in Manner following :

His Majesty's Gests from Newcastle to Holdenby, in February, 1646.

	Nights	Miles
3 Day, from <i>Newcastle</i> to <i>Durham</i>	1	12
4 From thence to <i>Aukland</i>	1	
5 From thence to <i>Richmond</i>	1	
6 From thence to <i>Rippon</i>	2	
8 From thence to <i>Wakefield</i>	1	
9 From thence to <i>Rotheram</i>	1	
10 From thence to <i>Mansfield</i>	1	
11 From thence to <i>Nottingham</i>	1	12
12 From thence to <i>Leicester</i>	1	16
13 From thence to <i>Holdenby</i> , during Pleasure.		

Long had not his sacred Majesty continued there, but he was, by a Part of the Army under one *Joyce*, violently taken from thence, and brought to his Honour of *Hampton Court* ; where, for a while, he seemed to begin to reassume his pristine Majesty, being admitted to see and to be seen : But *Cromwell*, fearing the Frequency of so great Resort might spoil his traiterous Designs, with much serpentine Craft and devilish Subtilty, persuaded and insinuated into his Majesty's Heart, Doubts and Suspicions of Mischief intended against him ; the only Way for preventing whereof, he affirmed to be the withdrawing his Person from thence to a Place of more Strength and Security, and to that Purpose nominated the *Isle of Wight*, to which Place his Majesty, led by the Innocency of his spotless Conscience, was decoyed, and at his Arrival found himself overreached ; for he was immediately secured by Colonel *Hammond*, who then was Governor in the said Island, and kept a long time a Prisoner there in the Castle of *Carisbrook*, until afterwards, upon the Petitions of most Counties of *England*, a personal Treaty was appointed to be held in the said Isle at *Newport*, for which End Commissioners were sent thither with Instructions, and the Treaty begun and prosecuted with so good Effect, that his Majesty's Concessions, at that time, were voted by the Parliament a sufficient Ground to proceed on for the Settlement of the Peace of the Kingdom. But here again, his Majesty is violently and traiterously seized by the Army, then under *Fairfax's* Command ; by whom, *December* the 1st, 1648, he was brought to *Hurst Castle* in *Hampshire*, and there kept as a Prisoner till the 21st of the same Month, when he was brought to *Winchester*, thence the 23d to *Windsor*, where for

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 301

for a little time he staid, attended by strong Guards of Soldiers, till about the 9th of *January* following; when they removed him towards *London*, and brought him to his own House at *St. James's*, and consequently to perfidious *London* (Oh infortunate Monarch!) where not long after, with hellish Effrontery, even in Despight of Heaven, at Noon-day, before his own House, *Whitehall*, in the open Street, with armed Multitudes of Soldiers, they sacrilegiously murdered that blessed (though unfortunate) Prince, *Charles the First*: There being actually guilty of that horrid Murder, by giving Sentence, and signing the Warrant for his Beheading,

John Bradshaw, President,
John Lisle,
William Say,
Oliver Cromwell,
Henry Ireton,
Sir Hardresse Waller,
Valentine Walton,
Thomas Harrifon,
Edward Whaley,
Thomas Pride,
Isaac Ewers,
Lord Gray of Groby,
Sir John Danvers, Knight,
Sir Thomas Maleverer, Bart.
Sir John Bourchier, Knight,
William Heveningham,
Alderman Pennington,
William Purefoy,
Henry Martin,
John Barkstead,
John Blackiston,
Gilbert Millington,
Sir William Constable, Bart.
Edmond Ludlow,
John Hutchinson,
Sir Mich. Livesey, Bart.
Robert Titchbourne,
Owen Roe,
Robert Lilburn,
Adrian Scroop,
Richard Deane,
John Okey,
John Hewson,

William Goffe,
Cornelius Holland,
John Carey,
John Jones,
Miles Corbet,
Francis Allin,
Peregrine Pelbam,
John Moore,
John Aldred,
Henry Smith,
Humphrey Edwards,
Gregory Clement,
Thomas Woogan,
Sir Gregory Norton, Knight,
Edmond Harvy,
John Venn,
Thomas Scott,
Thomas Andrews, Alderman,
William Cawly,
Anthony Stapley,
John Downes,
Thomas Horton,
Thomas Hammond,
Nicholas Love,
Vincent Potter,
Augustine Garland,
John Dixwell,
George Fleetwood,
Symon Mayne,
James Temple,
Peter Temple,
Daniel Blaggrave,
Thomas Waite.

Counsellors Assistant to the Court, and to draw up the Charge against the King, *Dr. Dorislaus*, *Mr. Aske*, *Mr. Steele*, Attorney General, *Mr. Cook*, Solicitor General, *Mr. Broughton*, *Mr. Phelps*, Clerks to the Court.

Officers

Officers of the Court.

Sergeant *Dandy* Sergeaut at Arms, Colonel *Humphrey* Sword-bearer.

Messengers, Door-Keepers, and Criers, were these, viz.

Mr. *Walford*, Mr. *Radley*, Mr. *Pain*, Mr. *Powel*, Mr. *Hull*, Mr. *King*.
Sir *Hardress Waller*, Colonel *Harrison*, Commissary-General *Ireton*, Colonel
Dean and Colonel *Okey*, appointed the Place to be the Street before *Whitehall*,
and the Time the 30th of *January*.

INSTRUCTIONS lately agreed on by the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, for the Commissioners sent by them to the *Hague*, unto the King's most Excellent Majesty : Together with the SPEECH made thereupon by the Honourable *Denzell Holles*, Esq; one of the Commissioners, on *Wednesday* the 16th Day of *May*, 1660. Now published for the taking off and disproving those false Reports raised by some malicious Persons, as if he had gone beyond his Commission, and the said Instructions.

Sit Liber Judex.

Printed in the Year 1660.

INSTRUCTIONS for *Aubery* Earl of *Oxford*, *Charles* Earl of *Warwick*, *Lyonel* Earl of *Middlesex*, *Lycester* Viscount *Hereford*, *George* Lord *Berkley*, *Robert* Lord *Brooke*, the Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevile*, the Lord *Bruce*, the Lord *Castleton*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Fairfax*, *Denzell Holles*, Esq; Sir *Horatio Townshend*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *Anthony Ashley-Cooper*, Sir *George Booth*, and Sir *Henry Cholmley*.

YOU are to begin your Journey towards his Majesty on *Friday* next, and make a speedy Repair to such Place where his Majesty shall be, and humbly to present the Letters wherewith you are respectively intrusted by both Houses of Parliament.

You are to acquaint his Majesty with what great Joy and Acclamation he was proclaimed in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, upon the Eighth Day of *May* instant, and present the Proclamation itself unto his Majesty; and

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 303

to acquaint him with the Orders of both Houses to have the same proclaimed throughout the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, Dominion of *Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*; and that both Houses have ordered, *That all and every the Ministers throughout the Kingdoms of England and Ireland be enjoined in their public Prayers to pray for his most excellent Majesty, and for the most illustrious Prince James, Duke of York, and the rest of the Royal Progeny.* And also that they have ordered, *That the assumed Arms of the late pretended Commonwealth, wherever they are standing, be taken down, and that his Majesty's Arms be set up instead thereof:* And you are to communicate to his Majesty the Resolutions of both Houses relating to this Instruction.

You are to acquaint his Majesty with the earnest Desire of both Houses, That his Majesty will be pleased to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his kingly Office, and that in order thereunto, both Houses have given Directions to General *Montague*, one of the Generals at Sea, and other Officers of the Fleet, to observe such Commands as his Majesty shall please to give him, or them, for Disposal of the Fleet, in order to his Majesty's Return; and you are to communicate to his Majesty the Resolutions of both Houses relating to this Instruction.

That the Committee from both Houses do beseech his Majesty, That they may know where he purposeth to take Shipping, and to land at his coming over, that Preparation may be made for his Reception; and which of his Majesty's Houses he intendeth to make use of at his first coming to *London*; and whether he will come all the Way by Land after he comes on Shore, or whether he will please to come by Water from *Gravesend* to *London*; and that his Majesty will declare in what manner he is pleased to be received.

WILL. JESSOP, *Cl. of the Commons
House of Parliament.*

The SPEECH *made thereupon by the Honourable Denzell Holles, Esq; one
of the Commissioners.*

Dread Sovereign,

YOUR faithful Subjects the Commons of *England*, assembled in Parliament, have sent us hither, Twelve of their Number, to wait upon your Majesty; and by their Commands we are here prostrate at your Royal Feet, where themselves are all of them present with us in the sincere and most loyal Affections and Desires of their Hearts, and would have been in their Persons, if your Majesty's Service, and the Trust reposed in them by all the several Parts of the Kingdom, did not necessarily require their Attendance and Continuance in the Place where they now are, and where all their Thoughts and Endeavours are wholly taken up and employed in those two great and main Works, which are the proper and genuine Ends of all Parliaments, the Advancement of their King's Service and the Discharge of their Country's Trust.

And certainly, Sir, we can speak it with a great deal of Joy, and with no less of Truth, that never Parliament made greater Demonstrations of Zeal, Affection

Affection and Loyalty to any of the Kings of *England*, than this Parliament hath done, and doth, and we hope, and doubt not, nay we know it, that it ever will do unto your Majesty, our Liege Lord and King: Their Hearts are filled with a Veneration of you, Longings for you, Confidence in you, and Desires to see and serve you, and their Tongues do, upon all Occasions, express it; and in so doing they are (according to the Nature of Parliaments) the true Representative of the whole Nation; for they but do that in a more contracted and regular Way, which the Generality of the People of the Land, from the one End of it to another, do in a more confused and disorderly manner, yet as heartily and as affectionately, all Degrees, and Ages, and Sexes, high and low, rich and poor (as I may say) Men, Women, and Children join in sending up this Prayer to Heaven, *God bless King Charles, Long live King Charles*; so as our *English* Air is not susceptible of any other Sound, and echoes out nothing else, our Bells, Bonfires, Peals of Ordinance, Volleys of Shot, the Shouts and Acclamations of the People, bears no other Moral, have no other Signification but to triumph, triumphs of our King in the Hearts of his People.

Your Majesty cannot imagine, nor can any Man conceive it, but he who was present to see and hear it, with what Joy, what Chearfulness, what Lettings out of the Soul, what Expressions of transported Minds, a stupendous Concourse of People, attended the proclaiming of your Majesty in your Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, to be our most potent, mighty, and undoubted King, the oldest Man living never saw the like before; nor is it probable, scarce possible, that he who hath longest to live will ever see the like again, especially (and God forbid he should) upon such an Occasion; for we wish, and heartily pray, that your Majesty may be the last of Men of the Generation now in being, who shall leave his Place to a Successor.

We have here the Proclamation itself to present unto your Majesty, and the Order of the two Houses, enjoining it to be proclaimed throughout *England*, *Ireland*, and your Dominions of *Wales*; and likewise their Orders for all Ministers in their public Prayers to pray for your Majesty, and for the illustrious Prince the Duke of *York*, your Majesty's Brother, and for the rest of the Royal Progeny; and another Order of theirs for taking down every where the assumed Arms of the late pretended Commonwealth, and setting up the Arms of your Majesty in their stead.

Here he tendred the Proclamation, and the several Orders, unto his Majesty; offered to read them, but then said, he thought that his Majesty had already received them from the Lords, and that therefore it would be but a Trouble to his Majesty to hear them again; to which his Majesty answering, that he had received them, was pleased further to enlarge himself in some Discourse to this Effect, expressing his Sense of the Miseries which his People had suffered under those unlawful Governors which had ruled over them, and of his Gladness for their returning unto him with those good Affections which they now shewed towards him; adding, that he had always made it his Study, and ever would, to make them as happy as himself, which was the Sum and Substance of what his Majesty said.

To which was replied with humble Thanks for those gracious Expressions, That his Majesty would ever find both Parliament and People to be full of Loyalty and Obedience unto his Majesty, as his Majesty was of Grace and Goodness towards them. And then he went on with his Speech relating to those Orders and Proceedings of Parliament ; and said,

These are some Testimonies of their Love and Affection unto your Majesty, such as can as yet be expressed by them, which are but as a Picture in little of a great and large Body, which far exceeds in its true and natural Dimensions, the whole Compass of a small Piece of Cloth on which notwithstanding it is drawn and represented to the Life.

And, may it please your Majesty to give us Leave to say, That as the Affection, so your Subjects Expectations of you are high, and their Longings after you great and vehement ; and both Expectations and Longings have increased by the long Time that your Majesty hath been kept from them. Hope deferred makes the Heart sick ; and the Sickness still augments till the Thing hoped for be obtained.

You are the Light of their Eyes, and the Breath of their Nostrils, their Delight, and all their Hope ; to have been so long banished from them into a strange Land, it is no Wonder that the News of your Return should put a new Life into them ; what then will it be when their Eyes shall be blessed with the Sight of your Royal Person ? And therefore are we commanded humbly to acquaint your Majesty with the earnest Desires of both Houses for your speedy Return unto your Parliament, and the Exercise of your kingly Office ; and that in order to it, they have given Directions to General *Montague*, one of the Generals at Sea, and the other Officers at Sea, to observe such Commands as your Majesty shall please to give them for the Disposal of the Fleet : And we have it in our Instructions further to beseech your Majesty to let your Parliament know when and where your Majesty purposeth to take Shipping, and where to land ; and after your coming on Shore, whether to come all the Way to *London* by Land, or by Water from *Gravesend* ; and which of your Houses your Majesty intends to make use of at your coming to *London*, that accordingly Provision may be made for your Majesty's Reception, for then, and not till then, will be the compleating of your Subjects Rejoycing.

True it is (as your Majesty was pleased just now to touch upon it) that in your Absence, other Lords have had Dominion over them, have reigned and ruled over their Bodies and Estates ; but their better Part, their Hearts and Minds, and Souls, were free, and did abhor such Rulers, and still continued faithful and loyal to your Majesty, their rightful Lord and Sovereign, and with you, and under you, they now expect to re-enter into the Possession of their ancient Rights and Privileges, to enjoy again their Laws and Liberties, and which is above all, their Religion in Purity and Truth ; of all which, those Lords (who called themselves so, and made themselves so) that is, to be so called, but in truth were not so, for they were nothing less, those kind of Lords, I say, had so long deprived them. This is our Expectation from your Majesty, and we are more than confident we shall not be deceived in it, but that your Majesty will answer and go beyond all that can be expected

from you : A King of so many Vows, and of so many Prayers, cannot but crown the Desires of his People.

Sir, to tell you what Men think, and say, and wish, and even are assured of, in relation to your Majesty, and the Happiness which your Government will produce, would seem a Description of the golden Age which Poets fancy.

Truly, we dare not undertake it in your Majesty's Presence, lest we should be thought to flatter, and should offend the sacred Modesty of your Ears, and of your Princely Mind. Though it would all be but a real Truth ; yet looking like that which you do not like, we fear you would dislike it for the Look-fake : Great Princes will not be flattered, but really and truly served ; and we desire to serve your Majesty in your own Way.

Your Majesty hath been pleased to declare your Royal Intentions unto your Parliament, in your gracious Letters to either House, and the two Houses have severally given unto your Majesty a faithful Account of that grateful Sense wherewith they have received them, and of their humble Submission unto, and Compliance with, all your Majesty's Desires ; which by their Letters, in answer unto your Majesty's, they make bold to signify : That from the House of Peers hath been already presented, and we who are before your Majesty are intrusted by the House of Commons with the Delivery of theirs, an Honour not more conferred upon us beyond our Deservings, than embraced and received by us, with an Excess of Joy, and with all due Respects, which is the Errand upon which we are now come. That Letter, and the Proclamation, and the several Orders, together with Ourselves, our Lives and Fortunes, and the Vows and Services of those who sent us, we do, with all Humbleness, lay at your Majesty's Feet, lifting up our Hearts and Hands to the God of Heaven, for your Majesty's long and happy Reign over us, and speedy Return unto us.

A faithful

A faithful MEMORIAL of that remarkable Meeting of many Officers of the Army in *England*, at *Windsor Castle*, in the Year 1648. As also a Discovery of the great Goodness of God, in his gracious meeting of them, hearing and answering their Suit or Supplications, while they were yet speaking to him. All which is humbly presented, as a precious Pattern and Precedent unto the Officers and Soldiers of the said Army (or elsewhere) who are, or shall be, found in the like Path, of following the Lord in this evil Day, searching and trying their Ways, in order to a thorough Return and Reformation.

By *William Allen*, late Adjutant-General of the Army in *Ireland*.

Prov. i. 23. *Turn you at my Reproof: Behold, I will pour out my Spirit unto you, I will make known my Words unto you.*

Printed in the Year 1659.

To Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, and other the Officers of the Armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland, especially such of them who in the Sense of the Dangers of the Day, have been of late (as is said) betaking themselves to that most necessary Duty of solemn Addresses, and fervent Supplications to the Lord, humbling their Souls before him, in the Sense of their own and others Abominations abounding in this Day, with unfeigned Desire and Endeavour to find out and forsake them accordingly, with all others in the Armies that are, or shall be found searching and trying their Ways in order to return. The following Narrative is humbly tendered by a late Member of them, and now a Mourner for them; yet unfeignedly desiring their Prosperity in the Path of Repentance.

HAVING understood that you have of late been much conversant in seeking the Lord, in this Day of Distress, and enquiring (as becomes you) into the Causes of his Displeasure against us (which seems to wax hot) all which, if performed in a right Sense, observing right Rules and Ends, may be of singular Use to help in Time of Need: Yet knowing the Aptness of my own, with others, Hearts to miscarry in such Duties, and thereby miss of the desired Success, by either setting up the Stumbling-block of our Iniquity before our Eyes, or having any secret Regard thereto in our Hearts, the Effect of which is to shut out Prayer; I held it my Duty to

contribute my Mite to this Work of Weight, by presenting you with a Precedent once famous amongst us, by the Success the Lord crowned it with, and us in that Path, in a Day of very great Distress round about; and desire, that so far as you shall see this Practice here presented, with the Method therein observed, to agree with the revealed Will of God contained in the Scripture, relating to the Duty of his People, in such a Posture, that you will not be afraid to make it your Pattern, since the Lord hath formerly borne such a Witness to it, and written such Blessing upon it, as may well be set up as a Pillar of Remembrance in the midst of us, to his Praise, as well as our Direction to, and in like Duties in future Streights.

In the Year 47, you may remember, we in the Army were engaged in Actions of a very high Nature, leading us to very untrodden Paths, both in our Contests with the then Parliament, as also Conferences with the King; in which great Works wanting a Spirit of Faith, and the Fear of the Lord, and also unduly surprized with the Fear of Man, which always brings a Snare; we, to make Haste, as we thought, out of such Perplexities, measuring our Way by a Wisdom of our own, fell into Treaties with the King and his Party; which proved such a Snare to us, and led into such Labyrinths by the End of that Year, that the very Things we thought to avoid, by the Means we used of our own devising, were all, with many more of a far worse and more perplexing Nature, brought back upon us, to the overwhelming our Spirits, weakening our Hands and Hearts, filling us with Divisions, Confusions, Tumults, and every evil Work, and thereby endangering the Ruin of that blessed Cause we had, with such Success, been prospered in till this Time; for now the King and his Party, seeing us not answer their Ends, began to provide for themselves, by a Treaty with the then Parliament, set on Foot about the Beginning of 48. The Parliament also was, at the same time, highly displeased with us for what we had done, both as to the King and themselves; the good People likewise, even our most cordial Friends in the Nation, beholding our turning aside from that Path of Simplicity we had formerly walked (and been blessed) in, and thereby much endeared to their Hearts, began now to fear and withdraw their Affections from us in this politic Path into which we had stept and walked in, to our Hurt, the Year before: And as a farther Fruit of the Ways of our own Back-sliding Hearts, we were also filled with a Spirit of great Jealousy and Divisions amongst our selves, having lost that Wisdom of the Word that is, first pure, and then peaceable, that we were now fit for little but to tear and rend one another, and thereby prepare our selves, and the Work in our Hands, to be ruined by the common Enemy, as these that were ready to say, as many others of like Spirit in this Day, of the like sad Occasions amongst us, Lo, this is the Day we looked for. The King and his Party prepare accordingly to ruin all, by sudden Insurrections in most Parts of the Nation, the *Scot* concurring with the same Designs, comes in with a potent Army under Duke *Hamilton*. We in the Army in a low, weak, divided, perplexed Condition in all respects, as aforesaid, some of us judging it a Duty to lay down Arms, and quit our Stations, putting our selves into the Capacities of private Men,

Men, since what we had done, or was yet in our Hearts to do, tending, as we judged, to the Good of these poor Nations, was not accepted by them.

Some also encouraging themselves and us to such a Thing, by urging for such a Practice, the Example of our Lord Jesus, who when he had borne an eminent Testimony, to the Pleasure of his Father, in an active Way, sealed to it at last by his Sufferings, which was presented to us as our Pattern for Imitation.

Others of us were different minded, thinking something of another Nature might be farther yet our Duty, and therefore were by joint Advice, by a good Hand of the Lord, led to this Result, *viz.* to go solemnly to search out (and humble our Souls before the Lord in the Sense of) our Iniquities, which we were persuaded had provoked the Lord against us, to bring such sad Perplexities upon us, as at that Day, out of which we saw no Way else to extricate ourselves.

Accordingly, we did agree to meet at *Windsor* Castle, about the Beginning of 48, and there spent one Day together in Prayer, enquiring into the Causes of that sad Dispensation. Coming to no farther Result that Day, but that it was still our Duty to seek, and on the Morrow we met again the Morning, where many spake from the Word and prayed; and the then Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* did press very earnestly, on all there present, to a thorough Consideration of our Actions as an Army, as well as our Ways particularly, as private Christians, to see if any Iniquity could be found in them; and what it was, that if possible we might find out, and so remove the Cause of such sad Rebukes, as were upon us, by reason of our Iniquities, as we judged at that Time. And the Way more particularly the Lord led us to herein, was to look back, and consider what Time it was that we could, with joint Satisfaction, say, to the best of our Judgments, the Presence of the Lord was amongst us, and Rebukes and Judgments were not as then upon us: Which Time the Lord led us jointly to find out and agree in; and having done so, to proceed, as we then judged it our Duty, to search into all our public Actions as an Army, afterwards duly weighing (as the Lord helped us) each of them, with their Grounds, Rules, and Ends, as near as we could; and so concluded this second Day with agreeing to meet again on the Morrow; which we accordingly did upon the same Occasion, re-assuming the Consideration of our Debates the Day before, and reviewing our Actions again, by which Means we were, by a gracious Hand of the Lord, led to find out the very Steps (as we were then all jointly convinced) by which we had departed from the Lord, and provoked him to depart from us; which we found to be those cursed carnal Conferences, our own Wisdom, Fears, and want of Faith, had prompted us the Year before, to entertain with the King and his Party: And at this Time, and on this Occasion, did the then Major *Goff* (as I remember was his Title) make use of that good Word, *Prov. i. 23. Turn you at my Reproof, &c.* which (we having found out our Sin) he urged, as our Duty, from those Words, and the Lord so accompanied by his Spirit, that it had a kindly Effect, like a Word of his, upon most of our Hearts that were then present, which begot in us great Sense, Shame, and loathing our selves for our Iniquities, and justifying

fying the Lord, as righteous in his Proceedings against us: And in this Path the Lord led us not only to see our Sin, but also our Duty; and this so unanimously set with Weight upon each Heart, that none was able hardly to speak a Word to each other for bitter Weeping, partly in the Sense and Shame of our Iniquities of Unbelief, base Fear of Men, and carnal Consultations (as the Fruit thereof) with our own Wifdoms, and not with the Word of the Lord, which only is a Way of Wifdom, Strength and Safety, and all besides it Ways of Snares; and yet were also helped with Fear and Trembling to rejoice in the Lord, whose Faithfulness and Loving-kindness we were made to see yet failed us not; but remembered us still, even in our low Estate, because his Mercy endures for ever. Who no sooner brought us to his Feet, acknowledging him in that Way of his, *viz.* searching for, being ashamed of, and willing to turn from our Iniquities, but he did direct our Steps, and presently we were led, and helped to a clear Agreement amongst ourselves, not any dissenting, that it was the Duty of our Day, with the Forces we had, to go out and fight against those potent Enemies, which that Year in all Places appeared against us, with an humble Confidence in the Name of the Lord only, that we should destroy them; also enabling us then, after serious seeking his Face, to come to a very clear and joint Resolution, on many Grounds at large then debated amongst us, that it was our Duty, if ever the Lord brought us back again in Peace, to call *Charles Stuart*, that Man of Blood, to an Account, for that Blood he had shed, and Mischief he had done to his utmost, against the Lord's Cause and People in these poor Nations: And how the Lord led and prospered us in all our Undertakings this Year, in this Way, cutting his Work short in Righteousness, making it a Year of Mercy equal, if not transcendent to any since these Wars began, and making it worthy of Remembrance by every gracious Soul, who was wise to observe the Lord and the Operations of his Hands, I wish may never be forgotten; bringing us together again, from all Parts shortly after, with Admiration; each one's Heart, as it were, filled with the Wonders beheld, and Occasion given to all to say each to other, Lo, what hath God wrought! the King's Armies in all Places broken, his strong Holds most of them taken; he himself all that Time treating with the then Parliament, and both of them desirous to conclude, yet by an over-ruling Providence hindered, and the King so infatuated, as he stands disputing Punctilios till he loses all, and himself with it, and is fetched away from his Place of Treaty to a Prison, in order to Execution, which suddenly followed accordingly; and all this done within less than three Quarters of a Year, even to Astonishment of ourselves, and other Beholders both at home and abroad; yea our very Enemies then were made to say, God was amongst us of a Truth, and therefore they could not stand against us.

But alas, who would have thought that so few Years would have worn out the Memory of such a not-to-be-forgotten Mercy, or that any of those that then saw his Works, and sang his Praise, should so soon forget what their Eyes had seen, as not to wait for his faithful Counsel in future Streights! Yet behold, how some directly, and others consequentially, are now saying, all these Things were but the Product of a potent politic Party, flushed with Success;

and

and others, though more modest and moderate, yet it is to be feared, in too eager a Pursuit of falling in with, or fear of being hurt by what is uppermost, if not timely complying, at once in the Lump adventure to cry up absolute Obedience to the Powers that are, though thereby they condemn themselves and others, as Transgressors and Rebels, for opposing those that were ; together with the whole Series of Action made glorious by God's Appearance with us, beyond Parallel of any late Years : And thus doth the Name and Works of the Lord suffer (as Christ of old) between these two, who almost equally, though not alike intentionally, rob the Lord of his Glory, and give great Occasion to the worst of our Enemies the more to blaspheme.

This is the brief, yet true Account of this Matter, with the blessed Effects of it, as a Manifestation of the Lord's Inclination and Disposition to poor Returners ; who is still the same, because he hath said, and will perform it, as in *Jer. xxix. 12, 13. Then shall ye call upon me, and ye shall go and pray unto me, and I will hearken unto you. And ye shall seek me and find me, when ye shall search for me with all your Hearts.* And I have a little hope that this precious Pattern, thus presented, may not be without some Use to you in this Day, if the Lord lead your Hearts rightly to consider it. That we are a poor, broken, divided, intangled, bewildered, People, in our public Affairs, none but they that are very great Strangers in our *Israel* can be ignorant : For who hath known and observed former Days, when the Candle of the Lord shined on our Tabernacles, by the Light of which we walked through Darkness, and shall compare those Days with these four or five Years past, can look upon them without a Heart deeply affected, to think what once we were (when we followed the Lord, though in a Land that was not sown, when we were a more plain simple-hearted People, yet prospered by the Lord, to the Terror of Enemies abroad and at home, through an eminent Presence of God with us) and what now we are, since we have turned aside into the carnal, empty, formal Shews of the Nations, admiring (and acting by) their Policies, and saying a Confederacy with them, fearing their Fear, and not sanctifying the Lord in a Way of believing : How are we become the Tail, and not the Head, a Hissing, yea, a Scorn to the basest of Nations ! What Rebukes at Sea, at Land ! What Disappointments of Enterprizes ! What Strokes on many formerly eminent public Instruments ! What impoverishing of these poor Nations, by Decay of Trade in all Parts, to the Ruin of many ! What sore Visitations, and of long Continuance on the Nations throughout, by Deaths, and lingering pining Diseases ! Yea, what Heart-dividings are amongst those that have been as one Stick together, used in the Hand of the Lord, in his Works of Wonder in the Midst of us, and thereby endangering the whole Interest we have fought for, into the Hands of such as are known Enemies, or at best have been but faint Friends to it and us, in Days of Distress ? And are not all these Things worth considering and enquiring into, by every gracious Heart, with the Causes of them ? For sure the Lord afflicts not without Cause, nor grieves not the Sons of Men willingly.

And would you enquire aright, pursue the Method laid down in the Case presented ; enquire when could you with joint Satisfaction say, At such a Time the Presence of the Lord was with you ; and these sore Hands of Dis-
pleasure

pleasure that have of late Years attended you, were not upon you, nor Works in your Hands as now. And if you can but find that, let me advise and beseech you, as you tender the Delivery of your own Souls, and Good of these Nations, weigh Action by Action since, and see where you have gone out of that prosperous Path you were formerly in, and fear not to look into any Action you are or may be concerned to look into, in which you think Evil may be at the Bottom; for that remaining, will cause greater Shakings than the most strict Enquiry you make can do: And consider what as an Army you have done, with the Grounds of it, and what you have engaged before God, Angels and Men to do; and either, if it be your Sin, make your Repentance as public as your Evil hath been, and so clear yourselves; or else, up and be doing whatever you judge your Duty, in the Face of whatever Difficulties you meet with; and in that Path doubt not of God's being with you, while you are with him: But if you will neither pursue your Duties in one respect or other, know of a certain, the Lord who is a jealous God, will not be mocked by any that is not stronger than he, but will be above Men, and make them know, he will be so in those Things in which they deal most proudly, and Deliverance shall arise some other Way, with sore Rebuke to you, for your shameful Neglects of Duty in such a Work of Weight which you have been entrusted with, and must, ere long, be called to an Account how you have discharged it.

Alas! may we not say, and shall we be afraid to say, we, our Rulers, Prophets, Armies, People, have sinned; yea, have grievously departed from the Lord, and Help nor Healing is not to be had, but in returning from what Evil so ever is in our Hands or Hearts? It is not Power, nor Policy, nor foreign Confederacies; it is not Prayers, though frequent, or seemingly fervent, no, though attended with Tears and Confessions, without thorough Forsakings, will be a Path of Safety for us, *Isa. lviii.* No, the Voice of the Lord is plain to Rulers, Armies, People, *Thus saith the Lord, consider your Ways: Why do we labour in the Fire for very Vanity? Why is Wisdom hid from the Prudent? Why do we sow much in Prayers, Tears, Confessions, and hazardous Undertakings at home and abroad, and bring in little, and what we get is, as it were, put into a Bag with Holes, and the Lord, in a Way of Rebuke seems to blow upon it? Is it not that we should consider our Ways! Oh search and try, yea call in the Help of God and good Men in this, to see if there be any Way of Iniquity in your Hearts or Hands, and clear yourselves of it, with manifesting most Indignation against it.* And for your Help herein, if it may be, let me humbly caution you to take Heed of advising only with such that may be most pleasing to you; Self-love is apt in such Cases to blind much: Yea, or with such only, or chiefly, that are or may be under the influencing Power of profitable Employments, steered by the Favours, or Fear of the Frowns of Rulers; but rather with such who have been Persons of known Integrity, and ancient constant Friends to the good old Cause of God, and their Country, in all its Vicissitudes and lowest Ebbs; not *Shimei*-like, cursing and deserting in a Day of Distress, and changing their Languages when it tended to the Change of their Conditions, for outward Advantage; but such

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 313

as have not been pleased with their highest, most profitable Promotions and Preferments, when they could not see the Cause of God and their Country promoted also; and let not those Names of Odium, of dissatisfied, &c. (that they have been clothed with, the better to answer the evil Designs of some) affright you in this Matter: And if you dare thus pursue Duty in this Path of Simplicity presented to you, without setting up the Stumbling-Block of any of your Iniquities before you, I am persuaded (not without many demonstrable Grounds producible from the Word) you will find it a Path of Peace, through the Lord's blessing it; and you, in the sincere applying to it, will be directed and led to Grounds more clearly laid, for an unanimous, vigorous Prosecution of the old dying Cause, by its best and truest Friends, than hitherto you have found; or at least will find it effectual, to the Rescue of your own Souls out of Paths of Danger, which for want of pondering according to the Word, you may be walking in to your great Hurt. And therefore, let me beseech you in all Sincerity, as you tender your own, and these poor Nations Welfare, apply to it with Speed. For your betaking yourselves to any other Courses, will prove fruitless as aforesaid; for the Lord hath smitten, and only can heal; and if ever he do, he will do it in this Way, *Hos. v.* If what I have proposed prove any way advantageous to the Ends for which it is offered, *viz.* to cause you to search, try, and turn from the Evil of your Ways, I have my End, and let the Lord have Glory: But if this poor Means, in much Faithfulness and Tenderness presented to you, be rejected or slighted by you, I shall, I hope, be enabled to mourn in secret for you before the Lord; and shall have this Satisfaction, when I shall come to lye down in the Dust, which how soon it may be I know not, that I have, in some Measure, delivered my own Soul, and endeavoured the like for yours; and shall earnestly intreat the Lord, that this poor Word of Warning, amongst many others in this Day presented to you, may not one Day meet you, as a Witness against you, for not regarding it: For I am well assured it shall live, speak, and have its Fruit, when you and I shall cease to be.

WILLIAM ALLEN.

P O S T S C R I P T.

This Paper was sent to the Press about six Weeks since, to have been made public at that Time; but by an unexpected Obstruction, hath hitherto been hindered: But hoping it may yet be of some Use, is therefore now published.

April 23d, 1659.

A DECLARATION of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the long Parliament, who continued sitting till the 20th of *April*, 1653, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust.

Friday, 6th May, 1659.

Ordered by the Lord Fleetwood, and the General Council of the Officers of the Army, That this Declaration be forthwith printed and published.

Thomas Sandford Secretary.

Printed in the Year 1659.

THE public Concernments of this Commonwealth being, through a Vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances, and Back-slidings of many, brought into that State and Posture wherein they now stand, and ourselves also contributing thereunto, by wandering divers Ways, from righteous and equal Paths ; and although there hath been many Essays to obviate the Dangers, and to settle these Nations in Peace and Prosperity, yet all have proved ineffectual, the only wise God, in the Course of his Providence disappointing all Endeavours therein.

And also observing to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appeared amongst us, in the carrying on of this great Work, did daily decline, so as the good old Cause itself became a Reproach ; we have been led to look back, and examine the Cause of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted Presence from us, and where we turned out of the Way, that through Mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

And, amongst other Things, calling to mind, that the long Parliament consisting of the Members which continued there sitting until the 20th of *April* 1653, were eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that Work (the Desires of many good People concurring with ours therein) we judge it our Duty to invite the afore-said Members to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th of *April*, 1653.

And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members who continued to sit since the Year 1648, until the 20th of *April* 1653, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, and we shall be ready, in our Places, to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to sit in Safety ; for the improving present Opportunity for settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of this Commonwealth ; praying for the Presence and Blessing of God upon their Endeavours.

Signed by Direction of the Lord Fleetwood, and the Council of Officers of the Army.

6th May, 1659.

Thomas Sandford, Secretary.

Which

Which Declaration was this Day presented to the Speaker by

The Lord *Lambert*,
Lord *Berry*,
Lord *Cooper*,
Sir *Arthur Hesilrig*.
Major General *Lilburne*,
Colonel *Ashfield*,
Colonel *Salmon*,
Sir *Ferome Sankey*,

Major General *Kelsey*,
Colonel *Okey*,
Captain *Blackwell*,
Major General *Haynes*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Allen*,
Major *Packer*,
Lieutenant Colonel *Pierfon*.

The ROYAL OAK : or an Historical Description of the Rcyal Progreſs, wonderful Travels, miraculous Eſcapes, and ſtrange Accidents of his ſacred Maſteſty *CHARLES* the Second, third Monarch of *Great Britain* : Wherein is obſervable and worth public View,

- I. His Maſteſty's ſtrange and wonderful Eſcape from *Worceſter* Fight, the diſrobing of himſelf of his princely Ornaments, the caſting away his Chain of Gold, and the cutting off his precious Hair and curled Locks, by the Lord *Wilmot* for a Diſguiſe.
- II. The purſuing of his Royal Perſon by *Oliver Cromwell* and his Blood-hounds ; and the Manner how his Maſteſty eſcaped, making a hollow Oak his Royal Palace, within four Miles of *Wolverhampton*.
- III. The memorable Travels of Mrs. *Jane Lane* and his Maſteſty, his riding before her to make an Eſcape, and his going in a Livery Cloak by the Name of *William*, Servant to Mr. *Laſtel* her Father-in-law.
- IV. The Diſcourſe betwixt his Maſteſty and the Cook-Maid at the *three Crowns* in *Briſtol* ; her ſeveral Queſtions, where he was born, and what Trade he was, with the King's Anſwer ; and the remarkable Paſſages that happened in the Kitchen, upon the Maid's employing the King to wind up the Jack.

By John Danverd, a loyal Subject and Servant to his Maſteſty.

Printed in the Year 1660.

AFTER the great and fatal Fight at *Worceſter*, between his Maſteſty's Forces and the *Cromwellian* Rebels, the Field being loſt, not for want of Courage, by the King's Party, but by thoſe numerous Supplies, who ſerved only like the *Turkiſh Afapi*, to blunt the royal Swords ; ſo that

their wearied Arms no longer able to hold out, were forced to retreat, and at length (notwithstanding the generous Example of his Majesty, who performed Things worth Wonder) to a disorderly Fight: Yet it is worthy of Observation, that upon *Cromwell's* Advance near the City, his Majesty in Person, and in the Head of the Horse, drew out against him, and that with so much Valour and Courage, that *Cromwell's* own Life-guard, and the best of his old Soldiers (who were thought almost invincible) were forced to retire, till seconded by *Fleetwood, Desborough, Lambert*, and others, who overpowered the King's Forces, being above five to one; and so loth was his Majesty to decline the Field, that upon his earnest Endeavours to have his Horse and Foot rally, twice had he his Horse shot under him, and at length was forced to shift for himself, and to provide for his own Safety; and so with some Nobles and Servants, not without a great deal of Difficulty, forced to quit the Field, and by the most unfrequented Roads that they could possibly find out, rid to the Farm-house of a noble Gentleman on the Borders of *Staffordshire*, where they no sooner arrived, but his Majesty disrobed himself of his princely Ornaments and Accoutrements, and particularly of a Chain of Gold, or Spannar-string, worth 300 *l. Sterl.* the Present of a *Scottish* Lad, which he bestowed upon a Servant of his there present; which done, for his farther Disguise, he proceeding to the cutting off his Hair, and the Cot affording neither Shears nor Scissars to perform it, it was by the Lord *Wilmot* cut off with a Knife. And now every one is commanded to shift for himself, and this poor Prince left alone to the sole Protection of the Almighty, he choosing none but one Friend to accompany him, with whom he wandered into a Wood, within four Miles of (say some) *Wool-verhampton*, where finding a hollow Oak, he was now content to make it his Palace, for here he for some Days concealed himself, his Friend still, towards Night, going out to provide him some Refreshment during this his solitary Confinement. In the mean time the Lord *Wilmot*, who was commanded with the rest to seek his Fortune, was by Chance pursued by some Soldiers, but meeting with a Country Fellow, formerly a Soldier in the old King's Army, he was by him secured, though somewhat strangely, for he carries him into a Malt-house belonging to Mrs. *Jane Lane*, and having no other convenient Place to hide him in, clapped him under the Kiln, though there was then some Fire in it, and the Malt smoaking on the Top. In the mean time, the Soldiers then in Pursuit of him, entered the House, and having made about three Quarters of an Hour's Search every where else, but not at all suspecting the Kiln, where they saw the Fire burning, they departed, and the Lord *Wilmot* was taken out of the Kiln almost ready to faint with the Extremity of the Heat. The Country Fellow having thus secured this Lord, acquaints Mrs. *Lane* with what he had done, and she extremely glad of it, gets him to her House, where in Conference she enquires of the King's Safety. The Lord *Wilmot* gives her the former Relation of his great Miseries and Distress, which forces Tears from the tender-hearted Gentlewoman, she earnestly intreats him to take some Course for the finding out of his Majesty, and conducting him to her House, she being resolved to venture her Life, had she ten thousand, for the saving of his Royal Majesty. The Lord *Wilmot*, glad of so happy an Opportunity to serve his

his Majesty, and so great a Probability of securing him, the next Night finds him out, and conducts him from the Royal Oak to the House of Mrs. *Jane Lane*, where, after a large condoling of his hard Fortune, Consultation was had for a Conveniency for his Escape beyond Sea, and at length it was concluded, that *Bristol* would be the most convenient Place to take Shipping; that his Majesty should ride before Mrs. *Lane* by the Name of *William*, Servant to Mr. *Lastel* her Father-in-law, who was likewise to go with them; and thus it was immediately given out, that Mr. *Lastel* and Mrs. *Lane* were to take a Journey in the West, to visit some Friends; and shortly after they set forward. In this Journey there happened many Accidents worthy Commemoration: And first, the King's Majesty riding now as a Servant to one of the faithfullest of his Subjects, in a Livery Cloak, though not without that Respect that durst be given to him, complains to Mrs. *Lane* that the Cloak wearied him, whereupon she desires Mr. *Lastel* to carry it; and long they had not rid so, but they meet upon the Road her Brother-in-law, who, amongst other Questions, demanded of her, if her Father must carry her Man's Cloak; to which she readily answered, that it was so big that it often endangered the throwing her off the Horse; and that she had therefore desired him to carry it. The next and most important Accident of all was, that coming into a Town which they were to pass through, there was a Troop of Horse there to be quartered drawn up, which caused some Fear, but at length with a Resolution they passed on, and the Captain taking them for honest Travellers, made his Troop open to the Right and Left, and so permitted them to pass. Another Accident there happened, which one may say was almost comical in this Tragedy: Mrs. *Lane* coming into the Inn, leaves his Majesty under the Name of *William* her Servant in the Kitchen, with whom the Maid enters into Discourse; she asks him where he was born, and what Trade he was? He answers, at *Birmingham*, and a Nailor's Son; and after a great Deal of other Discourse, the Jack being down, the Maid desires him to wind it up, which he willingly undertakes, but goes the wrong Way about it, and somewhat prejudices it; at which the Maid grew angry, asking him where he was bred, and telling him he was the veriest clownish Booby that ever she saw in all her Life; which Railing of hers made his Majesty, notwithstanding his present Misery, go out of the Room smiling.

Mrs. *Lane*, notwithstanding his Majesty went as her Servant, yet had a greater Respect for him before others, pretended him her Tenant's Son; but on the Road she would always ask what he would have to Dinner or Supper, and what Piece of that he liked, which she would be always sure to get made ready and give him, he still sitting at the lower End of the Table.

But to come to the End of their Journey, being arrived at *Bristol*, they lodged at the House of a noble Gentleman there, and Kinsman to Mr. *Lastel*: The King finding it to be a House of great Resort, feigns himself sick of an Ague, and so keeps his Chamber all the Day, coming down only at Nights; but one Night coming down, and being somewhat cold, craves a Glass of Wine of the Butler, who carries him into the Butlery; this Butler having before served his Majesty's Father in the Wars, looking earnestly upon him, suspected him

him to be the King, so easily will Majesty appear, though veiled in the utmost Disguises; and thereupon pulling off his Hat, told him very ceremoniously, that he might command what Wine he pleased; of which the King took no Notice, but drinking off his Wine, went out; yet the Butler could not satisfy his Suspicion, but went up to Mr. *Lastel*, and demanded of him how long he had had that Servant, whereupon Mr. *Lastel* was very angry at his Boldness, in daring to ask him such a Question; but the Butler still persisted, and whispering told him, that he believed it was the King; whereupon Mr. *Lastel* seeing he was discovered, sends immediately for his Majesty, whom he acquaints with the Butler's Discovery of him, with whom the King was somewhat angry, in regard he did not first acquaint himself with his Suspicion, it not being impossible, but that Mr. *Lastel* might not have known him to be the King; but upon Pardon asked by the Butler, it was granted by the King, and he afterwards proved very instrumental in his Majesty's Conveyance through the Country.

But here at *Bristol* the chief Design they had in hand failed them; for though there were a little Bark lay there, judged most convenient for the Business, yet the Master would for no Reward transport a single Person, though he was so honest as only to deny it, and made no further Search or Enquiry concerning the Person, which might perhaps have tended to a Discovery.

This Design here failing, his Majesty desired to be brought some Miles Westward, to the House of a worthy Gentleman, whom he knew to be a trusty Friend, where coming, he finds the Gentleman in the Field with his Servants; having discovered himself to him, he was by him conveyed to a convenient Stand till Night (having first taken Leave of his true Friends, who had thus far conducted him with the Danger of their Lives and Estates) from whence he was in the Dusk conveyed into the House, and there carefully concealed for a Week, till such Time as Preparation could be made in some western Port, of a Passage for him; but coming afterwards there where it was provided, chancing to dine with a Parliament Colonel then there, he thought it the safer to lose the Benefit of that Passage, than adventure to embark himself singly, which might breed Suspicion, and perhaps have been the Means, after so many Deliverances, to have betrayed him into the Hands of his Enemies.

This Passage then likewise failing him, he returned back to the Place from whence he came, and concealed himself three Weeks longer, till in the End it being resolved on, he, by the Assistance of Mr. *Pb.* was conveyed through the most by-ways they could imagine, to a Gentlewoman's House in *Sussex*, where he lay some few Days, till a Person of true Worth and Honour made Provision of a faithful Master, who with a small Vessel wafted him to a small Creek in *Normandy*, to the great Content of the King's sacred Majesty, and all his loyal Subjects, and to the Honour of the Master with due Reward, as in Time may appear.

Perhaps the Reader may think it tedious that I have given so large a Relation of his Majesty's Escape from that Fight at *Worcester*; but it was a Work so full of Wonder and Providence, and so many false Relations there are abroad, that

that I could do no less than recount all those Miseries and Hardships which the poor Prince endured for the Sakes of us his Subjects, and more would he willingly have endured, even Death itself, to the redeeming of us from the Tyranny and Oppression which we then groaned under.

But let him that shall look upon the several Passages of his Life, read them over and over, consider the several Difficulties he passed, the many Dangers he was in to be betrayed, the Country being up round about, the Sum of Money set upon his Head, for which many Hundreds out of Covetousness, made it their Business to search for him, and they will confess ingeniously, that God was never so merciful to any People as to us, in delivering his sacred Majesty so wonderfully out of the Hands of his Enemies, who breathed out nothing but his Death and Destruction, that we may yet have Hope to be a happy Nation.

RESOLVES of Parliament.

Thursday, April 26, 1660.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled.

THAT this Day Fortnight be set apart for a Day of Thanksgiving to the Lord for raising up his Excellency the Lord General, and other eminent Persons, who have been instrumental in Delivery of this Nation from Thralldom and Misery.

Resolved by the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled,

THAT this Day Fortnight be the Day set apart for a Day of Thanksgiving for both Houses of Parliament, and within the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, and late Lines of Communication; and this Day Month for the whole Nation.

April 26, 1660.

Ordered by the Lords in Parliament assembled,

That these Resolves be forthwith printed and published.

JO. BROWNE, Cleric. *Parliamentorum.*

A LIST

A LIST of the Earls and Lords that were present in the House of Peers, on *Friday, April the 27th, 1660.*

Earl of *Manchester* SPEAKER,

E ARL of <i>Oxford</i>	Lord Viscount <i>Say and Seale</i>
Earl of <i>Northumberland</i>	Lord Viscount <i>Conway</i>
Earl of <i>Derby</i>	Lord Viscount <i>Hereford</i>
Earl of <i>Rutland</i>	Lord <i>De La Ware</i>
Earl of <i>Bedford</i>	Lord <i>Berkley</i>
Earl of <i>Pembroke</i>	Lord <i>Cromwell</i>
Earl of <i>Lincoln</i>	Lord <i>Wharton</i>
Earl of <i>Nottingham</i>	Lord <i>Hunsdon</i>
Earl of <i>Suffolk</i>	Lord <i>Peter</i>
Earl of <i>Dorset</i>	Lord <i>Gerrard</i>
Earl of <i>Bridgwater</i>	Lord <i>Tenham</i>
Earl of <i>Warwick</i>	Lord <i>Gray of Werke</i>
Earl of <i>Denbigh</i>	Lord <i>Deyncourt</i>
Earl of <i>Middlesex</i>	Lord <i>Craven</i>
Earl of <i>Bullingbrook</i>	Lord <i>Mainerd</i>
Earl of <i>Rivers</i>	Lord <i>Howard of Essex</i>
Earl of <i>Winchester</i>	Lord <i>Capel.</i>
Earl of <i>Strafford</i>	

A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

ALthough it can no way be doubted, but that his Majesty's Right and Title to his Crowns and Kingdoms, is, and was every way compleated by the Death of his most Royal Father of glorious Memory, without the Ceremony or Solemnity of a Proclamation; yet since Proclamations in such Cases have been always used, to the End that all good Subjects might, upon this Occasion, testify their Duty and Respect: And since the armed Violence, and other the Calamities of many Years last past, have hitherto deprived us of any such Opportunity, wherein we might express our Loyalty and Allegiance to his Majesty; We therefore, the Lords and Commons, now assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of *London*, and other Freemen of this Kingdom, now present, do, according to our Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, That immediately upon the Decease of our late Sovereign Lord King *Charles*, the Imperial Crown of the Realm of *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and Rights belonging to the same,

same, did by inherent Birth-right, and lawful and undoubted Succession, descend and come to his most excellent Majesty *Charles the Second*, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next Heir of the Blood-Royal of this Realm; and that by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty God, he is of *England, Scotland, France, and Ireland*, the most Potent, Mighty, and Undoubted King: And thereunto We most humbly and faithfully do submit and oblige Ourselves, Our Heirs, and Posterities for ever.

God save the King.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660,

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Proclamation be forthwith printed and published.

Will. Jeffop, Clerk of the Commons
House of Parliament.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Resolved upon the Question by the Commons assembled in Parliament,

THAT the Members of this House, who serve for the several Counties, Cities and Boroughs, take Care forthwith to send to the Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers of the Counties, Cities, and Boroughs of *England and Wales*, and the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, for which they serve, the *Proclamation* for proclaiming of the King's Majesty, to the Intent the same may be proclaimed in the respective Counties, Cities, and Boroughs; which the several Sheriffs, Mayors, Bailiffs, and other Head Officers are required to do with Speed accordingly.

W. Jeffop, Clerk of the Commons
House of Parliament.

A D E C L A R A T I O N.

TH E Commons assembled in Parliament do declare, That these Acts following; that is to say, *An Act for securing the Protestant Religion, and Encouragement and Settling of the learned and pious Ministry, and both the Universities in order thereunto, with a due Care of tender Consciences; one other general Act for Oblivion, Indemnity, and Free Pardon; An Act for Confirmation of judicial Proceedings in the ordinary Courts of Justice; An Act touching the Confirmation of Grants and Sales, and An Act for securing unto the Army and Navy their Arrears*, are already under Consideration, and that a

322 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

good Progress is made in them, and Directions given for the speedy perfecting of them.

Tuesday, May 8, 1660.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, That this Declaration be forthwith printed and published.

*William Jessop, Clerk of the Commons
House of Parliament,*

To his most excellent Majesty King *CHARLES* the
Second, our most gracious Sovereign.

The humble Address of the Officers of the several Regiments of
Horse, under the Command of his Excellency the Lord-General
Monck, as it was presented by them to his Majesty, at *Dartford-
Heath* in *Kent*, this present *Tuesday, May 29, 1660.*

WITH such a Joy as flows from Reverence and Love, we humbly
present our selves before your sacred Majesty ; besides our Reflec-
tion on the common Good, which in this happy Change relates to
our Particular, intends this Joy, and renders it sincere ; for we can now please
our selves in our selves, while we are really performing that Duty for which
we were first raised : And with all Thankfulness we acknowledge that Care
your Majesty in your late Letter and Declaration hath expressed of our neces-
sary Intent.

We bless God to see that Day when the Serenity of every Man's Counte-
nance discovers the Tranquility of his Mind ; for this shews your Majesty to
be the true Soul of the People, since during your Absence the whole Nation
was cast into such Distractions, as we have no Pleasure to remember, but had
rather turn our Thoughts and grateful Acknowledgments to the happy Conduct
of our noble General, who hath thus far led us in our Duty to your Royal Per-
son. Yet as we cannot attribute too much to his Merits, so neither can we
deprive ourselves of that Honour and Comfort which we find in the Accom-
plishment of his just Design.

Therefore in plain and soldier-like (though humble) Terms, we say your
Majesty hath made us and the Nation happy in your Return to this your native
Kingdom ; which doubtless will, nay we may say hath, produced a Settlement
upon the Foundation of our ancient Laws ; by the due Execution of which,
together with your Majesty's pious Inclinations, we trust Libertinism and Pro-
phaneness wholly suppressed, the Protestant Cause, and true Professors of it,
encouraged, to the Comfort of all your religious and good People.

Your Majesty will now have your Great Council about you, who have al-
ready given Proof of their Loyalty and Wisdom both to your Majesty and
them.

them. We profess and declare, That as we have not been altogether useless in the Restoration, as well of your sacred Majesty to your Crowns and Kingdoms, as your People to their just Rights, so we shall in the future, chearfully sacrifice our Lives, or whatsoever can be more dear to us in the Service of your Majesty, against all Oppositions whatsoever; and by a ready Obedience to your Majesty's Commands, express our selves,

Your Majesty's most loyal Subjects,

And obedient Servants.

Monday, December 17, 1660.

WHEREAS the maimed Soldiers and Pensioners belonging to *Ely-House* and the *Savoy*, formerly a great Charge to the Nation, are by Order of Parliament discharged, and sent with Recommendations into their respective Counties and Places where they did last reside, but are not accordingly received, or relieved by the respective Justices of the Peace: It is therefore ordered by the Commons in Parliament assembled, That all and every the Justices of the Peace in all Counties, Corporations, and Places within his Majesty's Dominions, do take speedy Care, and make Provision, according to the Statute for maimed Soldiers, and that of the 43d of Queen *Elizabeth* concerning the Overseers for the Poor, for the Relief and Livelihood of such Pensioners, maimed Soldiers, Widows and Orphans as come unto them with such Recommendations, signed with the Hands of *Thomas Lord Fairfax*, *Sir Gilbert Gerard*, *Sir Anthony Irby*, *Sir William Wheeler*, *Sir John Robinson*, *Sir Francis Gerard*, *Sir Thomas Meeres*, *Sir Thomas Clergis*, *John Birch*, *William Prynne*, *Edward King*, *Gilbert Gerrard*, *Richard Knightly*, and *Michael Mallet*, Esquires, or any Three of them, being Members of the Committee of Parliament, appointed to discharge the said Pensioners. And that this Order be forthwith printed, and that the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses do convey the same unto the respective Places for which they serve in Parliament; reminding the said Justices of the Necessity of this good Work, and of the Laws made concerning the same.

W. Jessop, Clerk of the Commons
House of Parliament.

The Earl of *Manchester's* SPEECH to his Majesty, in the Name of the Peers, at his Arrival at *Whitehall*, the 29th of *May*, 1660. With his Majesty's gracious Answer thereunto.

THAT this Day may prove happy to your Majesty, is the Hope, the Expectation, and the earnest Desire of my Lords the Peers, whose Commands are upon me to make this humble Tender to your Majesty of their loyal Joy for your Majesty's safe Return to your native Kingdom, and for this happy Restoration of your Majesty to your Crown and Dignity, after so long, and so severe a Suppression of your just Right and Title.

I shall not reflect upon your Majesty's Sufferings, which have been your People's Miseries; yet I cannot omit to say, That as the Nation in general, so the Peers with a more personal and particular Sense have felt the Stroke that cut the *Gordian* Knot which fastened your Majesty to your Kingdom, and your Kingdom to your Majesty.

For since those strange and various Fluctuations and Discomposures in Government, since those horrid and unparalleled Violations of all Order and Justice, *Strangers have ruled over us*, even with a Rod of Iron: But now, with Satisfaction of Heart, We own and see your Majesty, Our native King, a Son of the wise, a Son of the ancient Kings, whose Hand holds forth a golden Scepter.

Great King! Give me Leave to speak the Confidence, as well as the Desires, of the Peers of *England*: Be you the powerful Defender of the true Protestant Faith, the just Asserter and Maintainer of the Laws and Liberties of your Subjects; so shall *Judgment run down like a River, and Justice like a mighty Stream*; and God, the God of your Mercy, who hath so miraculously preserved you, will establish your Throne in Righteousness and in Peace.

Dread Sovereign! I offer no flattering Titles, but speak the Words of Truth: You are the Desire of three Kingdoms, the Strength and the Stay of the Tribes of the People, for the moderating of Extremities, the reconciling of Differences, the satisfying of all Interests, and for restoring of the collapsed Honour of these Nations. Their Eyes are toward your Majesty, their Tongues with loud Acclamations of Joy, speak the Thoughts and loyal Intentions of their Hearts, their Hands are lift up to Heaven with Prayers and Praises; and what oral Triumph can equal this your Pomp and Glory?

Long may your Majesty live and reign; a Support to your Friends, a Terror to your Enemies, an Honour to your Nation, and an Example to Kings, of Piety, Justice, Prudence, and Power, that this prophetic Expression may be verified in your Majesty, *King Charles the Second shall be greater than ever was the greatest of that Name.*

His

His Majesty's gracious Answer to the Earl of Manchester's Speech, made in the Name of the House of Peers, at the Arrival of his Majesty at Whitehall, on the 29th of May, 1660.

My Lord,

I Am so disordered by my Journey, and with the Noise still sounding in my Ears (which I confess was pleasing to me, because it expressed the Affections of my People) as I am unfit, at the present, to make such a Reply as I desire; yet thus much I shall say unto you, That I take no greater Satisfaction to myself in this my Change, than that I find my Heart really set to endeavour by all Means for the restoring of this Nation to their Freedom and Happiness; and I hope, by the Advice of my Parliament, to effect it. Of this also you may be confident, that next to the Honour of God, from whom principally I shall ever own this Restoration to my Crown, I shall study the Welfare of my People; and shall not only be a true Defender of the Faith, but a just Asserter of the Laws and Liberties of my Subjects.

A PROCLAMATION against vicious, debauched,
and prophane Persons. By the **K I N G.**

CHARLES R:

SINCE it hath pleased the divine Providence in so wonderful a Manner, and by Ways and Means no less miraculous, than those by which he did heretofore preserve and restore his own chosen People, to restore us and our good Subjects to each other, and to shew us a very hopeful Prospect, if not to put us already into Possession of that Peace, Happiness and Security, with which this our Kingdom hath been heretofore blessed; it will become us all, in our several Stations, to acknowledge this transcendent Goodness of Almighty God in so seasonable a Conjunction, with such a Circumspection, Integrity, and Reformation in our Lives, that we may not drive away that Mercy which so near approacheth us, by making ourselves (wholly) unworthy of it. And in order hereunto, we think it high Time to shew our Dislike of those (against whom we have been ever enough offended, though we could not in this Manner declare it) who under Pretence of Affection to us and our Service, assume to themselves the Liberty of reviling, threatening, and reproaching others; and as much as in them lies, endeavour to flile and divert their good Inclinations to our Service, and so to prevent that Reconciliation and Union of Hearts and Affections, which can only, with God's Blessing, make us rejoice in each other, and keep our Enemies from rejoicing.

There are likewise another Sort of Men, of whom we have heard much, and are sufficiently ashamed, who spend their Time in Taverns, Tipling-houses,
and

and Debauches, giving no other Evidence of their Affection to us, but in drinking our Health, and inveighing against all others who are not of their own dissolute Temper; and who, in Truth, have more discredited our Cause by the Licence of their Manners and Lives, than they could ever advance it by their Affection or Courage. We hope that this extraordinary Way of delivering us from all we feared, and almost bringing us to all we can reasonably hope, hath and will work upon the Hearts even of these Men to that Degree, that they will cordially renounce all that Licentiousness, Profaneness and Impiety with which they have been corrupted, and endeavoured to corrupt others, and that they will hereafter become Examples of Sobriety and Virtue, and make it appear that what is past, was rather the Vice of the Time, than of the Persons, and so the fitter to be forgotten together.

And, because the Fear of Punishment, or Apprehension of our Displeasure, may have Influence upon many, who will not be restrained by the Conscience of their Duty, we do declare, That we will not exercise just Severity against any Malefactors, sooner than against Men of dissolute, debauched, and prophane Lives, with what Parts soever they may be otherwise qualified and endowed; and we hope, that all Persons of Honour, or in Place and Authority, will so far assist us, in discountenancing such Men, that their Discretion and Shame will persuade them to reform what their Conscience would not, and that the Displeasure of good Men towards them, may supply what the Laws have not, and it may be, cannot well provide against; there being, by the Licence and Corruption of the Times, and the depraved Nature of Men, many Enormities, Scandals, and Impieties, in Practice and Manners, which Laws cannot well describe, and consequently not enough provide against; which may, by the Example and Severity of virtuous Men, be easily discountenanced, and by Degrees suppressed.

However, for the more effectual reforming these Men, who are a Discredit to the Nation, and unto any Cause they pretend to favour and wish well to, we require all Mayors, Sheriffs, and Justices of Peace, to be very vigilant and strict in the Discovery and Prosecution of all dissolute and prophane Persons, and such as blaspheme the Name of God, by prophane Swearing and Cursing, or revile or disturb Ministers, and despise the public Worship of God; that being first bound to the good Behaviour, they may be further proceeded against, and exposed to Shame in such a Manner as the Laws of the Land, and the just and necessary Rules of Government, shall direct or permit.

Given at our Court at Whitehall, the Thirtieth Day of May, in the Twelfth Year of our Reign, 1660.

The

The true Copy of a LETTER directed to the Provost and Preachers of the City of *Edinburgh*, delivered by an unknown Hand at the Cross, on *June* 19th, 1660, in the Time of the solemnizing the proclaiming of his sacred Majesty *Charles* II. fully discovering the horrid Treacheries of the Lord Marquis of *Argyll* and his Accomplices. To which is added an ACT of the *West-Kirk*, dated *August* 13th, 1650.

Published by a Worthy Hand.

Printed in the Year 1660.

GENTLEMEN,

HAVE you but a due Reflection on the Business you are about, with the Place and Posture you are in, you cannot but call to Mind the rebellious Band of *Israel*, who despising Authority, having forged the molten Image, and moulded the Calf of Perdition, sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to be merry. The Occasion of your Jollity, as it doth resemble the Morning Beams cherishing the Creatures, and delivering them from the drowsy Shades, and irksome Furrows of an austere and tedious Night, so ought your Resentment to have been like the Sun in the Meridian, consuming the Vapours, and rendering the Sky serene on each Hand.

Gentlemen, I know you have long laboured of this Birth, and now are brought to bed of a Mole, or rather a Monster, with the Face of a Man, the Heart of a Hog, and the Feet of a Boar. You call this a *Day of Thanksgiving*, and Reason it should be so, for the Love of God manifested in the happy and peaceable Restoration of the most mighty, virtuous, and wisest of Princes, the Glory of *Great Britain*, and Terror of its Foes; the Delight of the Living, and Joy of the Dead, loyal, and afflicted Subjects, the Avenger of innocent Blood: But which is the Peace-offering? Where is that Sorrow or Sadness of Heart for our former Rebellions, can only impregnate such Actions? You have been pretending to praise God at the Church in the Forenoon, and now to rejoice in the King at the Cross in the Afternoon, where is the Burnt-offering, the Atonement of the Day, the propitiatory Sacrifice of Submission and Satisfaction, should render the Work pleasing to God, and acceptable to his Anointed? Which of you hath searched his Conscience, and found the *Tekel* of God, who wills the Double-minded to purge their Hearts, and the bloody Men to purge their Hands? Who is it among you hath with Candour expressed his Detestation of the Treasons raised and fomented against the unparalleled, and ever-blessed Martyr *Charles* I. anno 1637, by convening and combining his Subjects

jects against him, protesting, declaring, and opposing his Royal Authority ; the base and treacherous Association with the Rebels in *England anno 1643*, contrary to the Oath of God, and our special Engagements ; the calling him from *Oxford* to the *Scots Army anno 1646*, under Pretext of owning his Interest ; the perfidious Restraint and infamous Merchandize of his sacred Person to his Murderers for a Piece of Money, the damnable Massacre of many innocent Souls, after Quarter and public Faith in the *Highlands*, because of their Loyalty in the same Year ; the proud malicious Opposition made against his Deliverance *anno 1648* ; the most ignoble Call and Combination with the execrable Regicide *Oliver Cromwell* ; the horrid Treaty at the *Lady Home's* Lodging, anent the taking away of his Life ; the ignominious Surrender of the Liberty of the Nation into the Hands of Strangers ; the cogging Papers and Protestations, passed at his Trial *anno 1649*, and the detestable Connivance at his Murder ; the unhallowed Act at the *West-Kirk*, disowning our present mighty and magnanimous Sovereign *anno 1650*, after he was trained in the Snares of his Enemies ; the shameful Declaration presented to his Majesty at that time ; the hard and unnatural Usage of him by some, during his Abode amongst us : In fine, the godless Compliance with the Vipers of the Throne *anno 1652*, and since to his happy and acceptable Re-union, making Havock of Conscience, gratifying the Wicked with the Portion of the Righteous, in favour of your only fixed Principle (to some of you of the Ministry I speak) your Stipend the sole Impulsive of these unwarrantable Actings, stand now like Vizards on your Faces : Pretend what you will, it was that, and nothing but that, made you, at one Throw, play away the Interest of the King, the Country, and your Kirk, and all the presented Duties of your Covenant ; in pursuance of which, have you not killed Kings, and shed the Blood of Princes, sent many poor Souls to the Grave, and made your native Soil groan with Captivity ? I am not ignorant of your juggling Precepts, giving us to believe, that your not praying for his Majesty, your closing with his Murderers, resigning into the Hands of the Tyrant the Collation of Benefices, you had by Force wrested from our lawful Sovereign ; your vile Submission and blasphemous Petitions in the Day of Trial (all which I shall, at more Convenience, make known to the World) giving us to believe, were in order to the Preservation of the Gospel, the Removal whereof was threatened, say you, than which there is nothing more false ; for it cannot be expected, that those who licensed, nay authorised Coblers, Tinkers, and such, to preach the Gospel, would ever have stopped an ordinated Ministry : No, no, the Matter is higher, you should have had Liberty to preach as oft, and as much as you would ; but no Benefice, unless according to the Temper of the Time : Where is, I say, your Sorrow and Submission for these and the like ? In place whereof, do not your Churches ring with Rebellion, and your Tables stream with Blood ? Do not the fruitful Ecchoes of this Day's Treason, spued out in your Pulpits, resound to seventy and a hundred Fold in the Streets, which makes the World to say, you have this Day christened your Hypocrisy *de novo*, and called the King for your Godfather.

Gentlemen,

Gentlemen, I am loth to interrupt your Frolic further, with those doleful Mementos ; wherefore, I will once more, and once for all, put you in Mind of the Opening of the fifth Seal of the Vision of St. *John*, where the Souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and the Testimony they held, called from below the Altar for Judgment and Vengeance on those that dwell on the Earth ; O forget not, forget not, the Blood lyeth under your Table : Was it not there you first protested against the Honour and Authority of the holy Martyr *Charles*, never to be forgot ? Where was it but there you shed the Blood of War in Peace, killed and cut down his Majesty's good Subjects ? Does not yourself now stand, where you barbarously butchered the loyal and renowned Marquis of *Montrose* ; and not content with that, but as the *Aetas consentiæ* of Treason had been in your Time, and Rebellion its Pitch and Fulness of Stature in your Persons, Did you not hang up the Commission of our present dread Sovereign about his Neck, thereby striking at the very Root of Monarchy and Interest of his ancient Inheritance ? What worse Entertainment could the commonest Thief and bloodiest Murderer in the Nation, being out of your Hands, have found amongst you, than to have been hanged in Effigy ? Kings their Charters are their Images, and their Plenipotentiaries their lively Portraits ; these be the Dregs of the Wine of the Wrath of the Fornication of *Babylon*, through the Abundance of whose Delicacies, many have waxed rich, and with whom Multitudes have committed Abomination : Now she is fallen, and become the Habitation of Devils, she that by her Sorceries did deceive the Nations, is now become the Hold of unclean Spirits, and in her is found the Blood of the Prophets, the Saints, and many slain ; now she is thrown down with Violence, and double shall be given unto her, according to her Works ; therefore I advise you to come out of her, lest you also partake of her Plagues. It is never too late to repent while we are here ; there is Fulness of Grace with the Almighty, and abundance of Mercy with the King ; humble yourselves before his Majesty's Feet, that you may be signed with the Seal of the Living, and escape the Fury of the destroying Angels.

Gentlemen, I do freely protest, I intend no Prejudice or Reproach to any penitent Subject ; therefore I will expect a favourable Construction of this Address, made allenerly for rousing the Consciences of such, whose Overthrow seems to be sealed up in the Hardness of their Hearts, and whose Conversion shall be much in the Prayers of

June 19th, 1660.

Your loving Friend in God,
and the King.

West-Kirk, the 13th Day of August, 1650.

THE Commission of the General Assembly considering that there may be just Ground of stumbling, from the King's Majesty's refusing to subscribe and emit the Declaration offered unto him by the Committee of Estates, and Commissioners of the General Assembly, concerning his former Carriage, and Resolutions for the future, in Reference to the Cause of God, and the Enemies and Friends thereof, doth therefore declare, That this Kirk and Kingdom doth not own nor espouse any malignant Party, or Quarrel or Interest, but that they fight merely upon their former Grounds and Principles, and in the Defence and Cause of God and of the Kingdom, as they have done these twelve Years past: And therefore, as they do declaim all the Sin and Guilt of the King, and of his House, so they will not own him nor his Interest, otherwise than with a Subordination to God, and so far as he owns and prosecutes the Cause of God, and disclaims his and his Father's Opposition to the Work of God and to the Covenant, and likewise all the Enemies thereof; and that they will, with convenient Speed, take in Consideration the Papers lately sent unto them from *Oliver Cromwell*, and vindicate themselves from all the Falshoods contained therein, especially in those Things wherein the Quarrel betwixt us and that Party is mis-stated, as if we owned the late King's Proceeding, and were resolved to prosecute and maintain his present Majesty's Interest before, and without Acknowledgment of the Sins of his House and former Ways, and Satisfaction to God's People in both Kingdoms.

13th August, 1650.

A. KER.

THE Committee of Estates having seen and considered a Declaration of the Commission of the General Assembly, anent the stating of the Quarrel, wherein the Army is to fight, do approve the same, and heartily concur therein.

THO. HENDERSON.

To the Right Honourable the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of Sir JOHN STAWELL.

SHEWETH,

THAT by a Certificate made by the High Court of Justice upon Trial of his Life, which was directed to, and read in Parliament the 10th of *June*, 1651, as also by a Judgment past on the 15th of *August*, 1653, for the Restitution of his Estate, it appears, that your Petitioner hath good Right to the Articles of *Exeter*, dated the 8th of *April*, 1646, and that he hath performed all that was on his Part by the said Articles required, notwithstanding which said Articles (importing a Contract and Bargain made, not to be voided as he humbly conceives in common Right and Justice, but by his own Consent) your Petitioner hath been hitherto debarred the Benefit of them, his Person imprisoned ever since the Year 1646, nothing allowed unto him out of his own, for the Space of many Years to afford him his daily Bread; himself, during that Time, several Times tried for his Life; his good Name, by scandalous Letters, and Impeachments of Felony and High Treason, defamed; his Estate totally sold; divers Judgments recovered against him for Things relating to the unhappy Differences; his Family ruined, destroyed, and brought to the extremest Point of Misery; and the public Faith, Honour and Justice of the late Parliament, Army, and Nation in general, highly scandalized, contrary to their honourable, just, and equitable Intentions, declared by several Acts, Orders, and Ordinances, made for the Relief of such as claim the Benefit of Articles, and contrary to the Order and Judgment of the Court of Articles, appointed by them to hear and determine Causes of that Nature. All which Miseries and Pressures were brought upon him originally by means of Mr. *John Ash* (Chairman of the Committee of *Goldsmiths-Hall*, when your Petitioner first appeared to make tender of his Composition) who coveting the Farm at *Aubery* (Part of your Petitioner's Estate) and having conferred with Sir *Edward Baynton* touching the same, did in the first Place, upon untrue Suggestions made to the Parliament, procure the Benefit of your Petitioner's Composition before it was set: And having gotten by this Means a kind of Interest in his Estate, did unjustly calumniate your Petitioner before his Admittance to the Committee, who were Strangers unto him; and when he was admitted, the said Mr. *Ash* told him, That the Petition delivered by him was a Remonstrance, not a Petition, wherein he had rejected the Parliament's Mercy offered him in his Articles, and had put a Contempt upon the Authority of Parliament; and did, at the same time, obtrude Oaths upon him, contrary to the said Articles; upon Refusal of which, and the Judgment which Mr. *Ash* had passed upon his Petition, his Composition was denied unto him; and the said Mr. *Ash*, together with Mr. *John Leech* (then Clerk to the said Committee) did in a few Days after, by the Entry of a false Record,

contrive a Way how your Petitioner might forfeit both Life and Estate together, in case he should refuse to part with the said Estate, when the Sale thereof should be proposed unto him; and because this could not be well effected but by Authority of the then Parliament, to bring him to a Tryal for his Life, a Report was made to the House of Commons by M. *John Stephens* (who was not present when your Petitioner first appeared) to the same Sense that the Words were formerly delivered by Mr. *Asb* (viz.) *That your Petitioner had slighted and contemned the Authority of the then Parliament, and forfeited their Mercy contained in the Articles of Exeter; together with this Addition in the Close thereof, That if they did not make Sir John Stawell a Traytor, Sir John Stawell had made them Traytors,* strangely interpreting the Petition preferred by him to obtain the Benefit of his Articles, to be a Forfeiture of them, and a Contempt of that Authority which gave a Confirmation unto them: Upon which Report, the House was pleased on the 18th of *August*, 1646, to command your Petitioner to be brought from *Ely House* (where he was kept a Prisoner by the Mittimus of Mr. *Asb* and some others) to *Westminster*, where Mr. *Asb* (coming several Times, under Pretence of Kindness, to visit him, whilst he was in the Custody of his Keepers) at last proposed unto him the Sale of the said Farm, offering for it not half of that it cost your Petitioner; and upon his Refusal thereof, your Petitioner was forthwith brought to the Bar of the House of Commons, and from thence was committed to *Newgate*, and ordered to be tried for his Life as a Traytor, and was (by Indictment removed by *Certiorari* out of the County of *Somerset*) several Mornings tried for his Life at the then *King's-Bench* Bar accordingly.

That the Parliament being thus incensed against your Petitioner, the Design to destroy him was droven on (as he conceives upon the same Instigation) by the Committee appointed for drawing up the Act touching Delinquents, who on the 13th of *March*, 1648, did resolve, *That your Petitioner should be presented to the House as a Person formerly excepted for Life, and then in Custody, and that it should be referred to the House, whether to proceed against him by way of Trial for Life, perpetual Imprisonment, or Banishment, and Confiscation;* whereupon it was resolved by the House the Day following, being the 14th of *March* (upon a Report made by Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*, who was one of the said Committee, and present when the Resolve was made) *that he should be proceeded against for Life in the Upper Bench:* And the Commissioners of *Haberdashers-Hall* (of whom Sir *Arthur Hazelrig* was likewise one, and present) on the 18th of *March*, 1649, did make a Resolve, *That your Petitioner should be one of those named to the House, whose Estate was thought fit to be sold;* and your Petitioner's Estate hath been sold accordingly.

That on the 9th of *July*, 1650, a special Act was published for the Tryal of your Petitioner, and some others, at the High Court of Justice (a Court not formerly known in *England*, till introduced by Mr. *Lisle*, Mr. *Scot*, Mr. *Millington*, Mr. *Garland*, Mr. *Miles Corbet*, Mr. *Saye*, and some others.) And by the said Act it was declared (as a Ground for the Court Proceedings) *That your Petitioner was not admitted to Composition;* which Averment, as it was much insisted on by Mr. *Prideaux* (then Attorney-General) to the extreme Hazard of

of your Petitioner's Life; so thereby it clearly appears, that the Parliament (giving Credit to the said Reports made by their own Members, and supposing that in Truth your Petitioner had either forfeited the Benefit of his Articles, or been an excepted Person for Life) did pursue their Resolves formerly made on the 14th of *March*, 1648. And at the Time of your Petitioner's Tryal upon the said Act, the said Mr. *Asb*, Mr. *Leech*, and some others, endeavoured by false Oaths, urging the said false Record against him; Concealment of the Petition he first preferred to be admitted to his Composition; and by other indirect Practices (according to the Design aforesaid) to deprive him of his Life, and to render (as much as in them lay) the Parliament itself (which is the very Fountain of Justice) instrumental to the Destruction of the Innocent.

And your Petitioner further sheweth, That by the Judgment of the said Court of Articles, he was to be admitted to compound for his whole Estate, both Real and Personal, according to the Tenor of the said Articles, notwithstanding any the Settlements, Sales, or Contracts thereof made, at such Rates, and in such manner, as others comprized within the said Articles have done: And that the Commissioners for compounding with Delinquents, were also thereby enabled, authorized, and required to permit your Petitioner to compound for his whole Estate as aforesaid: And in respect of the great Losses, and extreme Damages which your Petitioner had sustained by the Sequestration and Detention of his Estate, and the Profits received out of it, for above seven Years last past (before the Date of the said Decree) and by felling of his Woods and Timber, and otherwise for want of being admitted to a timely Composition, the said Court did order and direct the said Commissioners to cause an exact Account to be made of the Rents, Issues, and Profits received for, or out of his Estate, since he first submitted to Composition, recommending to their Considerations the Proofs before taken in the said Cause, Copies whereof attested by the Register, were for that Purpose to be presented unto them: And if the said Commissioners should find the same to amount unto, or exceed the Fine or Composition which your Petitioner ought to have paid according to the Rate prescribed and allowed by the said Articles, then the same to be allowed and accepted in lieu and full Satisfaction of the said Fine so imposed upon him, or to be satisfied by your Petitioner, according to his said Articles, otherwise the Defect (if any were) to be supplied by him; and that if any Surplusage, or Overplus remained, the said Commissioners were ordered and desired to certify the same to the said Court; and upon such Computation, and Satisfaction made as aforesaid, the said Commissioners were thereby further directed and authorized to give their Order for such Acceptance of his Fine and Composition, and to give your Petitioner a Discharge accordingly; and they were also thereby desired to give him all fitting Expedition in the Premises: And it was also further adjudged, and declared by the said Court, that after the making of the said Composition, your Petitioner should have the Liberty and Indemnity of his Person free from all further Restraints, or Imprisonments: And that all Bail, or other Security entred into by him, or any other with him, touching his true Imprisonment, should be delivered up to him and vacated; and also that your Petitioner, from and after

ter such Composition should have the Possession of his Estate freed and discharged from all Sequestrations and Seizures whatsoever, and enjoy the same without any Claim or Demand of the said Trustees, or the Survivors of them, or their Heirs: And further, that the Trustees for Sale of Lands and Estates forfeited, should upon Sight of the said Order and Award, stay and forbear all further Proceedings in the Sale or Disposal of any the Lands or Estate of your Petitioner remaining unsold (if any such were): And if any Part of the Monies remained unpaid for any Lands belonging to him, then contracted for and sold, that they should likewise forbear to demand or receive the same, or to make any further Proceedings in the same, or to intermeddle further therewith, as by the Decree itself more fully appears: Notwithstanding which, some of the Commissioners for Sequestrations, and Trustees for Sale of Lands and other Persons have (in further Prosecution of the said Design as he humbly conceives) refused the Tender made of his Composition for his whole Estate, by Virtue of the said Judgment, thereby denying him that common Justice they were intrusted to administer; defrauded the public Revenue and Treasure, and deprived him of One Thousand Pounds *per Ann.* of his Estate, unsold after the Judgment of the Court of Articles was duly served upon them, and for which your Petitioner had really compounded, and satisfied his Fine, by Colour of antedated Contracts, Orders, and other unjust Pretextes: All which your Petitioner doubts not, clearly to prove against the particular Persons named, together with some others guilty of the said Misdemeanors, if thereunto admitted.

Now forasmuch as it appears, that the Proceedings against your Petitioner for Life, Liberty and Estate were all grounded upon the Misrepresentations made as aforesaid unto the late Parliament (who being of themselves very sensible of all Injuries done unto Articles) were pleased to declare by their Act, dated the 18th of July, 1649, *That they were concerned in Honour and Justice that the Faith of their Armies should be made good, and receive no Violation; and that the Certificates, Orders, and Awards made by the Commissioners in that Act named, should be conclusive, binding, and observed by all Courts of Justice, Commissioners, Committees, and Persons concerned, any Law, Order, or Ordinance to the contrary notwithstanding.*

And forasmuch as Acts of Parliament made for the Sale and Forfeiture of Estates, contrary to Articles of War (which by the Law of Nations ought inviolably to be kept) have been by the Wisdom and Justice of former Parliaments not only repealed, and made void (as a Case very far different from all other Sales whatsoever) but that the late Parliament also were honourably pleased to provide (not knowing then the Claims that were and might be made unto Articles) *That the Trustees, in the first Act of Sale named, should have, hold, and enjoy all and singular the Premises, subject to such Trusts and Uses as by that Act, or in, or by Authority of Parliament should be thereafter further directed and appointed:* And in pursuance of this Power reserved to them, and received from them, not only the Commissioners of *Worcester-House*, have granted divers Reprizes for Lands sold by the first Act of Sale (which comprehends your Petitioner's Estate) but the Trustees of *Drury-House*, and Commissioners

millioners of *Haberdashers-Hall* have done the like, upon Judgments given by the Court of Articles, authorizing the same.

Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays,

I. That those memorable Acts of Justice which have been done by your noble Ancestors in former Times, as well as those by the late Parliament of a later Date, may be thought worthy of your Consideration; and that in pursuance of them, the Names of *John Stawell*, and *Edward Stawell* (your Petitioner's two Sons) together with his own, may be blotted out of the said Act of Sale; and that all Entries and Records, that mention him either a Felon, or Traitor, may be so cancelled, as to be had no more in Remembrance.

II. That he may be restored by Act of Parliament to the Possession of his Estate, freed and discharged from all Sequestrations, Sales, Seizures, Grants, Presentations, Augmentations, Incumbrances, or other Dispositions whatsoever, made either of the Whole or any Part thereof, since the Time his Articles were first granted unto him; and that his Estate may be excepted out of any general Act which shall be passed for the Confirmation of Sales.

III. That he may have Liberty and Indemnity for his Person; That his Articles, together with the Judgment given thereupon the 15th of *August*, 1653, may in all Respects be made good unto him; and that, according to the same, a proportionable Sum, agreeable with his Fine due by his Articles, may be deducted out of 25,000 *l.* mentioned in, and found as Damages by the said Judgment, in lieu of the said Fine for his Composition; and that the aforesaid Judgments recovered against him may be nulled and vacated.

IV. That himself, and such as he shall employ, may (for your clearer Satisfaction touching the whole Matter of his Petition) have Liberty to take a View, and Copies of all Papers, Entries and Records in *Drury-House*, *Gurney-House*, *Haberdashers-Hall*, or elsewhere, and of the Treasurer's Accounts touching the same; for that your Petitioner believes a very inconsiderable Sum will appear to have been given (in ready Money) to the Use of the Public for his Estate, if compared to 63,882 *l.* 18 *s.* 9 *d.* wherewith the Trustees of *Drury-House* have charged themselves upon Sale thereof; and that his Cause (being more than of a private Concernment) may have the Honour to be heard at your Bar.

V. And lastly, Forasmuch as the aforesaid Offences being in themselves heinous, are considered by the Laws of this Kingdom under a twofold Respect; the one, as they relate unto the Public; the other, as they concern the Party grieved; and for that your Petitioner having been noways negligent in the Prosecution of his Right and Relief, hath notwithstanding had the Profits of his Estate so many Years detained from him, that according to the Computation of Years, and the exceeding great Wastes that have been lately made by the Inhabitants of *Taunton*, by plucking down his principal House, destroying his Park, Woods, and Timber, and by some other Persons on other Parts of his Estate, the Damages, together with the mean Profits thereof, will, upon a true Account, amount to a greater Sum than his Estate is now worth, were it

it to be sold. Your Petitioner therefore most humbly prays your Honours, That (since his Case is the only Case that hath met with so many unavoidable Evils, as have been formerly mentioned) you would be pleased, by your honourable Judgment upon the whole Matter, to afford unto him answerable Reparations; and secure the Kingdom, for the future, from such Trustees and Ministers of Justice, as have not known (in your Petitioner's Case) how to discharge their Oaths and Duties: Or if your more weighty Affairs shall not admit a particular Examination of the aforesaid Offences, whereby his Damages may be the better ascertained, he humbly prays it may be provided, That no Act of Oblivion, General Pardon, or other Thing, may extend to the freeing of any Person or Persons guilty of the Breach of the said Articles: But that the Persons aforesaid, and (in case any of them be dead) their Heirs, Executors, and Administrators, may be liable to such Damages, to be recovered at the Common-Law, as may fully recompence your Petitioner for his very great Losses and Sufferings occasioned by the Breach of them, any Act, Law, Ordinance, or other Thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And your Petitioner shall ever pray, &c.

JOHN STAWELL.

A BRIEF of the CASE and Title of *George Porter* of *London*, Esq; unto a Deputation and Management of both the Letter-Offices, together with the Profits thereunto belonging, derived from the Right Honourable *Charles Lord Stanhope* Baron of *Harrington*.

THAT the Office of Postmaster-General of the Dominions of *England*, is one of the ancientest Offices of *England*.

That the nominating of all Postmasters, and Carriage of all Letters, both Inland and Foreign, both of his Majesty's and of his Subjects, are Members of, and incident and belonging unto the said Office, together with the Profits and Perquisites thereby accruing, as appears by ancient Deeds and Custom beyond the Memory of Man.

That *John Lord Stanhope* had a Grant of the said Office in the 30th of *Elizabeth*, 1588, under the Broad Seal of *England*; and by himself, his Deputy, and Agents, enjoyed the Carriage of all Letters by Post, both Foreign and Inland, both of his Majesty's and of his Subjects, for about forty Years, until he died.

That *Charles Lord Stanhope*, who is now living, had a Reversion of the said Office, and by himself, his Deputies, and Agents, enjoyed the Carriage of all Letters

Letters, until he was illegally disturbed by one *Matthew Dequester*, who having been the Lord *Stanhope's* Deputy for the Carriage of Foreign and *Irish* Letters about twenty Years together, under Pretence of a Grant of a new Office by him obtained, upon untrue Suggestions, *for Services to be done out of the King's Dominions* (a Reversion whereof Mr. *William Witherings* now claims by) by Authority thereof took upon him the Carriage of Foreign Letters.

That in the Year 1624, the said *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* brought his Action against the said *Dequester* for taking upon him the Carriage of Merchants Letters, and receiving Moneys for the Postage thereof from *London* to *Antwerp*, without the Licence, and against the Will of him the said Lord *Stanhope*, who is Postmaster-General, and recovered a Verdict against the said *Dequester*.

That the Parliament, in the 4th of the late King, upon Report of a select Committee, taking Notice of the said *Dequester's* undue Suggestion for the gaining of the said Patent, *for Services to be done in foreign Parts, out of the King's Dominions*, and of the Lord *Stanhope's* Verdict again *Dequester*, did declare, and give Judgment against *Dequester's* said Patent, in favour of the Lord *Stanhope's* Patent.

That the said *George Porter* hath the Deputation, Management, and Profits of the said Offices during the Life of the said *Charles* Lord *Stanhope*, in due Form of Law settled and confirmed upon him.

That the said *George Porter* his Agent was in Possession of the said Offices at the first assembling of the long Parliament.

That Mr. *Thomas Witherings*, who procured a Reversion of *Dequester's* Patent, *for Services to be done out of the King's Dominions*, well knowing the Invalidity thereof, made over his Interest unto the Right Honourable *Robert* late Earl of *Warwick*; upon which one Mr. *Pulley* and others, found Means to have a Mail of foreign Letters to be betrayed into their Hands, whereby the said Earl of *Warwick* came to get the Possession of the foreign Letter Office.

Hereupon the said *George Porter* his Agent, was prevailed upon to call in *Edmund Prideaux*, Esq; then a Parliament-man, to protect him in the more sure keeping of the Inland Letter Office, and Recovery of the Foreign from the Earl of *Warwick*; but instead thereof, the said *Edmund Prideaux* removed the Inland Office unto a sequestered House, and took the Profits to himself, saying that he did it by the Liberty of the Subject.

Thereupon the said *George Porter's* Agent (far before any Undertakers thought thereon) through the Insight he had in the said Offices, being well assured, *That if he undertook to carry Letters thrice a-week, whereas the said Edmund Prideaux carried but once; and if he did require but 3 d. for a single Letter, whereas the said Edmund Prideaux took 6 d. that there would be sent, for time to come, above six Three-penny Letters for every Six-penny Letter, which had been sent in the said Prideaux his Time, resolved upon sending thrice a-week, and instead of 6 d. to take but 3 d. for a single Letter at the most, and for Scotland, Ireland, and foreign Parts accordingly; with an Intention to have reduced the Rates to 2 d. or 1 d. a Letter, for the Benefit of Trade and other Correspondencies: And to make more sure Work (as he had Cause to hope) did take the Subscriptions of most considerable Merchants and others, in and about*

338 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

London, York, Hull, Newcastle, Exeter, Plymouth, Bristol, and other Parts of Englaad, Scotland, Ireland, and Foreign Parts (which are yet extant to be seen) thereby obliging themselves, so far as the Laws of the Land did permit, to send all their Letters, both Inland and Foreign, unto the said *George Porter's* Agent, whensoever he would undertake the Conveyance of them upon the Terms aforesaid; and in order thereunto the said *George Porter's* Agent settled Postages up and down, from one End of *England* unto the other, provided with sufficient Number of Post-Horses for this Purpose, and made several Journies into *France, Flanders, Brabant, and the United Provinces*, for treating with his Agents, and settling his Correspondents in Foreign Parts, all at his and their own proper Costs and Charges; and just as he was ready to publish the same, and give Notice to all Persons, when, and to what Places they should begin to bring their Letters, the said *Edmund Prideaux* prevailed with the then Convention, by passing certain Resolves to prevent the same; but the Improvement of the said Offices being thus discovered, and the late Usurper *Oliver* being informed thereof, did then, and not till then, without so much as any pretended Course of Law, seize both the said Offices into his own Hands.

Object. 1. But if it be said, that the Lord *Stanhope*, in Consideration of a Sum of Money, hath surrendered his Patent, and that in such Case, the King or Parliament may appoint another Comptroller or Postmaster-General.

Answer. It is answered, that the Lord *Stanhope* hath often denied to have made any such Surrender; and it doth not appear in Fact that there is such a Surrender, much less that there is any Judgment or Verdict in the Case, for evidencing that there ever was any such pretended Surrender.

Object. 2. If it be said, that it can be no Prejudice for the Parliament to pass an Act for his Majesty's constituting of another Comptroller or Postmaster-General, with a Proviso for saving of all Right and Title unto the said Lord *Stanhope*, and unto all Persons claiming under him.

Answer. It is for Answer humbly conceived, that scarce any Person will apprehend it to be agreeable, either to Justice or Equity, to have his Office settled in the King by Act of Parliament, and by Proviso to be put to suit to recover the same back again; or that any Person will be found, who holding either Land or Office from the Crown, whether for Life or Term of Years, will be content to have his Possession taken or with-held from him, because he hath improved the same, before the said Term of Years or Lives be expired.

Object. 3. If it be said, that the Parliament may now first hear and adjudge the Lord *Stanhope's* Surrender to be real and good, and then dispose of the said Offices, referring the said *George Porter* to take his Remedy at Law against the Lord *Stanhope* for having so surrendered.

Answer. It is for Answer humbly conceived to be a hard Case for the said *George Porter* and his Agents, who have done the Service of improving these Offices to a Revenue of 21500 *l.* a Year, and of saving 5000 *l.* a Year, which till then the Crown was at, to be defeated (by the Lord *Stanhope's* undue Surrender) of their Labours, Industry, and Charges, and not to be relieved by

by a Parliament ; especially since it is possible that another Court may find it to be no good Surrender in Law, or in Equity at least : And last of all, although the said Surrender, upon a Trial or Hearing, should prove real, and the said *George Porter* recover Damages, it may possibly prove so long first, through the Lord *Stanhope's* Peerage, and such other Delays as may be made, as that his Lordship, being very aged and infirm, may possibly be dead first, or his Estate be found entailed, or otherwise disposed of in such manner as the said *George Porter* and his Agents may still be left remediless until they be relieved in Parliament.

The said George Porter therefore humbly hopeth and prayeth, that neither himself, nor his Agents, may fare the worse for their having been ingenuous in contriving, and at great Charge in compassing so great an Improvement of the said Offices, which will come clear unto his Majesty after the Decease of the said Lord Stanhope, who is very aged and infirm ; but that either the whole Matter may be heard and determined in Parliament, and that the said George Porter, if there be just Cause, may be relieved by the Justice of this Parliament against the Lord Stanhope ; or that the whole Matter be referred to the Law ; and that in the mean time it may be permitted unto the said George Porter, and his Agents, to enjoy the Benefit of their Labours, Charges, Contrivance, and Improvement ; or that they may be otherwise satisfied for the same, before the said Offices be farmed out, or otherwise disposed of by Act of Parliament.

George Porter.

A View of the Fallacies contained in a late printed Paper, intituled, *The Lord Stanhope's Case and Title to the Office of Postmaster of the Posts and Messengers.*

Hereby also may be answered Mr. Henry Robinson's pretended Claim to the Post-Offices, the said Claim being (as he alledgeth) under the Lord Stanhope.

HOW easy a Thing it is for a Man to make his own Case seem fair and plausible, and to traduce and cast a Prejudice upon another Man's ; especially where both Parties are Competitors for the same Thing, it is no hard Matter to determine.

The Skill and Scope in framing the Lord *Stanhope's* Case, was to prepossess Men's Belief with this Prejudice, that Mr. *Witherings*, to whom, and to one Mr. *Frizel*, the late Sovereign Lord King *Charles* granted the Office of Postage in Foreign Parts, not being within his Majesty's Dominions, had no Title thereunto, but that the same was an Encroachment upon the Lord *Stanhope's* Patent ; and that nothing was granted to Mr. *Witherings* and Mr.

Frizel, but what was before granted to the Lord *Stanhope*; but whether this be so or no, is the Question. The Truth of the Lord *Stanhope's* Case, upon View of the several Patents therein alledged, appears to be no other than as followeth:

Queen *Elizabeth* (20 Junii, 32 Eliz.) granted the Office of Master of the Posts and Messengers, as well within the Kingdom of *England*, as in foreign Parts beyond the Seas within her Dominions to *John* Lord *Stanhope*, Father of the now Lord *Stanhope*, for his Life, with the Fee of one hundred Pounds *per Annum*, and Power to make a Deputy.

John Lord *Stanhope* (25 July, 5 Jac.) procures a new Patent (upon Surrender of the old one) for the same Office unto himself and his Son *Charles*, now Lord *Stanhope* (then being an Infant) for their Lives, viz. To hold to the Father first for his Life, and after his Death, Surrender, or Forfeiture, then to *Charles* the Son, for his Life, with a Fee of one hundred Marks *per Annum*, and Power of Deputation.

Matthew Dequester (30 April, 17 Jac.) obtains a Patent from King *James* of the Postmaster of *England*, for Foreign Parts being out of the King's Dominions, and this to be a sole Office of itself, and not Part or Member of any other Place or Postmaster.

Our late Sovereign Lord (15 Martii, 7 Car. I.) King *Charles* grants unto *Thomas Witherings* and *William Frizel* the same Office for their Lives, after the Determination of *Dequester's* Patent.

Charles Lord *Stanhope*, after the Death of his Father *John* Lord *Stanhope*, complaining to King *James* that *Dequester's* Grant did trench into his Office, his Majesty referred the Consideration thereof to *William* Earl of *Pembroke*, Mr. Secretary *Calvert*, Mr. Attorney *Coventry*, and Mr. Solicitor *Heath*, to certify their Opinions; who certified, that the Places and Employments were distinct (the Lord *Stanhope's*) being within the Kingdom, and within his Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas, and Mr. *Dequester's* being in Foreign Parts out of the King's Dominions, and that the Lord *Stanhope* had not shewed any thing to them to impeach *Dequester's* Grant, but that both the Grants were consistent; and thereupon King *James* confirmed *Dequester's* Grant made 17 *Jacobi*, which Complaint, Reference and Certificate, are recited both in the Confirmation of *Dequester's* Patent, and in the said Patent to *Witherings* and *Frizel*.

Of the same Opinion that the Referees certified were divers other learned Lawyers (whereof Three were afterwards Judges) who further also declared their Opinions to be, that the Patent to the Lord *Stanhope*, and *Charles* his Son, of the said Office, being an Office of Trust, and granted to *Charles* Lord *Stanhope*, during his Minority, was void in Law at the Time of the Grant, albeit he attained his Age of one and twenty Years before his Father's Death.

And further it plainly appears by the Record at the Chapel at the Rolls, that the Lord *Stanhope's* Patent was vacated upon his own Surrender thereof: And because this Truth stares every Man in the Face, the said printed Paper (not being able to contradict it) takes Liberty to insinuate a scandalous Accusation

sation at once against the Lords of the Council, Secretary of State, Clerk of the Council, the King's Attorney, the antientest Clerk of the Rolls, and that of no less Crimes than Bribery, Forgery, and other strange Practices. This Patent being surrendered and void, Mr. *Witherings* having with infinite Pains and Travel, and exceeding great Charge found out the true and exact Way of Correspondency, not formerly understood, obtains a Grant of the Inland * Post-Office during his own Life, the Sequestration whereof, although it was voted by the Parliament to be illegal, and ought to be taken off; yet by the great Power of Mr. *Prideaux* (who slipped into the Execution thereof) the said Mr. *Witherings* was by Force, during some Part of the latter End of his Life, deprived of the same.

It is true, that *Charles* Lord *Stanhope* supposing an Encroachment upon his Office, by *Dequester's* Patent, had about the 18th of King *James* brought an Action at Law against *Dequester*, and by Surprise or other Miscarriage at the Trial, got a Verdict; but it is as true, that the Plaintiff could never obtain Judgment upon that Trial, although endeavoured by all possible Means, admitting it to be true, that the King's Council at Law (upon a Reference to them) certified the Lord *Stanhope's* Right to the Foreign Office, as is pretended in the said printed Case of the Lord *Stanhope*; yet still that is to be intended to extend only to the Foreign Parts within the King's Dominions, and not to the Foreign Parts without the King's Dominions. (24 Jan. 4 Car. I.) The like may be said of the pretended Vote in Parliament, which was long Time before the Grant to *Witherings*.

By this which hath been said, it will easily appear what Art was used in framing the Lord *Stanhope's* said printed Case: But further, to take away all Scruple and Pretence whatsoever, let the Patents themselves speak their own Language. It will be expedient therefore to set down the very Words of the several Grants.

And first the Words of the Grant made by the Queen (20 Jan. 32 Eliz.) are *Officium Magistri Nunciorum & Cursorum communiter vocatum Postarum nostrarum tam infra Regnum nostrum Angliæ, quam in quibuscunque aliis partibus transmarinis in nostro Domino existentibus*. The very same Words are used in the Grant made to *John* Lord *Stanhope*, and *Charles* his Son, which Words (25 Julii, 5 Jac.) (as appears to every sensible Man) "extend not to all Foreign Parts beyond the Seas (as is suggested by the said printed Case) but do restrain and limit the said Grant to all such Foreign Parts only as are within the King's Dominions. Now the Words of the Grant made to † *Thomas Witherings* and *William Frizel* are these, viz. *The Office or Place of Postmaster of England, for Foreign Parts, being out of the Dominions of us, our Heirs and Successors*;" which Words do in no wise trench upon the Grant to the Lord *Stanhope*, but do very clearly distinguish the several Grants, certainly this must needs be a wilful Mistake, if the Composer of the printed Case had ever

* In April, 13 Car. I. the Inland Post-Office was then new erected, and called *The Letter Office of England*.

† 'Tis unnecessary, otherwise much more might be said upon searching Records, and

tracing the Lord *Stanhope's* several Proceedings in 1642 and 1645, and other Times before or since in Parliament, and other Places and Courts.

consulted with the Patents; but it may well be conjectured that he never saw them, but took the Matter up upon Trust; and the rather, because the Dates of all the said Grants are quite mistaken in the printed Case, besides divers other Misprisions therein committed.

The continual Claim of the Lord *Stanhope* is by the printed Paper made to be a great Argument of the Truth of the pretended foul Practice therein alledged to be put in Execution against him: But surely it is a far better Argument against his Title, that notwithstanding such continual Claim, and all Endeavours used, the Lord *Stanhope* could never be thought fit to be restored upon any Address, either to the Lords of the Council to his Majesty, or to the Parliament and other Courts, before any of which it cannot (without great and bold Presumption) be imagined he should not (upon just Cause) have been relieved.

Now though *William Witherings* never claimed any Thing in the Inland Office, by reason the Interest thereof determined upon the Death of *Thomas Witherings*, and is now in the Disposition of his Majesty, yet he proposeth these Lines to vindicate his own Right to the Foreign Post-Office, in regard the Insinuations of the said printed Paper have a Tendency to prejudice his Right, of which he humbly hopes there will be a just and tender Care had.

Thomas Lea, Rector of *Newton*, in the Isle of *Ely*,
his C A S E.

THE said Mr. *Lea* being undone by the horrid Rebellion in *Ireland*, came over into *England* with *Theophilus* late Bishop of *Dromore*, and was settled Lecturer of *Wisbech* in the Isle of *Ely*.

March 14, 1643, by an Order from the Committee for the Association at *Cambridge*, he was ejected and banished *Wisbech* and the Isle of *Ely* after nine Weeks Imprisonment, upon these Articles.

I. At the Battle of *Gainsborough* he spoke disgracefully of Colonel *Cromwell*, that he turned his Horse's Head, and bid every Man shift for himself.

II. That about a Month after he drank Prince *Rupert's* Health.

III. That he procured a strange Minister to preach, who prayed for the Queen of *Bohemia* and her Princely Issue.

IV. When he heard one *Stoneham*, in his Sermon there, say, The Common Prayer began with a Lye, he turned to the Text in *Ezekiel*, and shewed it to one Mr. *Buckworth*, and wrested that Scripture.

V. When afterwards *Stoneham* preached and said, It was now a lightsome Time, but the Times of the Bishops were like a Candle of Twenty in the Pound, all weak; at which Mr. *Lea* laughed.

VI. Mr. *Lea* preaching at *Wisbech* spoke against breaking down of Images in the Church Windows.

About

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 343

About seven Years since he was presented to the Rectory of *Newton* in the Isle of *Ely*, of which he is now in Possession.

A Month before his Majesty came into *England* last, and ever since, he hath constantly read and observed the Liturgy of the Church of *England* in the same Parish.

He is now Chaplain to the Lord *Townshend* of *Lyn-Regis* in *Norfolk*, and hath made several Applications to the Lord Bishop of *Ely*, by his Friends, and by several Petitions to be confirmed in the said Rectory, which is refused.

He humbly prayeth, that by the Equity of this Honourable House of Commons his Proviso to the Act for confirming the Ministers Bill now to pass may be added.

The Long Parliament revived : or, An Act for Continuation, and the not dissolving the Long Parliament (called by King *Charles* the First, in the Year 1640) but by an Act of Parliament ; with undeniable Reasons deduced from the said Act to prove that that Parliament is not yet dissolved. Also Mr. *William Pryn* his five Arguments fully answered ; whereby he endeavours to prove it to be dissolved by the King's Death, &c.

By Tho. Philips, Gentleman, a sincere Lover of his King and Country.

Printed in the Year 1661.

Anno 17 Caroli Regis.

An Act to prevent Inconveniencies which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament.

W Hereas great Sums of Money must of Necessity be speedily advanced and provided for Relief of his Majesty's Army and People in the Northern Parts of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent Danger this Kingdom is in, and for Supply of other his Majesty's present and urgent Occasions, which cannot be so timely effected as is requisite, without Credit for raising the said Moneys ; which Credit cannot be obtained until such Obstacles be first removed, as are occasioned by Fears, Jealousies, and Apprehensions of divers his Majesty's loyal Subjects ; that this present Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved before Justice shall be duly executed upon Delinquents ; public Grievances redressed ; a firm Peace
between

between the two Nations of *England* and *Scotland* concluded; and before, sufficient Provision be made for the Re-payment of the said Monies so to be raised. All which the Commons in this present Parliament assembled having duly considered, do therefore humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty, that it may be declared and enacted.

And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that this present Parliament, now assembled, shall not be dissolved, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be passed for that Purpose: Nor shall be at any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued, or adjourned, unless it be by Act of Parliament to be likewise passed for that Purpose. And that the House of Peers shall not at any Time or Times, during this present Parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own Order: And in like manner, that the House of Commons shall not at any Time, or Times, during this present Parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own Order. And that all, and every Thing, and Things, whatsoever done, or to be done, for the Adjournment, Proroguing, or Dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none Effect.

The Long Parliament revived.

TO the end the Peace of this Nation may be established upon a firm and lasting Foundation, and that after one Shipwreck, hardly escaped, we run not blindfold again upon a more fatal and irrecoverable Rock of Confusion; the Author of this small Paper (out of tender Compassion to his native Country, and with all humble Respects of due Allegiance and Honour to his Royal Majesty that now is) hath thought fit (with the premised Act of Parliament) to offer some few Arguments to the World, naturally flowing from the Authority and Reason of it; which, if timously hearkened to, may yet prove a healing Remedy against the sad Breaches of this shattered Kingdom, and prevent those other Mischiefs, which the Obstinacy of injudicious and self-willed Persons will inevitably bring upon themselves and us: And if convincing Reason may bear the Sway in this perverse Age, wherein every Man would make his petty private Designs to be his Law, rather than common Equity, or the established Law of the Nation, he doubts not of the desired Success he aims at, with God's Blessing, in this ensuing Discourse.

That the Safety and Happiness of this Kingdom lies in Parliaments rightly constituted, and in the Preservation of their just and lawful Privileges, I suppose there are none, of what different Judgments soever in other Things, who are Subjects of this Nation, and of sober Principles, but will readily grant it; and if so, the contrary thereunto will then, without doubt, as easily be concluded.

Which Maxim being yielded in Reference to other Parliaments, it must, in Proportion, hold as true in relation to the Long Parliament, called by the late King *Charles* the First, of blessed Memory, in the Year 1640; whose
Being

Being and Legal Authority is still so visibly existent, by Virtue of the forementioned Act, that when the Subjects of this Nation have seriously considered of it, they will doubtless see they have no Reason to hold themselves safe in their Lives, Liberties and Estates, till it have made Provision in that behalf, and it be legally dissolved according to the Tenor of the said Act, by Act of Parliament for that Purpose.

And therefore, being that so great a Dis-security to the Subjects, and the Peace of the Kingdom, is incumbent hereupon (as who doth not evidently perceive it, in case that Parliament is yet in its legal Force and Being) how much doth it concern every Subject of this Nation to be groundedly satisfied in this Particular, by a solid answering of those Objections that seem to militate against the Verity of this Assertion: That Men's Minds may be settled, together with the Peace of the Nation, upon a sure Foundation of Law and Righteousness, and we may not, like the Waves of the Sea, be still fluctuating to and fro in Doubts and Uncertainties, by the divers Winds of Men's contrary Judgments and Opinions, to the continual Hazard of our dearest Concernments.

To evidence the still legal Being of that foresaid Parliament, the Act speaks sufficiently for itself, in plain and express Terms; yet to make it more clear, these following Arguments, from the Act itself, and the Title of it, doth more apparently evince it.

1. To begin with the Title; which is, *An Act to prevent Inconveniencies that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, or Dissolving of this present Parliament*; which Inconveniencies are specified in the following Preamble of the said Act, whereof chiefly one is this: *Lest Credit should not be obtained for raising of Monies for Relief of his Majesty's Army, and People in the North, and for Supply of other his Majesty's present and urgent Occasions, through the continued Fears of the Subjects, lest the Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, before sufficient Provision be made for Re payment of the said Monies to be raised.* In which Words there are two Things principally to be considered, in Reference to the Intent and Meaning of this Act, why it was made.

First, For the obtaining of Credit, in order to the raising of considerable Sums of Money for Supply of the King's, and Kingdom's great Necessities; which could never have been done (as by the Act itself is supposed) had not this Act been made, it being the only Ground and Foundation of Encouragement for the Credit which was to be given in order to the raising of the said Monies, and did accordingly effect it.

Secondly, The Parliament could not without this be in any secure Condition to make Provision for the Re-payment of the said Money so to be raised, in regard that through Defect of such an Act, the Parliament might be in continual Danger to be untimely dissolved, (and by the clear Scope of the Act, 'tis accounted an untimely Dissolution, if dissolved before the said Provision be made) therefore the Dissolution of the said Parliament before such Provision made for Re-payment of the said Monies, which is not yet done, is expressly contrary to the true Meaning and Intention of this Act.

And if this Act were made purposely to prevent the untimely Dissolution of the Parliament (as it stands express in the Title) then it cannot but have Respect to the King's Death, as well as to any other Means of untimely Dissolution; the Parliament well knowing the King's Life was as uncertain, yea, in some respects more uncertain, than the Life of other Men, and therefore could not chuse but so understand it, if they intend this Act to be any Security for the Monies borrowed, or to be borrowed upon their Credit.

Secondly, In the Substance and Body of the Act, 'tis delivered in express Terms, *That this present Parliament shall not be dissolved but by an Act of Parliament.* Whence it follows, that if not dissolvable, unless by an Act of Parliament, then it is exclusive to all other Ways and Means of Dissolution (as the Interruption by armed Violence, the forceable Omission of Days of Adjournment, the violent, or natural Death of the King) or whatsoever else might be done, or have happened legally to dissolve it, had not this Act been made or constituted.

Thirdly and Lastly, To make all clear, without any Execution, in the Close of the said Act, it is expressed, *That all and every Thing and Things whatsoever done, or to be done, for the Adjourning, Proroguing, or Dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void and of none Effect.* Which Clause you see looks backward and forwards in Reference to whatsoever had a legal Power and Tendency before this Act to dissolve the Parliament. Against which, this Act hath fully provided, That neither what hath been done for the Time past, nor whatsoever shall be done for Time to come, shall dissolve this Parliament, excepting an Act of the said Parliament. Whence I argue, That all those Things that otherwise legally would or might have dissolved this Parliament, had not this Act been made, have no Force or Efficacy to dissolve this, but only an Act of this present Parliament, all other Parliaments having no legal Capacity till this be legally dissolved, unless it be granted, that two Parliaments may have both of them legal Capacity at one and the same Time; which I believe there are none so absurd as to aver; no more than two Kings may have a legal Capacity at one Time in the same Kingdom.

But because there are divers Objections that seem to oppose the Premises, and the legal Being and Capacity of the said Parliament, I shall endeavour to answer them as strongly, and yet as briefly as I may, to every ordinary Reader's Understanding.

The first and grand Objection of all is the Death of the late King that summoned this Parliament in the Year 1640, and is argued by Mr. * *William Pryn*; because, saith he, *it had been frequently resolved by Parliaments themselves, the reverend Judges, and our Law-Books, by King Charles's own Declaration, and his Judges and Council, that the Deposition and Death of the King doth actually dissolve the Parliament, &c.*

To which I answer, by way of Concession, that the Death of the King doth legally, or according to Custom, dissolve a Parliament that is only called

* See his true and perfect Narrative of what was done and spoken by and between Mr. *Pryn* and the old, and newly forcibly se-

cluded Members, beginning fol. 24, and forwards. Printed in the Year 1659.

and constituted by the King's Writ; but not a Parliament constituted and confirmed by an Act of the three Estates. Let Mr. *Pryn*, or any other Lawyer, shew me any Law or Precedent to that Purpose, and I will presently yield the Cause.

If Mr. *Pryn* would have spoken home to this Case, he should have made it appear where, or when, it had been resolved by Parliament, the Judges, and our Law Books, &c. that in case of an Act of Parliament made for the Session, and Continuance of a Parliament, till they should dissolve themselves by an Act, that such a Parliament hath been, or shall nevertheless be dissolved by the King's Death, which it is believed he will find a very hard Task to prove.

Secondly, he objects, *The Parliament is no standing Court, sitting at certain Seasons by positive Laws, but summoned and constituted by the King's Writ of Summons and Royal Prerogative, when, and where he pleaseth, and adjourned, prorogued, and dissolved by his Writ alone in point of Law, &c.*

I answer again, by way of Concession, that Parliaments, according to their wonted and by-past Customs, were no certain Courts, sitting at certain Seasons by positive Law; but yet may be made such by Act of the three Estates. Witness the Triennial Parliament.

And further, by an extraordinary Grant of his late Majesty, this Parliament was made a standing Court to sit constantly by a positive Law, till they should please to dissolve themselves, he having been pleased by the said Grant, for the better Security of his Subjects, to wave his Royal Prerogative and Power of Dissolution, and to give his Consent for the nulling of all other Means tending thereunto.

And for what Mr. *Pryn* intimates further in the said Objection, *That because all Writs of Summons are actually abated by the King's Death, as well as all other Commissions and Patents of all Judges, Justices, &c. that therefore this Parliament must needs be dissolved.*

I answer, That doth not at all follow, till he can make it appear, that there is no more Validity in an Act of Parliament of the three Estates, than there is in a meer Writ of Summons, or a Commission or Patent granted only by the King; for though this Parliament was summoned by the King's Writ, yet 'tis manifest its Continuance and Confirmation did not at all depend upon that (for then he might still have dissolved it when he pleased) but upon the Act of the three Estates, who had established it by Law, and so was no more dissolveable by the King's Death, than any other Statute Law, or Act of Parliament whatsoever; and therefore is not depending on so fickle a Thing as a Writ of Summons or a Patent, or a Commission given the Judges, and which the King may take away and repeal again at his own Pleasure.

And to illustrate this more by an Instance, I shall desire to ask Mr. *Pryn* this Question: Put the Case that there are certain urgent Necessities (as before specified in the Act) that the Parliament hath Occasion for great Sums of Money for preserving the Peace of the Kingdom; this Money they must take up upon their Credits; but they see no Ways how to raise or to repay it, unless their Session be continued for seven Years; therefore to get Credit for

raising the said Money, and Time to reimburse, or give Security to the Lenders, they obtain the King's Consent to an Act for their Continuance during the said Term (with this Proviso inserted) though the King by any Accident should happen to die before the said Security were given, or the Monies paid; whether doth the Parliament in this Case continue in Force and Efficacy after the King's Death, or is it then actually dissolved?

If Mr. Pryn grant it a Parliament in force after the King's Death, upon this Consideration (as I conceive he cannot deny it) then 'tis apparent that 'tis not the King's Death barely that doth of itself dissolve a Parliament, *viz.* I say a Parliament established by a Law; and consequently then not this Parliament, the Reason being alike for the one as for the other.

But if he shall aver (which to me is incredible) that notwithstanding such an Act, yet by the King's Death 'tis legally dissolved, then it will necessary follow that Parliament Security (which was ever looked upon till now as inviolable) is most dangerous, and of all others least to be trusted, and the Subjects had need be warned to take Heed of it, seeing it must wholly depend upon so uncertain a Thing as the King's Life; which as it throws no small Dishonour upon that High Court, so it will be no little Prejudice to public Emergencies; for if the King die half a Year after the Monies borrowed, and before the Security be given (and he hath no surer or longer a Lease of his Life than other Men) all the said Monies must absolutely be lost, and so the Subject defrauded; no future Parliament being bound to make good the Acts and Deeds of a Former, further than they will or please themselves: And it is to be wished, that the Kingdom may not now too sadly have Experience of it.

Thirdly, Mr. Pryn objects, *the King's Name in which the Writs for Election are issued forth; that because they go out in the Name of the King reigning, and so calls the Persons elected to advise with him personally; and the Parliament to be convened is called his Parliament, and is to consult of the arduous Business of the Kingdom concerning him, &c. therefore when the King dies, who called the Parliament to advise and consult with himself, the Parliament must necessarily be dissolved, unless they could be supposed to consult and advise with him of the weighty Affairs of his Kingdom after his Decease.*

To this I answer first, That though the Writs of Summons runs, to consult with the King personally, or by Name, yet they say not, to consult with him only, and so are not so exclusive (having respect to the Reason and Equity of the Law) but that the same Parliament may also consult with the Successor, if the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom do require; granting this Maxim to be undeniably true, that the Safety of the People is the supreme Law.

And though the Parliament summoned by the King's Writ he called his Parliament, yet his Death doth no more vacate it (being established by Law) than it doth other Laws by the same King made, which are most properly called his Laws, because enacted with his personal Consent; and yet we know that they are not so his, but that they are also the Laws of his Successors, and are so commonly called.

Besides, by constituting the Parliament to dure till they dissolve themselves by an Act, the King virtually waved the Authority of his Writs of Summons,
in

in which Writs the Parliament is expressed to be called to consult with him by Name; no such Thing being in the least said or expressed in the Act by which this Parliament is now confirmed to continue, &c. therefore it matters not, neither is it at all to the Purpose in this Case, how, or in what Name the Writs of Summons, whereby this Parliament was first called, were issued forth; for as much as this Parliament consists no longer by any Authority derivative from those Writs (that Foundation being wholly taken away) but only by Act of the three Estates, as is evident in that the King could not now dissolve it by his personal Authority any more; and if his personal Authority he being living (which is affirmative) could not dissolve it, then his Death, which is but negative, or a Cessation of the Influence of his personal Authority, can much less do it.

And farther, by way of Interrogation, I would ask Mr. *Pryn*, whether he will grant any more Privilege (in the Case of the King's Death) to a Parliament established by a Law, than he will do to a Parliament only called and constituted by the King's Writs? (between which he cannot surely but say there is a wide Difference;) and if he yields, the Privilege doth excel (as he must needs) on the Side of the Parliament that is established by a Law. In what Sense can he conceive it to be, as the Case here put, unless by the Duration of its Authority after the King's Death who called it; of which Privilege the Parliament only constituted by the King's Writs comes short, and fails, as before acknowledged, by the King's Death.

And I would fain know what Reason there is, that a strained Exposition of the Statute Law, as this is (that this Parliament should be dissolved by the King's Death) should take place against the express literal Sense of it, which is, (that it shall not be dissolved but by an Act) when as the strained Sense also is evidently dangerous, unsafe, and prejudicial to the Public, but the literal exceeding beneficial.

The Calling of Parliaments in this or that King's Name, to consult or advise with this or that King, these are but circumstantial Things, and done for Order Sake, and nothing of the Substantials and Essence of the Government and Kingdoms Welfare; and therefore, if Parliaments, called in this or that King's Name, to advise with this or that King, should continue in force (though there were no Act for it) after this or that King's Death, there were no Danger or Inconvenience in it (how much less when an Act, as now, implicitly passed to that Purpose) but rather the contrary, they may consult with as much Safety and Advantage to the Kingdom with the Successor as they did with the deceased King.

But to dissolve Parliaments rashly and untimely, may throw a well-settled Kingdom into very great and hazardous Difficulties; and how sad a Thing were it, and how contrary to the general Rule of the People's Safety (which in the Government of a Nation ought to be valued before any thing, and is the End of Government) if for Circumstances the general Welfare and Peace of the Kingdom must be hazarded.

Fourthly, As to what Mr. *Pryn* objects, concerning a Man by his Will or Deed, or the King by his Commission, or the Parliament by special Act and Order,
authorizing

authorizing and empowering any three Persons jointly to sell Land, give Livery and Seisin, execute any Commission, &c. And that in case any of them die, the two Survivors jointly, or severally, can do nothing; because their Authority and Trust was joint and not several, &c. Applying this to the Parliament, which being (as he now expresseth it) a Corporation compacted jointly of the King, Lords, and Commons House, and three Estates, that therefore the Death of the King necessarily dissolves it, notwithstanding this Act.

I answer, This doth no more prove it, than any of his former Arguments; for this Similitude doth not hold Proportion, nor come up to our present Case.

For we have not here to do with one Estate or more, that hath absolute Power in itself (and intends to execute it) to constitute other Persons for any Office or Trust, as a single Person, &c. that makes a Will or Deed doth constitute three or more Persons in Trust for the Execution of his Will or Deed, whose joint Power being expressed in the said Will or Deed, it necessarily fails upon the Death of any one of them, because jointly and not severally intrusted.

But with a Parliament who have voluntarily engaged themselves upon a Trust and Credit received from the People for their Security, with the Consent of the King, making a Law to preserve their Session, and establish their own Authority against all Means of their untimely Dissolution, till they had honourably discharged their Trust, and given Security and Satisfaction to those that gave them Credit; which nothing concerns any Power or Authority to be given to others, whether three or more Persons (according to Mr. Pryn's Instance) to be executed jointly, wherein a Failure may be through any one of their Deaths.

But because there seems something still to be unanswered to this Objection, in Reference to the conjunctive Power of the Parliament, consisting of three Estates, therefore this also is fully resolved in the following Answer to what Mr. Pryn intimates concerning the King's being a Part of the Parliament, who saith, *That because the King is a Part of the Parliament, therefore if the King dies the Parliament must needs be dissolved.*

To which I answer, That the King is rather a Part of the Parliament in his politic than in his personal Capacity, which is always subject to Death, but his politic never. With this agrees that famous Lawyer Sir Edward Cook (see the third Part of his Institutes, Chapter the first) where speaking of the High Court of Parliament, and of what Persons it consisteth, saith in the first Place, and in express Words, That it consists of the King's Majesty sitting there, as in his Royal Politic Capacity, &c. and if so, then the Parliament dies not in all Cases when the King dies; (and if this holds good in any Case, then surely in case of an Act to that Purpose) for though his Person be dead, yet his Royal Authority lives, as is sufficiently evident by the Force and Authority of all our Laws, till repealed by Act of Parliament.

But besides, it may thus farther be argued clearly: The Members of the two Houses of Parliament, though many of them die (as often-times it comes to pass, and 'tis possible they may all die by Degrees before the Parliament rise) yet the Parliament is not dissolved, because they are not now the very same individual

individual Persons that were chosen first by the King's Writs of Summons. 'Tis sufficient that there have been new Writs issued forth from that House, or Estate of Parliament whereof they were Members, whereby new Elections, &c. have been made, and so other Members returned to supply the Places of the dead ones: And if this be good in the Case of the two Houses of Parliament, &c. (which no Man that understands Law, and the Usage of Parliament, will deny) then it is much more good in the Case of the King's Majesty's Person, whose Royal Estate and Authority is so evident, that it is a declared undeniable Maxim in our Laws, He never dies; so that what new Writs do legally for supply of the Places of the dead Members to continue the Estate and Authority of the two Houses of Parliament; that, and much more eminently the King's immediate Succession to the Crown, after his Father's or Predecessor's Death doth do, by Virtue of his Royal Birth-right and Title of Inheritance, there being this grand Difference between Members of Parliament dying, and the King: They so die, that their Authority cannot be revived but by new Elections, or Writs of Summons; but the King so dies that his Authority still lives by immediate Succession: Whence it is that the Royal Seat is never vacant, that there should be a Failure, to make good the Royal Actions of the Predecessor: And thus the third Estate in Parliament always living, the joint Power still continues, and so there is no Necessity the Parliament should dissolve, as Mr. Pryn affirms, due Circumstances and Actions being weighed, and the Necessities of the Kingdom well considered.

Fifthly, Therefore by what hath been said already, Mr. Pryn's fifth and last Argument must needs be out of Doors, which is this, *That because the End of Parliament is to enact new Laws, and repeal others, &c. which cannot be done but by the King's Assent; and this Parliament being to be dissolved by an Act, and an Act being now impossible to be made by that King for the Dissolution of it, he being dead, therefore his Death must needs dissolve the Parliament, notwithstanding this Act.*

I answer in the Negative, In no wise; for though he be dead, as aforesaid, in his personal (which Mr. Pryn seems to answer too weakly in his following Objection) yet not in his politic Capacity; and therefore if the dead King cannot enact Laws by the Parliament, yet his Successor can, who comes immediately to the Crown after his Father's Death: And as hath been shewed, 'tis no ways inconvenient, but may many ways be advantageous to the Public: That should the King chance any ways untimely to be taken away, the Parliament should continue after the King's Death; whose Death, if it should necessarily, as Mr. Pryn affirms, dissolve the Parliament, so untimely a Dissolution, as the Case might stand, might prove very dangerous and pernicious to the Kingdom.

Besides, the Act doth not limit the Parliament's Dissolution as lawful only, if it be done by an Act of that King then living when the Act was made; but in the general it limits it to an Act of Parliament, that it shall not be dissolved but by an Act of Parliament: And why the Predecessor's Authority and Consent should not be as binding to his Successor in this Case, till so dissolved, as in case of any other Law made with his Consent, I would very gladly know a solid Reason for it; being that to all Intents and Purposes, an
Act

Act for Confirmation, or Dissolution, may be as virtual and efficacious, without any Prejudice, by the Consent and Authority of the Successor, as of the Father.

And further, the Act is also herein expressed, that by no other Way or Means, *but by an Act of Parliament it shall be dissolved*; which being it cannot be done by the dead King, but may be done by the Successor, it ought so to be dissolved, or else it must and doth, by Virtue of this Act, still remain legally in full Being and Authority.

Sixtly, As to what may be objected concerning the Dissolution of this Parliament by an Act, when the secluded Members were lately admitted, the Argument is so weak, that I thought wholly to have omitted the least Mention of it: Yet in regard it is objected by some, who seem to receive Satisfaction by it, and there to acquiesce, I shall give this Answer in brief to it.

First, That at the best that that was but an Act (so called) of the House of Commons, and so consequently far short of the Authority of an Act of Parliament, or any legal Pretence of it, which only consists of King, Lords, and Commons; and therefore by any such appellative Act, this Parliament can no ways be dissolveable.

And further, the utmost Authority that the House of Commons hath given them by the aforesaid Act (for the Continuation of this Parliament, till they dissolve themselves by an Act) is but to adjourn themselves by an Order of their own House, as is expressed in the said Act; by which 'tis evident, that they have no Power to dissolve themselves, much less by any Act they can do to dissolve the Parliament.

And here it is worth the observing (before I pass over this Act of the House of Commons, whereby it is endeavoured to dissolve the Parliament) that in their Judgments and Consciences there was Need of an Act to dissolve the Parliament; and therefore by this Act of theirs they did implicitly grant, that before the passing of the said Act the Parliament was not then dissolved; (and so consequently did acknowledge it not to be dissolved by the King's Death, which happened many Years before) and if not dissolved by the King's Death, then much less by the said Act of the House of Commons (which carries not the least Shadow of legal Authority with it, as aforesaid, for the Dissolution of it) and therefore by the Judgment of the said House, rightly understood, it is still legally in Force and Being.

But because some do object, that in regard the Lords Spiritual (to wit) the Bishops, were outed the House of Peers before the passing this Act for Continuation of the Parliament, whereby their Votes and Consents were never had in the Case, that therefore it was an illegal Act, and so fell void in itself.

I answer briefly, That the Abbots and Priors (Twenty-nine in Number, who were formerly Lords of Parliament, and held * *per Baronium* from the King, and had their Seats and Votes in the House of Peers, as well as the Temporal Lords) were dissolved in the Reign of King Henry VIII. and yet all

* See Sir Edw. Cook, in his third Part of Instit. of the High Court of Parliament, how the Lords give their Voice, p. 35.

Parliaments since, with all their Acts, have been held for legal and authentic, without the least Question or Contradiction of their Authority, and therefore is as little to be scrupled here in our present Case, which is the same; the Bishops Privilege and Right to sit in Parliament being also null, and made void, as well as theirs by Act of Parliament: Whereunto much more might here be said to this Purpose, but that I would not be too tedious.

Seventhly, I have but one Word more, which answers most fully and unquestionable all Mr. *Pryn*'s Objections at once, or what else may be said for the Dissolution of this Parliament by the King's Death; and that is taken from the supreme Legislative Authority under God, that the three Estates, *viz.* King, Lords, and Commons, legally called, have over all Persons and Causes in the whole Nation: By Virtue whereof they have Power to do the highest * Actions the Nation is capable of, though it be even to the dismembring of the Parliament itself, and dissolving a considerable Part of it, or altering any other fundamental Constitutions they please, so they see it necessary for the public Good (as particularly in the Case of the Bishops, called the Spiritual Lords, and by some affirmed to be the third Estate in Parliament, who nevertheless have been excluded by an Act of the King, Lords, and Commons, from their antient Right of Sitting and Voting in Parliament, when in their Wisdom their Session there appeared hurtful to Church and State); for who may question or controul the Actions of a lawful Parliament, while none in the Kingdom can so much as pretend to be above them: And if their Authority be of so large an Extent, even in Matters of greatest Weight and Moment, then much more in Things of far inferior, and much less Concernment, as is the Confirmation of a Parliament to continue after the King's Death who called it, if the three Estates shall see good to pass an Act, as now they have done to that Purpose (implicitly, though not in express Terms) the King happening to die before it hath been dissolved by an Act of Parliament, as by the three Estates hath been firmly enacted, it should be so dissolved, and no otherwise.

By this Time it may be hoped the legal Being and Authority of the Long Parliament is sufficiently evident; the Truth whereof being so clearly proved, both by Law and Reason, how much doth it unfold to us the sad and dangerous Estate of the Kingdom, whilst under the Constitution of such Powers as neither in Estate, Liberty, or Life, (though otherwise of good Inclination to the Public) can give the Nation any legal Security.

For though many excellent Things have been done by the singular Wisdom of this present Parliament, now sitting, that are of special Tendency in themselves, for the Good and Safety of the Nation, through his Majesty's most gracious Condescension, for which we have infinite Cause to bless God; yet † herein the great Unhappiness, that whilst their Authority is not legally

* See Sir *Edw. Cook*, the third Part of his Institutes of the High Court of Parliament, of the Power and Jurisdiction of the Parliament, fol. 36, who saith, That the Power and Jurisdiction of the Parliament for making

of Laws, in proceeding by Bill, is so transcendant and absolute, as it cannot be confined either for Causes or Persons within any Bounds, &c.

† *Vide* Postscript.

founded, the Nation can promise themselves no Assurance for the lasting Enjoyments of those Benefits and Securities they have given it, being, 'tis to be feared, and too justly, they fall void of themselves by Virtue of the said Parliament's illegal Policy and Constitution.

Therefore how much were it to be wished, that the supreme Legislative Authority of the Nation might again revert into that Channel, by which the Peace and Settlement of the Nation, through his Majesty's most gracious Influence, might durably, and without question, be provided for and preserved.

In reference to which, I shall humbly take the Boldness to offer it as a weighty and serious Consideration to this present Parliament, now sitting, whether they should not do well (for their own Safety as well as the Nation's) to advise his Majesty in this particular, (they only having the Privilege and Opportunity now effectually to do it) their Case in point of Safety or Danger being the same with the rest of the People's, when once they shall come to be dissolved.

But now here, because the Fears and Scruples which at first Apprehension are apt to arise in the Hearts of the Generality of the Kingdom, may seem a great Obstruction in Prudence against the Return of that Parliament to sit again, in reference to the Danger of perpetuating of it, who therefore may be ready to say, By so doing we may enslave King and Kingdom to such a Yoke of Bondage as we may never be able to break off our own Necks, or the Necks of our Posterity any more.

I shall give hereunto this closing Answer, That the Scruple is very rational; and though such a Thing, there is a Possibility they might do or attempt (though very improbably effect) if they should so wickedly abuse their Trust; yet those Fears will soon be removed from wise and discreet Persons, if we do but seriously consider, that the far greater Number of the Members surviving are of the *Secluded Party*, who were thrust and forced out of the House for their Loyalty to the King, or of those that withdrew themselves upon the Offence given by occasion of the Army's Violence against King and Parliament, and have been the chief Instruments of his present Majesty's happy Restoration; and therefore being Persons so qualified, we may easily believe they will not be very willing to draw such an Odium upon their unstained Credits, as will inevitably follow, (besides the further Mischiefs will be apt to ensue to themselves and the Nation, by renewed Discontents) should they go about to ingross the Authority of the Nation any longer in their own Hands, than will be necessary for public Safety, with his present Majesty's Approbation; who, for further Security against those Fears, may easily summon them together by his Proclamation to *Whitehall*, or where else he pleaseth before their Session again in Parliament, and there receive their personal Promise and Engagement, to confirm the Acts of this present Parliament, and to prepare a Bill the first thing they do, at a certain Time to be agreed on betwixt his Majesty and them, to dissolve themselves, and for his Majesty's issuing out Writs for the Summoning of a new Parliament, that so Things may sweetly return again without Violence or Injury done either to his Majesty's

P O S T S C R I P T.

BEcause there are great and general Dissatisfactions concerning this present Parliament, so called, now sitting, in question of its legal Right and Authority (being the Author's Design is nothing else but the Peace and Security of his native Country, and a thorough healing of our Wounds and Breaches) he humbly desires further to offer these few following Particulars to the grave and serious Consideration of those that are more learned in the Laws, in hopes that some eminent Person of that Profession will give a solid and judicious Resolution to them.

First, Sir *Edward Cook*, in the third Part of his *Institutes*, writing of the High Court of Parliament, and of what Persons that Court consists, speaking of the Temporal Lords, as Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, and Barons, who sit there by reason of their Dignities which they hold by Descent or Creation, saith, That every one of these, being of full Age, ought to have a Writ of Summons *ex debito Justitiæ*.

Where note, two Things are required to the Legality of their Session in Parliament.

First, That they be of full Age; and if that be a Qualification legally required of Peers (for it will easily be granted to be most absurd and unjust, that they that have not Power by Law (as all Infants under Age have not) to dispose of any Part of their own Estates, or to make one legal Act to that Purpose (that such should have a Share in the supreme Power, to judge, vote, and dispose of the Estate and Authority of the whole Kingdom;) I say then by Rule of Proportion, that it is a Qualification as necessarily required of the Commons upon the said Consideration: And it were happy for this Nation therefore, that it were better looked after for the future, that so those Mischiefs may be prevented, which too often ensue to the Public, by bringing such green Heads into so wise and grave a Council.

Secondly, 'Tis required to their legal Session in Parliament, that the said Lords have Writs of Summons, which these now sitting in this present Parliament never had.

Next, the said Sir *Edward Cook*, in the forecited Place, saith, That the Commons, which he calls there the Third Estate of the Realm, consisting of Knights of Shires for Counties, Citizens of Cities, and Burgeses of Boroughs; they all are respectively to be elected by the Shires or Counties, Cities and Boroughs, by Force of the King's Writ *ex debito Justitiæ*; but the Commons of this present Parliament were not so chosen, but by Force of a Writ in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*.

Thirdly, he saith, That at the Return of the Writs, the Parliament cannot begin but by the Royal Presence of the King, either in Person, or by Representation: By Representation, two Ways; either by a Guardian of *England* by Letters Patents under the Great Seal, when the King is in remote Parts

out of the Realm, or by Commission, under the Great Seal of *England*, to certain Lords of Parliament, representing the Person of the King, he being within the Realm in respect of some Infirmary: (See Sir *Edward Cook* in his third Part of *Institutes of the High Court of Parliament*, concerning the Beginnings of Parliaments, Page 6.) But this Parliament began without the Royal Presence of the King, either in Person or by Representation.

Fourthly, That the Substance of the Writs of Summons must continue in their original Essence without any Alteration or Addition, unless it be by Act of Parliament. (See the same Sir *Edward Cook* in his third Part of *Institutes of the High Court of Parliament*, concerning Writs of Summons in Parliament, P. 10.) But how great an Alteration and Addition to the Substance of the Writs of Summons is this, to issue them forth in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, with the least Authority of Parliament, which by the express Statute ought only to be issued forth in the Name of the King.

And therefore, if there be any Weight in Mr. *Pryn*'s aforesaid Argument, to null a Parliament, because of the King's Death who called it, in regard the Writs of Summons were issued forth in the Name of that King deceased, with whom by Name the Members of Parliament were called to consult and advise, but now cannot; it will, I conceive, be no hard Question to resolve, (and it were good Mr. *Pryn* would undertake it without Partiality or Affection) whether the Parliament doth not *ipso facto* fall void, and all the Acts of it, further than they shall be confirmed by a lawful Parliament which is not called by any Writs of the King's at all, but only by Writs, as aforesaid, in the Name of the *Keepers of the Liberties of England*, (and by those Writs, none but the Commons) with whom they are summoned to consult too about the Businesses of a Commonwealth (which these Times have sufficiently taught us the Meaning of) and not with the King about the arduous Businesses of his Kingdom.

These premised Illegalities considered, in reference to this present Parliament (the legal Being and Capacity, as premised, of the *Long Parliament*, being supposed to be here totally waved) whether is this a lawful Parliament, and capable to make legal and binding Acts? or having been declared a lawful Parliament by an Act by themselves made since their Session, with the King's Consent, whether can the King's Consent make them such, though otherwise unlawful in their Call, Principle, and Foundation?

For I would put the Case, the King should have come in while *Oliver* or *Richard*'s Parliament had been sitting (to which the Lords, as now, should have presented themselves without Writs of Summons) and his Majesty, under that Constitution, should have consented to a Bill to grant them a lawful Parliament, Would that at all have made them so, under such a Constitution? Can that which is unlawful in itself, and contrary to the fundamental Constitutions of the Nation, be made lawful barely by the King's Consent.

Which, if it shall be pleaded in the Affirmative (though I very much question, whether any understanding Lawyer will venture his Reputation on it) I shall desire then to be instructed in a better Argument, to make good the lawful Being and Authority of the *Long Parliament*; for surely if a Parliament be
lawful,

lawful, meerly because of the King's Consent, passing an Act to that Purpose, though otherwise utterly unlawful in its Call and Foundation, then doubtless that Parliament is much more lawful, and in its legal Being that was founded upon a lawful Call, and had the King's Consent to an Act to authorize it to continue till they dissolve themselves by an Act; and if that be still a lawful Parliament, then I am sure, upon that Account, this can be none, nor no other, till that be legally dissolved.

To which there is this further to be added concerning the Intentions generally of the whole Nation, in reference to this Parliament, by the best Information I can gather, that it was never in the least meant, that these should sit to pass Acts as a lawful Parliament (which was only like to prove a Snare to the People, as other Parliaments of the like Nature, so called, have done, through the Disputeableness and Unwarrantableness of their Authority) but only, that for the present Necessity they might bear the Face of parliamentary Authority, for preserving the Peace of the Nation, till his Royal Majesty, that now is, might be happily restored (the Kingdom panting after him as their only Means of Settlement) and so soon as that was effected, then to dissolve, in order to the sending forth his Majesty's Royal Writ of Summons for calling a Parliament, according to the ancient Custom and fundamental Constitution (the old Parliament being first legally dissolved) that so all Things might return again into a legal and uncontroversable Way of Proceedings, to the Quiet of all Men's Minds, and Satisfaction of the whole Kingdom, who are sufficiently weary of the Mischiefs of irregular Actings by illegal Authorities.

C O N C L U S I O N.

IF the Power of the Sword, or other arbitrary Proceedings, do not interpose to interrupt free Debates, and the Course of Law and Justice, which the Author hopes there is now no Cause to fear as formerly (all Estates and Degrees in the Nation having sufficiently seen the Inconvenience, and tasted the Smart of such unrighteous Actings) he doubts not (upon a serious Consideration of the foregoing Arguments, if Men will lay aside Passion and Self-interest) but that right Foundations will shortly again be restored, that knowing our Ground-work to be sure and unquestionable, the Subjects of all sorts in the Kingdom may with all Safety and Chearfulness submit to, and act under the lawful Powers in being, every one sitting in Peace under his own Vine and Fig-tree, blessing the God of his Salvation; which is daily the Author's earnest and most happy Prayer.

The long Parliament is not revived by *Thomas Philips* : Or,
an Answer to *Thomas Philips* his *Long Parliament* re-
vived, by R. C.

Printed in the Year 1660.

Anno 17. *Caroli Regis.*

An A C T to prevent Inconveniencies which may happen by the un-
timely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parlia-
ment.

W Hereas great Sums of Money must, of Necessity, be speedily advanced and
provided for Relief of his Majesty's Army and People in the northern Parts
of this Realm, and for preventing the imminent Danger this Kingdom is in, and
for Supply of other of his Majesty's present and urgent Occasions, which cannot be
so timely effected as is requisite, without Credit for raising the said Moneys : Which
Credit cannot be obtained until such Obstacles be first removed, as are occasioned by
Fears, Jealousies, and Apprehensions of divers his Majesty's loyal Subjects, that
this present Parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, before Justice
shall be duly executed upon Delinquents ; public Grievances redressed ; a firm Peace
between the two Nations of England and Scotland concluded, and before sufficient
Provision be made for the Repayment, of the said Moneys so to be raised : All which
the Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, having duly considered, do
therefore humbly beseech your most excellent Majesty that it may be declared, and
enacted,

And be it declared and enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Assent
of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Autho-
rity of the same, that this present Parliament now assembled shall not be dissolved
unless it be by Aēt of Parliament to be passed for that Purpose : Nor shall be at
any Time or Times, during the Continuance thereof, prorogued or adjourned, unless
it be by Aēt of Parliament to be likewise passed for that Purpose : And that the
House of Peers shall not at any Time or Times, during this present Parliament, be
adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own Order : And in like Manner,
that the House of Commons shall not, at any Time or Times, during this present
Parliament, be adjourned, unless it be by themselves, or by their own Order : And
that all, and every Thing and Things whatsoever, done or to be done, for the Ad-
journment, Proroguing, or dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this
Aēt, shall be utterly void, and of none Effect.

The Long Parliament is not revived.

THE Author's Introduction is in the first Paragraph, an Apology for the Peace of the Nation upon a lasting Foundation, which in the next Paragraph he does not doubt but lies in Parliaments rightly constituted, and in their just and lawful Privileges: And this, in the third Paragraph, he says must hold true in relation to the *Long Parliament*, called by the late King *Charles* of blessed Memory, which being constituted legally, and indissoluble but by Act of Parliament, and not dissolved by Act of Parliament, is yet in Force. To evidence which he brings in three Arguments:

1. The Title, or End of the Act, viz. *That it was an Act to prevent Inconveniencies that may happen by the untimely Adjourning, Proroguing, or Dissolving this present Parliament, viz. Want of Credit to raise Money to maintain his Majesty's Army and People in the North, &c.*

The second is, *That this present Parliament shall not be dissolved but by Act of Parliament.*

The third is, *That all and every Thing and Things whatsoever, done, or to be done, for Adjourning, Proroguing, or Dissolving this present Parliament, contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none Effect*; and therefore this Parliament wanting these Formalities, is yet in being, and no Parliament can be hereafter convened, before this be thus formally dissolved, or it must needs follow, two Parliaments may be existent at the same time, which he believes to be so absurd as none will aver. The rest is an Answer to Mr. *Pryn*, and against the Authority of this Convention, which his Majesty has owned a Parliament. What the Author's Disposition is to the Peace of this Nation, upon a right Foundation, I know not; what Peace he hopes to find by reviving the *Long Parliament*, few can tell, but none have found. That it does not follow, that the *Long Parliament* is not dissolved, or revived, from any of his three Arguments, we will shew.

For first, his first Argument is drawn from the End, or Title of the Act, *To prevent the Inconveniencies which may arise by the untimely Proroguing, Adjourning, or Dissolving the Parliament, for want of Money to maintain his Majesty's Army and People in the North.* If the Force of the Continuance of the *Long Parliament* be drawn from hence, then must the Parliament be dissolved (or at least dissolvable without Act of Parliament) upon the Payment of his Majesty's Army and People in the North; for *cessante ratione legis, cessat lex*: But it must needs be irrational, and most absurd, to aver, that any Law can create a contrary, or different Obligation from the first Reason and End of it, viz. Because they might be a Parliament until they had relieved his Majesty's Army and People in the North, therefore they might destroy his Majesty's Army and People in the North.

The second is, *That this present Parliament shall not be dissolved but by Act of Parliament.* If the Act had said, the Parliament shall not be legally dissolved but by Act of Parliament, then this Author might have disputed against the Legality of that Act, which should otherwise have dissolved it; but

but if this Author shall affirm this Parliament to be in being, because not legally dissolved, is all one as to say, no Man is killed or oppressed, because Subjects ought to be preserved in their Lives and Estates by Laws and Acts of Parliament; and this Parliament might as well have made an Act that none of their Members should die but by Act of Parliament, as that they should not be dissolved but by Act of Parliament.

The third is, *That all and every Thing or Things whatsoever done, or to be done for the Adjourning, Proroguing, or Dissolving of this present Parliament contrary to this Act, shall be utterly void, and of none Effect.* Such was the Omnipotency of these Men in their Beginning, that they believed all Things, how impossible soever, to be very feasible to establish their Greatness and Reign: For Things simply impossible are impossible even to God himself; as, that Contradictions should be true, or that any Thing should be and not be at the same Instant. Yet such was the Omnipotency of these Members, that contradictory and impossible Things must not be repugnant, but subsist in order to their Perpetuity and Greatness. For if Things be done, they must necessarily be done, and so cannot be void and of non-effect, whatsoever they may be in Law.

I pray Reader take Notice, that the Author of this Pamphlet, not only insists upon impossible Things to prove the Continuance of the Parliament, but his very Title is contradictory and absurd, which revives the Long Parliament, and yet affirms it not dissolved; whereas if it had not been dissolved, it could never be revived; and a Man may as well dispute thus as our Author does: No Man ought to do Violence upon, or kill himself but by his own Consent; and that if a Man does violate or kill himself, or be violated or killed by another, contrary hereunto, such Force shall be utterly void, and of non-effect; therefore every Man shall live, though he kill himself, or be killed by another; which I think no Man in his Wits will affirm.

The Long Parliament dissolved and dead, and never to be revived.

IT is not worth, upon so mean an Occasion, to declare the Principles of Power, from whence human Laws are derived, and what creates them Obligation: Or whether Effects or Accidents of Power can create any Alteration or Obligation upon that Power: As if Laws made be derogatory to the Power that made them. For Example, if by an Act of Parliament the Crown of *England* were aliened against the Right of Succession; or that it should hold of the Pope or any one else; or that there be not sufficient Means left to the King to protect his Subjects; for *Salus Populi suprema Lex*: Neither will I dispute at what Time Laws and Acts of Parliament take Place: But that Civil Laws take not Place always, is evident; for *inter Arma silent Leges*: Or who shall plead the Benefit of them, as whether any Man can plead the Benefit of Law for Treason, Felony or Breach of Peace: And whether (since no Subject can levy Arms without Treason, but by Authority of the King) the Long Parliament's raising Arms against the King, did not justly invalidate all Benefit they could claim by virtue of this Act, or any other Law? I shall endeavour

to

to shew three Things: 1. Whether the Long Parliament be totally dissolved? 2. Whether in the ordinary nature of Things it can be revived? And lastly, Whether the Members have any just Cause to complain? But that we no not lose ourselves in Obscurity, as our Author does, we will first define our Terms, and so set down our Notions, as to be so understood, as any Man may reject or deny any Thing herein.

First then, a Parliament is a politic Body, compounded (not of three States, as our Author would, of King, Lords and Commons, but) of heterogenial or dissimilar Parts, viz. the King, the *Principium*, *Caput* & *Finis* of it, and of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, one distinct House, and the House of Commons another distinct House; both which Houses are convened and created by the King's Writ. Sir *Edward Cook* calls them *Conventus Sapientum*, Inst. 4. p. 2. Now all Conventions and Assemblies whatsoever, are either regular or irregular: All regular Conventions and Assemblies do proceed from, and may be reduced into, one just and certain Principle, which causes and creates those Assemblies; but all other Conventions and Assemblies which do not proceed from one certain just Principle, are rather Commotions or Routs, than Assemblies: These regular Conventions and Assemblies are so either potentially or actually; potentially, two Ways, either when a rightful Power constitutes any Company of Men to meet at a Time and Place; these Men thus impowered, have by Right a Power of Convention and Assembling at such Time and Place; or else after they be convened, either by the Power which first convened, or by themselves, they adjourn or prorogue to some certain Time or Place; and for want of such Proroguing, Adjourning, or Convening, all such Conventions are totally dissolved, because their Conventions did not proceed from a certain and just Principle, which might create them; or actually, when such regular Assemblies are actually convened, by Virtue of a just Authority, empowering them; the two Houses therefore being the Convention and Assembly, which united to the King, the Head of them, rightly convened by Virtue of the King's Writ, and after prorogued or adjourned, either by the King or themselves, to meet at a certain Time and Place, do continue such Conventions; otherwise they may meet in Riots and Routs, in regular Assemblies they cannot.

1. Now would I fain know, when the two worthy Speakers deserted their Speakerships, and run from the House to the Army, and joined with them against the remaining Part of the Members, they did prorogue to a certain Time and Place, wherein they did convene, by Virtue of such Adjournment? or whether there were then two Parliaments in being, which our Author so abominates, one at *Westminster*, another in the Army? and whether, when the Lower House retained nothing but the Rump, and having turned the remaining Part of the Lords (who had before excluded, by the like Means, three times the Number of themselves, who had as good Title as themselves to sit there, and four times their own Number out of themselves) were a rightful Assembly, duly convened in Time and Place? If they were, then may a Part be equal to the Whole; and the Speaker, joined with *Henry Martin*, and *Titchburn*, and his Majesty's Sergeants, *Glin* and *Maynard*, since knighted,

may yet be a rightful Parliament: But if it be true, that *Formæ rerum sicut numeri consistunt indivisibili*, and that the aggregate Body of a Parliament consists of both Houses duly convened in Time and Place, then if either be not rightly assembled, actually or potentially, the Whole is utterly dissolved, much more when neither are so, as the Case now stands with us.

2. The Houses thus dissolved, I would now know what Power can revive them; it must be either they themselves, or the King; if it be themselves, what hinders them from convening (yet I believe our Author will hardly persuade the Speaker and Lord *St. John* to make two) if they and the World be satisfied such Convention be just and regular? If it be by the King, it must be either legally or arbitrarily; if legally, the King must revive it by Virtue of some Act of Parliament, or by Common Law; if by Act of Parliament, it must be revived, let our Author, or any one else shew it; if by Common Law, then let him or any one else shew any Precedent for a King's reviving a Parliament, and I will presently yield the Cause; so I am quit with him for his Answer to Mr. *Pryn*'s first Objection; but if the King do it, and yet neither by Act of Parliament nor Common Law, then must it be done by an arbitrary Power, which is every whit as dangerous as his Conclusion. King *Charles*, upon the Death of King *James*, asked Sir *Edward Cook*, whether he might not continue (or rather revive) the Parliament dissolved by his Father's Death? He answered negatively, because Parliaments could not be convened but by the ancient and usual Form, which this was not.

3. But because it is objected, that though the Houses be dissolved, yet are they not legally dissolved, and so violently done; and great Crime is this! I pray who did, or who may complain? Did not the Members (all but the first persecuted) from the first Beginning, abuse all the King's Grants and Favours to his own and loyal Subjects Prejudice? Did not they themselves turn out one another, from the Contents unto the End of the Chapter, until there was scarce any of either House (none of the Lords) to turn out? And if no Fool or Madman, shall in Law complain against his own Act; for *volenti non fit injuria*, then the Members have no Reason to complain of their Usage to one another, and of dissolving of themselves; and the Nation is so far from complaining, that I believe, with a bitter Sense, they wish they had never been.

But suppose the King might revive them; yet if he might do it, then he might not, and might chuse whether he would or not: And, can any Man in his Wits believe, the bitter Sense of his Father's Death, and his own, his Mother's, and Brother's and Sister's Suffering by them, would not divert him from such an Intention, unless he did desire to have the Tragedy revived again upon himself and Family, and all his loyal Subjects, who after so many Storms of their unjust Suffering for their Conscience, may reasonably hope, through God's Blessing, for the future, to be protected by his Majesty's peaceable Government, from them, which upon the reviving of the Long Parliament, they could not reasonably hope.

An humble Representation of the sad Condition of many of the King's Party, who since his Majesty's happy Restoration have no Relief, and but languishing Hopes : Together with Proposals how some of them may be speedily relieved, and others assured thereof, within a reasonable Time.

Printed in the Year 1661.

WHAT Miseries and Persecutions we Royalists have suffered for nineteen Years past, none I presume is a Stranger to, that could see or hear. The War began with the Plunder of our Goods, and Seizure of our Rents, and it ended with the Sale of our Estates, or (at best) a Composition, which engaged us in Debts ; the Burthen whereof, where the Parties were either indebted before, or had Families to provide for, could not but be ruinous to them ; such of us as had no Lands, but lived by their honest Endeavours, were not only thrust out of their proper Employments, but made incapable of any other that could afford them a tolerable Subsistence, so as many (the most deserving of their Country) have been forced to part with their Inheritances to buy them Bread, others (of free and generous Minds) have languished in tedious Imprisonments, few in Comparison of the rest, by singular Providence and Frugality, have preserved themselves.

With what Courage and Constancy of Affection we have owned our Cause and Party, even then when but to name them civilly, was Treason and worse (if worse could be !) With what Faith and Perseverance we have expected our King's Return ! With what invisible Comforts we have supported our feeble Hopes, at their lowest Ebbs of outward Possibility, whilst all the Politicians derided us, as fond and credulous Persons, who, with the Purgatory of wise Men, purchased only the Paradise of Fools ; a kind of *Alchymists*, or *Jews*, who looked for a Messiah that would never come ; and this Confidence (grounded chiefly on our Integrity) how it engaged us in Attempts, which perhaps were more honest than prudent, by opposing Plots to Counsels, and Tumults to the best Armies, will not, I trust, be forgotten by *Englishmen* in our Days.

Let it not be once objected, That our Endeavours were not successful ; rather let be construed to our Advantage, that though our Valour was at first unfortunate, yet, through God's Blessing, our chearful Patience hath at length fulfilled our Hopes, by Degrees inclining the Hearts of the most obstinate to a Relenting ; wherein as our Trials were, so our Triumphs are now the greater ; for to prevail by loyal Sufferings, is the Prerogative of true Desert.

We joyfully, indeed, partake in the Glory of his Majesty's Restitution ; the Peace of our Country, the Security of Laws, and the Prospect of future

364 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

Settlement, is most pleasant to us : But, alas ! we are still exposed to the same Necessities ; nay, many of us are in worse Condition, as to Livelihood, than ever ; partly by exhausting ourselves with unusual Expences, that we might appear, like our selves, concerned in his Majesty's Welcome and Coronation ; partly by prosecuting honest but fruitless Pretences, chiefly by the Fate of Poverty, which seldom continues without encreasing, and (for Accomplishment of our Misery) Hope, (which hitherto alone befriended and supported) hath now forsaken us.

Were our Pressures moderate, or common, we should never mention them, but wait yet further upon Providence ; for we reckon our Martyrdom so honourable, and our Cause so dear, that none but extreme Exigents would be sensible on that behalf, such Poverty being, we are sure, without Reproach. Had we complied with any of the late Usurpers, otherwise than as Prisoners must comply with Gaolers, we should not have dared to look backward, nor presumed to look forward ; but Innocency and Extremity together embolden, or rather compel us to utter our Complaints where we think we may challenge, at least, a favourable Audience.

For since the Cause we so earnestly contended for was, indeed, least of all, our own (who might easily have saved our Stakes, as many others of the same Persuasion did) and but in part the King's, principally our Country's, whose Liberty, and even its Being, was at Stake, it may seem a hard Piece of Justice, that the Price of public Freedom, when restored, should be the Ruin only of such as with their utmost Perils chiefly asserted it ; and the Nation will appear, at least equally with his Majesty, concerned in an Expedient, lest if the Martyrs and Champions of their Country be now by it forsaken, they being disabled by their Sufferings, and others by their ill Success discouraged, hereafter, in the like Exigent, which God prevent, our Liberties should find neither Champions nor Martyrs.

It grieves us, in all serious Companies, to meet with these and the like Reflections : How will it discourage our tender Plants of Loyalty, to be the Spectators of its Ruin ! How will it multiply Neuters, to observe noble Families extirpated, and their Estates possessed (as many will be apt enough to collect) by wiser Men, *viz.* such as took the strongest Side ! And may not the next Generation, from such Premises, draw this Conclusion, *He loves Danger too well, that loves it for its own Sake ?*

Certainly, it were too much Ignorance in us to suppose, that his Majesty is able to contribute, in any Proportion, to our Relief ; rather we are sensible, that should he impoverish himself to gratify us, he would soon be in a Condition neither to support us nor himself ; besides, we are satisfied of his Kindness towards us ; but our Recourse is properly to the Parliament, who, being equally concerned, can relieve us more powerfully, and with less Exception, wherein we doubt not of his Majesty's gracious Concurrence and Furtherance.

Wherefore, not to importune his Majesty (who no doubt hath a real and tender Sympathy for us) we do, with much Freedom, but with all Submission, declare to our Representatives, as good *Englishmen*, That as we, on our
Part,

Part, shall for public Good, as cheerfully subscribe to the general Indemnity, (when by their Wisdoms confirmed) as any that have Benefit thereby; so if they on their Part shall, by confirming it, intercept those Remedies which the Law (our great Birth-right) would afford us, we conceive, they oblige themselves to study somewhat of Recompence, lest they give us Subject of Complaint, That (in such an Oblivion) they did but too well remember our Enemies, and only forget us.

And in truth, we hope, that the People in general, whose Peace is thereby established, our Friends in particular, whose Honour is thereby asserted, but especially our late Adversaries, whose Interests are thereby redeemed at our Expence, will frankly approve of such moderate Satisfaction to us, as the Parliament in their Wisdom shall think reasonable.

The rather, for that the Arrears of the late Army and Navy (though contracted most of them in Times of Usurpation) being in effect discharged; those of his Majesty's Party in *Ireland*, provided for by special Allotments, in his Majesty's late gracious Declaration concerning that Kingdom; the Purchasers of the Crown and Church Lands protected by his Majesty's Commission in their Favours; the Clergy, not only restored to their improved Possessions, but to Fines of twenty Years Growth, many private Persons rewarded with great Gifts, Offices, and Honours; we only shall seem abandoned as worthy of nothing but Pity from those that will vouchsafe it, unless our Condition may be considered by our Country in this Parliament.

Wherein, for their Encouragement, we assure them our Pretences are not lofty, we covet not to engross the Plenty of the Nation, by purchasing Palaces and Parks with our Debentures, No. The Sum of our Misfortune is, That in this Estate we are not only burthensome to our selves and Friends, but useless to our King and Country. Alas! we have too long conversed with Ruin, to conceive vast Hopes; and if, upon serious Scrutiny, greater Difficulties should appear, than we imagine, it is our known Fundamental to acquiesce in the Judgment of our Superiors; only we beg, that our Case may be judged to deserve some public Consideration; for, however, it will much enliven us to find our selves not wholly despised, but that Expedients to relieve us are at least debated; for which we humbly offer these our Proposals.

I. That the greatest Services may be most rewarded, but the greatest Necessities first relieved.

II. That his Majesty would be graciously pleased to take an Account of all his Gifts and Grants, and suspend the conferring of any more, till Persons of the highest Sufferings and Deserts be, in some sort, accommodated.

III. That the Sufferings, Wants, and Merits of Pretenders, may be examined by select Committees, and certified to his Majesty, and that his Majesty would accordingly provide for their Relief, by giving express Order for their Admittance to such vacant Employments as they are capable of, without referring them to subordinate Officers, whereby they may be wearied with Attendance, and his Majesty's Grace unto them frustrated.

IV. In case Vacancies be not found competent, that then Reversions may be assured to others.

V. That

366 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

V. That such as have plentiful Estates, or have already obtained any considerable Grant from the King's Bounty, may be postponed, in his Majesty's and the Parliament's Consideration.

VI. That such as shall appear to have unworthily betrayed, or any ways deserted his Majesty's Party, may be, from thence wholly excluded.

VII. That deserving Tenants of Bishops, Deans and Chapters, &c. may be generally and effectually recommended to the Church's Favour, in their great Plenty, to accept of moderate Fines from them.

VIII. That the like public Recommendation may be to all his Majesty's chief Ministers, Officers and Commanders, for the employing, countenancing, and encouraging, (by all lawful Means) such as have eminently deserved or suffered for his Majesty.

IX. That for such Soldiers and Sufferers of his Majesty's Party as are old, maimed, without Callings, or Stocks to exercise them, Provision may be made, according to their Conditions, viz. for some of them good Hospitals, the Founders whereof, doubtless, (could they speak out of their Graves) would so direct; for others reasonable Sums, or small Annuities, but duly paid, that they may no more depend on private Alms, which many cannot find, and some cannot seek; this, we suppose, will prove rather Matter of Care than much Charge.

That the Parliament would lay some public Assessment, such as they shall think reasonable (our Country's Poverty being considered as well as ours) to be distributed by his Majesty's Direction, amongst the surviving Officers and Soldiers of his Majesty's Armies, and those of the late King, of blessed Memory, who never received any Recompence of their Service, whose Number being much contracted by Time, and other Accidents, the Bulk will not prove so great as perhaps it seems.

XI. That the Children of such as have been sacrificed, or died in the Bed of Honour, and in memorable Action for his Majesty (whose Catalogue is easily known) may, in due Time, reap the Fruits of their Fathers Martyrdom, and for the present, receive some Character of signal Favour from their Country, to be transmitted to Posterity, for the Encouragement of them and theirs, to follow the Footsteps of their noble Progenitors, to stir up in others an Emulation of such Loyalty and Virtue, and leave the Justice of his Majesty's Arms sufficiently vindicated to future Ages.

The humble ADDRESSES of several close Prisoners in the *Gatehouse, Westminster*, to the King's most excellent Majesty and Council, to the Lord High Chancellor, and the Lord Chief Justice, and Judges of the King's Bench; to manifest their Innocency, and to obtain their Liberty.

Psal. xxxvii. 12, 13. The Wicked plotteth against the Just, and gnasheth upon him with his Teeth. The Lord shall laugh at him: for he seeth his Day is coming.

Psal. lxxxviii. 8, 9, 10. Thou hast put away mine Acquaintance far from me;— I am shut up, and I cannot come forth, &c.

Printed in the Year 1662.

ALBEIT, our illegal apprehending, and cruel close Detainer, administered to us and our Families just Occasion of Sorrow, yet that which aggravated our Misery, was the odious Infamy cast upon us and our Relations, both in City and Country, as if we, amongst others, were Actors or Contrivers of some horrid Plot, and being publickly aspersed as those who necessitated the loading the Nation with more Taxes, by which our Credits and Reputations were not a little wounded; and even our Friends in many Places blaming our Silence, as if we had neglected our humble Addresses to his Majesty, or Applications to the honourable Judges of the Law, for the Vindication of our Innocency and Fidelity; for whose better Information and Satisfaction we have caused our Proceedings to be published, whereby it may appear that the Circumstances of our Condition considered, there hath been no Means left unattempted.

We shall forbear to mention the Addresses of our Wives apart to his Majesty and Council, taking no Pleasure to remember how many Weeks, some coming from far, and continuing here to no little Charge, they attended the Council every Day of their Sitting, reaping no other Benefit thereby to this Day, than Order for some of them, in the Presence of the Keeper, to see their Husbands; by Converse with whom, being fully confirmed of what before they were not in the least suspicious (*viz.* their Innocency and Integrity) were further encouraged to present their joint Petition to his Majesty and Council, as followeth.

To the King's most excellent Majesty, and to the Lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council,

The humble Petition of the Wives of several Persons close Prisoners in the Gate-house,

Humbly sheweth,

THAT your Petitioners Husbands were apprehended by Messengers at their own Houses, about twelve Weeks since, and carried to the *Gate-house*, where with all Patience they have endured a close and chargeable Imprisonment, not knowing any Accuser or Accusation; nor can they by any means address themselves to this honourable Council, being denied Pen, Ink, and Paper: Some of your Petitioners, by Order, have obtained Leave to visit them, and do find that they are altogether ignorant of any Plot or Design against his Majesty's Person or Government, and that if any Thing of that Nature be charged on them, they would be glad that they might be brought to a legal Trial, that so their Innocency might be vindicated. And forasmuch as your Petitioners Husbands, for the most Part, are very poor, having nothing left but their own Industry to maintain themselves and Families; and that as it hath been their Care, so we are confident shall be, to live peaceably under his Majesty's Government.

Therefore your Petitioners do most humbly pray, That your Majesty, and this honourable Council, would be pleased to grant your Petitioners Husbands their Liberty, or otherwise, that they might be brought to a speedy Trial according to Law, that so them and their Families may not utterly be destroyed, and that for the future they may have the Protection of the Law, to encourage them to follow their Callings. And your Petitioners shall pray, &c.

*Susanna Lytcott,
Alice Reade,
Mary Gladman,
Anne Chaffin,*

*Sarah Wilkes,
Martha Kenwick,
Sarah Wansey,*

*Elizabeth Packer,
Jane Mason,
Susanna Newman;*

Which Petition being read, Answer was returned by one of the Clerks attending the Council, That a Committee would be appointed to give their Husbands a speedy Dispatch, which caused their further constant Attendance; but not hearing of any such Committee, they about a Month after humbly presented to several of the Lords, as they were going to sit in Council, the following Memorial.

Right Honourable,

BE pleased to remember the sad and deplorable Condition of our Husbands, close Prisoners in the *Gate-house*, presented by our Petition to his Majesty and Council about a Month since; they having been near sixteen Weeks under a severe Confinement, and not conscious of any Crime; so that except your Honours,

Honours, out of tender Compassion, give a speedy Answer to our humble and just Desires, they and their Families must suffer inevitable Ruin.

And upon their Attendance that Council Day, Answer was given, that nothing would be done at the Council, the Business being referred to the Lord Chief Justice; but hearing nothing further thereof, the Term also near the End, we did humbly conceive, by the Advice of our Friends, it might be most satisfactory to his Majesty, and expeditious for ourselves, to be brought before his Lordship by the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, which being sued forth and made returnable immediately, was also served upon the Keeper, Sir *Edward Broughton*, on Saturday the 8th of February, 1661, our Solicitor having acquainted the Attorney General with this Proceeding, desiring there might be no Delay, but if any Thing were against the Prisoners, the Court might be acquainted therewith on their appearing at the Bar, which they expected should be the Monday following, the Deputy-keepers having told them the Writs would be obeyed, unless their Master, Sir *Edward Broughton*, received Orders from the Secretary to the contrary; who notwithstanding disobeyed his Majesty's Writs, and injuriously broke his Promise with us, which lost our Opportunity of taking out second Writs, and occasioned our humble Address to the honourable the Judges by the following Letters presented to, and read by them, the Court sitting.

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench at Westminster, these humbly present.

MAY it please your Honour to be informed, That ourselves, and divers others within this Prison, have, by our Wives and Friends petitioned and solicited his Majesty and Council these sixteen Weeks and more to procure our Enlargement, but can neither obtain that, nor so much as Knowledge wherefore we are committed, nor a Copy of our *Mittimus*; but were some few Days since informed by a Clerk of the Council, that we and our Case were referred to your Lordship, the which hath invited our Friends to procure an *Habeas Corpus* to bring us this Day before your Bar; but our Keeper, Sir *Edward Broughton*, having abused us, by exacting of Fees and Chamber-rent, refuseth to bring us before your Lordship.

We therefore humbly desire, that a Tipstaff may be sent to-morrow for such of us as have sued out our *Habeas Corpus*, so that your Honour may not only be informed of the Cause of our close Imprisonment (the which we are ignorant of) but also of the cruel Usage we have and do daily suffer in our Persons, Estates and Names, even to the utter Ruin of some, and almost Undoing of the rest, as the inclosed Case of one of our Number will more particularly manifest, who was forced thus to present it, fearing the Keeper will not bring him to your Bar with the rest. The Truth of all which will be made good, if we shall have the Happiness to be

370 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

brought before your Lordship ; which is the humble Petition and Desires of your Lordship's most humble Servants.

From the *Gate-house, Westminster*, Feb. 11. 1661.

*William Kenwick,
John Mason,
Henry Wansey,
Leonard Lytcott,*

*Timothy Wilkes,
William Newman,
John Chaffin.*

To the Right Honourable the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench at Westminster, these humbly present.

Right Honourable,

UPON the 26th of *October* last, being in my Shop in *Threadneedle-street*, *London*, I was taken by Pursuivants, or Messengers, who said they had Orders to carry me before one of the Secretaries of State at *Whitehall*, to answer the Breach of a Bond I had formerly given when discharged from my Imprisonment in the Tower of *London* ; but they, without carrying me before the said Secretaries, or any other Magistrate, had me to Sir *Edward Broughton* the Keeper of the *Gate-house* Prison, who said to me, *You are my Prisoner, and to be kept close*. I asked him by what Authority, and desired a Sight and Copy of my Commitment : He read me the first Line of the Warrant, and said, *It was enough for me to know it was his Majesty's Pleasure I should be so kept*. I then told him, that my Estate was taken from me, and but little left besides my Watch-making Trade to keep me alive, and that if I had my Tools and Accommodation to work, I could both pay him my Chamber-rent, and maintain myself, and otherwise I could not do it. Sir *Edward Broughton* then promised me upon his Honour, that, except my Imprisonment, I should have all the Civility I could desire, and wished me to send my Mind to the Secretary. To which I replied, Sir, how can I do that, which am immediately to be your close Prisoner ? He then promised me to acquaint the Secretary *Nicholas* with my Desires : Notwithstanding he sent me to lodge upon a very hard Flock-bed, much worse than are some Mats, whereon, after I had tired my Body for some Nights, I desired a Truss of Straw rather than such a Bed, and offered him Payment for it, yet could not obtain the same ; and because I could not comply with his Exactions, to pay ten Shillings a-week for a Bed ; twenty Shillings for turning the Key ; five Shillings for the Use of a Pair of Sheets ; five Shillings Garnish ; and five Pounds for Iron Fees, at nine Days End (although in all that Time, neither Wife, Children, nor Friends were permitted to see or come near me) I was carried down two Pair of Stairs into a very strait Room, not above two Steps wide, without a Pire-place, and there locked up for ten Days, not permitting me to come forth to ease Nature in fifteen or sixteen Hours together ; and often when I called for Ale, either the Bottom of some old Barrel, or Ale and Urine mingled, they brought me to drink, which after tasted by two Prisoners Wives, I was enforced to throw it away, and for divers Days to drink fair Water : But at length, when they understood I was about to petition his Majesty for Relief, I was put into another Room

Room for twelve Days Time, whose Windows were sore broken, and no Means by Glafs, Paper, or otherwise afforded to stop them, although daily promised; all which ill Usage had so much distempered my Body, that my Life was thereby endangered; and because I could not comply to answer their Exactions, I was often threatened to be put into the Hole, when as I had neither Money to buy myself or Family Bread; and by their own Defaults in keeping me without my Tools, I was disabled to pay the Premises: And, to manifest their further Cruelty, when as my Wife by Petition obtained his Majesty's Order to have my Tools into the Prison, and be continued in the Room I was then placed in, for the better Accommodation of my Trade, Sir *Edward Broughton*, by his Deputy, took from my Children my Tools, not only depriving me of the Use of them for these fifteen Weeks past, but doth yet detain them in his Hands, and will not restore them to my Wife or Children; so that herein by the Keeper I have suffered the Loss of fifteen Pounds that I could have gotten by my Labour, and my Tools are of Value near five Pounds, which he hath in his Hands or Possession, and further demands seven Shillings a-week for a Bed, in a Room heretofore set but for seven Groats, with the aforesaid Fees; whose Due, and much more than the Law doth direct, for Quietness sake I have often offered to pay, so as he would but restore my Goods, and give a Receipt under his Hand to manifest a full Discharge (because 'tis usual to demand Chamber-rent there after it hath been once paid) or else refer himself (as I desire) to any Magistrate that he shall chuse: But this my Keeper refuseth to agree to, and twenty-four Days ago, notwithstanding the King's Order, he caused my Bed, Bedding, and Mats, to be all taken from me, and refused to permit me to have in a Bed of mine own, or so much as a Truss of Straw to lodge on; and his Deputy the 18th of *February* last, openly said, *That whereas all the close Prisoners Wives had petitioned his Majesty, desiring their Husbands Liberty, or that they might be brought to a speedy Trial according to Law, he said, their Petition should be spoiled, and that Sir Edward Broughton was gone to Whitehall for that Purpose.* And two Days after they had taken from me my Bed, four of his Officers and Soldiers, his Deputy-turnkey, Attendants, and the very Tapster (being Soldiers) took me up, being upon a Mat I had procured to lodge on, and by Force carried me out of my Room through the Gallery to a close Room in the remotest Part of the House, called the *Troploft*, allowing me but the Boards to lodge on for these twenty-four Nights past; nor would the Keeper permit my Son to bring me a Bolster of Straw, but doth threaten often to board up my Window, so as then I shall have no Air to breathe in. My Lords, it was the Bishop of *Worcester's* good Counsel to his Majesty at his Coronation, *A Prince should say, as Nehemiah, Should such a one as I, representing God in Greatness and Goodness, rewarding such as do well, and punishing such as do evil; shall I do any Thing that is mean, base, sinful, unjust, cruel, or dishonourable to him whom I represent?* Now, my Lords, shall you the Judges of the Law know these Cruelties to be exercised on me under his Majesty's Government, and not relieve me? God forbid. Examine the Truth of my Complaint: Once I have sworn; twice I have given Security; four Times I have been imprisoned by malicious Con-

trivances ; I have my *Habeas Corpus* granted, but cannot be brought forth ; I desire your Lordships to release me, or remove me from this wretched Place of Torment ; and if I must be detained, after above fifteen Weeks Imprisonment, not knowing any Cause thereof, let me be dealt with as a Man, and used and provided for as the King's Prisoner ought to be by Law, during my Restraint : Which is all at present from your Lordship's most humble oppressed Prisoner,

Henry Wansey.

From my close Captivity in the abominable
Prison of the *Gate-house, Westminster*,
February 11. 1661.

Which Letters being read by the Judges, the Lord Chief Justice demanded who was the Presenter of them, and being owned by our Friend, he also humbly prayed that his Lordship would be pleased to hear a Motion upon them ; which being granted, Mr. Sergeant *Bearmould* seeing the said Keeper of the *Gate house* had not only disobeyed the first Writ, but also an Order of Court made the Day before for bringing the Prisoners to the Bar, under the Penalty of forty Pounds, that an Attachment might be granted against the said Keeper, or that the Prisoners might be brought before the Lord Chief Justice (this being the last Day of the Term) at his Chamber, that Bail might be put in before him there ; but could not be obtained : But the Court did agree that it was fit to grant an *alias Habeas Corpus*, returnable fifteen Days after *Easter*, with a lusty Fine, because that Keeper usually disobeyeth the Orders of the Court ; which was done accordingly, under the Penalty of one hundred Pounds : And the Prisoners doubting that their Usage was like to be worse from their Keeper than before, by Mr. Sergeant *Newdigate* moved the same Day, That an Order might be made for their Solicitors, Attorneys and Friends to come to them, and to allow them the Liberty of the Prison-house : Which was granted, as desired, and being translated into *English*, is as followeth.

Wednesday, eight Days after the Purification of the blessed Mary, in the fourteenth Year of King Charles the Second, our Lord the King ; against the Keeper of the Prison of the *Gate-house*,

IT is ordered, That the Keeper of the said Prison permit the Solicitors, Attorneys and Friends of *William Kenwick*, and the other Prisoners in his Custody, to come and speak with the aforesaid Prisoners ; and to allow them the Liberty of the Prison-house, upon the Motion of Mr. Serjeant *Newdigate*.
By the Court.

Which said Order being the next Day served on Sir *Edward Broughton* the Keeper, he seemed to yield Obedience to it, affording the Benefit of it for one Day ; but, by his Deputies the Day following, exercised as much Strictness as formerly, locking us up from the Liberty of the House, denying our nearest Relations and Servants with Necessaries, Access to us ; our Solicitor also being then with us, was uncivilly commanded away, and threatened to be
made

made a Prisoner the ensuing Morning: For all which, when we demanded a Reason, urging the Judge's Order to the contrary, they replied, *The Secretary would bear them out, and that the Keys for locking them up in the Day-time was their Order.*

Being thus, after all our Expences and Endeavours to be brought forth to Trial, and for obtaining our Liberties, through the injurious Dealing of our Keeper, and his high Contempt of Authority, frustrated in our Expectations; and our taking this legal Course, after other humble submissive Means failed, made rather as an Aggravation of a Crime against us by our mercenary Keepers, who are all Soldiers in Pay, and in their own Esteem out of the Reach of the Law; we were necessitated to represent our sad Condition to the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor, and to the Honourable the Lord Chief Justice, and other the Judges of the King's Bench in these following Addresses.

To the Right Honourable the Lord High Chancellor of England, these humbly present.

May it please your Lordship,

WE take the Boldness, being not a little oppressed, humbly to spread before your Lordship our Complaint, who have been kept (as we conceive) through Misinformation, four Months close Prisoners in the *Gate-house*, and more severely dealt with than those taken in open Hostility, or guilty of the highest Treasons. And, my Lord, to clear ourselves, and make our Innocency appear, we have (by our Wives) used all imaginable submissive petitionary Means to his Majesty and Council, who, through their weighty Affairs, neither admitted us a Hearing, nor afforded us Relief, or so much as Answer; but only his Majesty's Secretary acquainted our Wives, that we and our Case were referred to my Lord Chief Justice *Foster*, the which necessitated our Relations to endeavour by Writ to bring us last Term to the King's Bench Bar, that his Lordship and the whole Nation might publicly know that we are faithful, peaceable, and obedient Subjects. But, my Lord, the Writ being disobeyed by our Keeper Sir *Edward Broughton*, we have no Means left us to endeavour our Enlargement till the next Term, save only by our Addresses to your Lordship, the Seat of Equity, being much encouraged thereunto by the Act of Indemnity and Oblivion, and your Honour's many favourable Speeches thereupon.

Now, forasmuch as we are innocent Persons, and not guilty of the Breach of any known Law, having been lately, in like manner imprisoned (some of us three or four Times), and that my Lord Chief Justice (to whom we apprehended ourselves referred) is prevented at present (through the wilful and injurious Neglect of Sir *Edward Broughton*) to afford us Relief, other than ordering us the legal Favour of Converse with our Friends, and the Liberty of the Prison-house to breathe in; the which, by our Keepers was, after one Day, denied us with more Strictness than before.

We therefore humbly pray, that your Lordship will, in tender Compassion, represent our sad Condition to his Majesty, minding his Majesty of his gracious Act of Indemnity, and mediating for our present Liberty and
future

374 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

future Protection, so that sudden and speedy Destruction do not utterly ruin those, who through their many late great Losses and Imprisonments have hardly left wherewith to buy Bread: Thus craving your Honours charitable and favourable Aspect on our Condition, we are your Lordships most humble Servants.

Feb. 15,
1661.

*William Kenwick,
Leonard Lycott,
Timothy Wilkes,
John Mason,*

*Henry Wansley,
William Newman,
John Chaffin.*

To the Honourable the Lord Chief Justice, and other the Judges of the King's-Bench, these humbly present.

My Lords,

WE cannot but with much Thankfulness acknowledge your just Favour, upon our Motion made by Mr. Sergeant *Newdigate* upon the last Day of the Term, ordering the Keeper to suffer our Solicitors, Attornies, and Friends to come to us, and allowing us the Liberty of the Prison-house, after sixteen Weeks close Imprisonment; in which Time our Friends have been detained from us, to our great Impoverishment, and almost utter undoing; only one Day the Gaoler yielded Obedience to your Order, but the next Day they pretended Order for our close Confinement, as formerly, which they put in Practice, not shewing, upon our Demand, any Order for the same. Might we but obtain Leave to make our just Grievances known to your Lordships, we believe they are unparalleled. Endeavours are used (as is privately intimated to us) to prevail with your Honour to make a new Rule, which if once done, will extend to a Confirmation of our close Imprisonment, as if done by Law: This we are not easily induced to believe, that your Lordships should suffer our Bonds to be made stronger by any Proceedings from that Court from whom we expect Relief. Whilst we were preparing to present these few Lines to your Lordships, by our Solicitor, the Under-keeper forceth him from us, and openly declared before Witness, *That your Lordship, with the rest of the Judges, denied you made any such Order*, although the Solicitor proved before his Face he delivered it to Sir *Edward Broughton*; and the Under-keeper had confessed the Day after the Term it was delivered to Sir *Edward*; and further said, *He was as glad as if he had an hundred Pounds given him, it would not rejoyce him more than that we had such Liberty granted, as our Freedom from close Imprisonment*: Yet since our Servants are denied to bring us Necessaries, or to let us know, whether our Wives and Children are dead or alive, some of them being very sick; the which Usage doth not only encrease the Afflictions of all our Relations, but much aggravate our own Sufferings, who are your Honours most humble Servants,

From the Gate-house,
Westminster, Feb.
15, 1661.

*William Kenwick,
Leonard Lycott,
John Mason,
Timothy Wilkes,*

*Henry Wansley,
William Newman,
John Chaffin.*

It

It was our Intention to have inserted the Answer to these last Addresses ; but hearing it was the Design of some great Persons, instead of making us Reparations, to send us to remote Places, we are disappointed ; only our Friend that presented them, conceives the Lord Chancellor disapproved of this injurious dealing with his Majesty's peaceable Subjects, and that the Judges discovered a Purpose not to recede from the Order for taking off our close Imprisonment, both in respect of the Justice and Legality thereof, and likewise, being granted the last Day of the Term, it could not be duly altered ; and until we see a better Order than this granted by his Majesty's Judges in *Westminster-Hall* to the contrary, we hope to be excused in our daily continuing to demand our Liberty therein allowed us, though the Insolency of those Soldiers (our Under-keepers) is such, as still to debar our Friends, Solicitors, and Attornies Access to us, shewing us (when demanded) the Keys for their Order ; and in a provoking manner, snatched a Pen out of the Hand of one of our Number, whilst writing out some Part of our former Addresses, the Benefit and Supply of Pen, Ink, and Paper being gained upon the Order for taking off our close Imprisonment, and whereof we are unwilling (but by Violence) to be deprived, which we could little have expected from those Hands, remembering, that when we made known to them our Purpose of endeavouring our Liberty this Way, they not only professed how glad they should be, if we might attain it ; but one of them brought us Word, that after the first Writ was served upon *Sir Edward Broughton*, he was sent from him to the Secretary, from whom (if his Master received not Orders to the contrary) we should be brought to the Bar ; and both at that Time, and formerly, told us his Master cared not if we were discharged, knowing where to find others to fill up his Prison.

Thus having in all Reality discharged our Conscience, and humbly endeavoured to manifest to his Majesty and Council, the Lord Chancellor, and the honourable Judges, our Innocency and Faithfulness, and also, in part, the causeless Sufferings of his Majesty's peaceable and quiet Subjects, we shall in all Christian Patience wait till the Lord in his Mercy shall graciously send Deliverance, being encouraged, both from his Word and Promises, to hope and expect seasonable Supports ; as also by the Experiences of some, our next Chamber-fellows, who have lain more than thirteen Months close Prisoners in this wretched *House of Bondage*, under the Threats and Menaces of our Gaolers, having for some Season worn very weighty Iron Chains on both Legs, Day and Night, and to this time knowing no more than we, either Accuser or Crime laid to their Charge.

Yet if, by the good Providence of God, our Happiness shall be made so great by some charitable Hand, as to present this our suffering Condition to his Majesty's View, with this Assurance, That neither directly nor indirectly we have acted anything against the present Government, but have lived in all peaceable Submission thereunto ; as also acquainting his Majesty the great Disservice done by those Persons that make and continue Distinctions amongst his Majesty's good Subjects, or endeavour to withdraw his Majesty's Affections from them ; we cannot then but hope his Majesty will no longer suffer us to be thus severely
used,

376 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

used, but will afford us Liberty and Protection, according to our native Right, and the good old Laws of this Kingdom.

Feb. 20, 1661.

Truth's Discovery; or the CAVALIERS Case clearly stated by Conscience and Plain-dealing. Presented to the honourable Commissioners, and all the truly loyal and indigent Officers and Soldiers. Published for the Satisfaction of all his Majesty's faithful Subjects.

Written by Captain CHARLES HAMMOND, *one of the truly loyal and indigent Officers.*

Printed in the Year 1664.

To the Courteous READER.

I Know not into whose Hands this Pamphlet may come, nor indeed do I much care: The Proverb saith, Truth may be blamed, but not shamed. For my own Part, I fear God and honour my King: I hope, at this Time I shall displease neither: I will here use my Pen, as I ever used my Sword; which was more out of Love and Duty to my Prince, than Lucre of Pay, Honour, or Preferment. As I ever hated to insinuate into any one's Favour; so I hope in this Book I shall incur no one's Displeasure.

Here is no particular Person rubbed; but if any be gauled, perhaps they may wince, who will be but laughed at by honest Men; for my Part, I fear not their Kicking, but shall defend myself (I hope) with Honour, having Truth, Conscience, and Plain-dealing to defend me; Justice and Equity to second me. I shall have the Censures of many, in reading of this Book; all my Desire is, that they would peruse it all over; I will own it is no Bastard, decked with borrowed Habit: If it wants Learning or Language to set it forth, pray consider it came from a Soldier, and an indigent Officer, who can dress it no better than he is able; confessing himself very poor in his Pen, as (I believe) we are all left in our Purses: Therefore, it may be better accepted amongst some of you. However, being once past the Press, let it shift (as we must) for the present, to the Grief of our Friends, and Derision of our Enemies; which God, the King, and Parliament, in Time (I hope) will consider; to the Comfort and Relief of those that can clearly make themselves out to be the truly loyal and indigent Party.

Which is the humble Desire of him that loves and honours a faithful and constant Sufferer, a loyal and civil Subject, a gallant and deserving Soldier.

Charles Hammond.

Truth's

Truth's Discovery ; or, the Cavaliers Case clearly stated by Conscience and Plain-dealing.

Laid open in these four Heads :

- I. *Their Grievances made manifest, impartially.*
- II. *Their Faults laid open, without Flattery.*
- III. *The Causes that produceth their Faults, discovered in reality.*
- IV. *The Remedies described in Good-will, out of true Loyalty and Fidelity.*

And, First, *The Cavaliers Grievances made manifest.*

I Believe we have been a Table-talk in most Parts of Christendom these three Years past ; but much more since our Dividend of *Indigent Money* hath been allotted us ; not six Weeks Pay for six Years Service, and sixteen Years Sufferings ; many Censures and Judgments hath been cast upon many Men in the Handling of this Business : For my Part, I shall reflect upon none, but declare the Truth of what I have seen, and heard, and know in it. The King and Parliament did intend a better Gratuity than it fell out to be. And so it would have proved, had it been shared to none but those that were truly qualified according to the Act ; but who would not lay Claim to have an Interest in the Act, when there was neither Penalty nor Punishment for the Breakers of it ? If any could procure a Certificate from any Colonel or Captain, that he was a Commission Officer, that Certificate (with the Assistance of some Friends, to any one or more of the Commissioners) would produce five of their Hands and Seals, they believing the Party qualified according to the Certificate that is so produced from the said Officers, which Officers, it is possible, are to go Sharers with them they so certify for, when they receive their Money ; as I believe too many hath (with Impudence) gone clearly off with that Cheat ; others have rid up and down the Country, and for some Money in Hand, and so much in the Pound (when they receive their Dividend) they would secure their Business, and warrant them they shall stand right or wrong ; and if they would but conceit themselves Officers, they would persuade them they were so ; and let the Royal Party (that knew they were no such Men) prove it, and by Oath maintain it, and turned them out ; yet those Men were brought in again, and have received Part of this Money, and it is not known which Way ; and if it were, we cannot help it : It hath been proved that some had been dead six Years, some ten Years, and some sixteen Years ; yet those Men have been raised again, not to receive their Money, because they are invisible and not to be seen, but to make over Letters of Attorney, to have their Moneys received for them by such as are not to learn

to cheat us now, as well as they could the King formerly, by their dead Musters, and so make him a great Army of Officers now, as they did Soldiers then; but when they were to do him Service, there could not the fourth Part be found, no more there will be of these *Indigent Officers* if the King should call them for his Service, or to have a strict Account whether they be qualified according to the Act.

Another Sort there is of *Indigent Officers* that carried their Commissions in their Pockets, that either could not raise their Regiments, Companies, or Troops, or else would not; yet these made all or most Part of their Officers, especially Quarter-Masters, which must provide their Captains Quarter for a Troop, though he had never a Man besides his Officers, and their Pedees and Baggage-Horses: These would lye upon the Out-quarters of the Army, if there were no Danger; else in one Regiment or other: These would serve themselves, being under no Command; never venturing their Lives, unless it were to plunder, making the Army odious by their Actions; so that civil and gallant Fighting-men were looked upon by the Country where they marched, as our indigent Party is here in the City, all alike; so that a truly loyal and indigent Officer now is ashamed to own himself, in regard of so many Counterfeits which hath abused both the King and Country, and is ranked in amongst us, and received as much as any of the best of us; whether it be their Due or no, I leave that to those in Time may please to consider of it, if this Book come to their Hands; which I hope it will.

Others there are (that have had a great Share in this Money) that may be termed *Indigent Officers*, but whether qualified according to the Act, that I shall not judge of; and they are such as never served the King (if they did) not as Commission Officers till after 1646, which was at the Rising in *Kent*, about a Week standing; or at *Colchester*, or in Duke *Hamilton's* Engagements, two or three Months standing; or in Sir *George Booth's* Business; and all these petty Risings and Train-band Officers, that never went out of their own County or Garisons where they lived, that were only in a Readiness to help to save themselves, not being able to endure the Scent of a light Match upon Service; yet these are brought in for indigent Officers too.

And then for Colonels, to make their Serving-men and Grooms Officers, to put in for the Money; and Captains to appoint Lieutenants, Cornets, Ensigns and Quarter-masters (in a Tavern or an Alehouse) and go half Snips with them; this they counted no Cheat if the Officers were dead: Others, if they served the Parliament (after the King was murdered) till the Restoration of the King that now is: Nay, some of them proved great Trapanners to the King's Friends now in these Times; yet these are ranked with the truly loyal and indigent Officers, such as were in Pay when we were in Prison, and could march the Streets when we were forced to hide our Heads: If these be not Grievances (which we have Cause to lay open) let Friends and Enemies both be our Judges; when it was proved upon Oath before Commissioners, that some never had Command in their Lives: And against others, that there was no such Men known, not so much as Troopers or Soldiers, which claimed to be Captains and Commission Officers, and many of them never appeared to
answer

answer for themselves, if there were any such, as I believe it will be made appear there was not: To be short, when we thought there had been 1500 at least turned out by Inspection, there was 300 more than the first Number taken in; so that we were sensible it was but a Folly to strive against the Stream, being driven more and more backward.

As for those *Indigent Officers*, that leaped from Corporals to Quarter-masters, and from Cornets to Captains, Majors, and Lieutenant-Colonels, to put themselves in Colonels; and to make their Brothers or Kindred Lieutenant-Colonels and Majors under them, that was accounted nothing, though it were within a Week or a Fortnight before the laying down of Arms; and some too that never did the King Service since, nor I believe will ever be chronicled for their Service they did his Father formerly; for their Loyalty, it may be they are clear; for I believe they were like a Chip in Pottage, never did Hurt nor good, neither for the King nor his Friends, but all for their own Ends: Indigent they may be termed, but by their insinuating, they have gotten good Gifts and Rewards that hath been given by the King (and others) intended for those that were deserving, and poor; but the Proverb saith, *Kissing goes by Favour*; and Rewards bestowed upon them that can make best Friends, when Service and Deserts either lies in Prison, or dare not peep out for Fear; as by some 'tis too openly known, that through Want and Grief together, being ashamed to make their Wants known, especially since the King came in, have broke their Hearts to see some of their Friends slighting them for their Poverty; and others that would willingly relieve them and not able, the more is their Grief, and to be pitied.

Now, there are another Sort of truly loyal, but not indigent; which some of them I much honour, having been much impoverished in Estate by their Service for the King, and never yet had any Reward, that hath put in for a Part of this Money, that are not so indigent; but if they had thought to what a pitiful Sum it would amount to, they would have left it to them that had more Need: But there are some again that hath had good Rewards and Offices (under the King) given them, some more than their Commands, their Service, or their Sufferings ever merited, yet hath put in, and taken Share of this Money too, being so covetous as to rob the Spittle (as I may term it) being ungrateful to his Majesty for his Favour to them formerly, and abusing his Charity in this which was now intended for them that were really in Want for the present: I believe there are some that hath taken of this Money, that if the Truth were known (as it may be made appear) that they have gotten (besides their Places) near a thousand Pounds a Man, and some have threescore, some an hundred, nay, five hundred a year; yet all these have put in for *Indigent Officers*; so what I have here related concerning our Grievances, is nothing but Truth; and much more can be proved by the truly loyal and indigent Party, to the Shame of some Persons (that shall be nameless) if once called to an Account: Our Wants and Necessities have been so great, that it is not unknown upon what Rates some Men have been fain to borrow Money, as at five Shillings in the Pound, and a Gratuity to some to help them to it: Some indeed borrowing so much, I believe they will never come to look for more, know-

ing they have no Right to any of our Money, if all Things had been rightly carried: Besides, there hath been Abundance of honest Tradesmen and House-keepers undone by trusting and helping us in the Time we waited for this Money, not any of them thinking but it would have amounted, in some Measure, to have satisfied every moderate Man's Debts; but falling out as it hath done, it hath undone them and us too; for some of them are not able to relieve themselves now, that formerly relieved us, that of Necessity, if God doth not raise Friends for some, they must want Lodging, Food, and Raiment, unless it be provided them in a Prison, as too many can witness since they have received this Indigent Money; many being cast into Prison already, others, having neither Money nor Credit, must of Necessity either beg, steal, or starve, unless God be pleased to raise them Friends, to move his Majesty and the Parliament to provide for them, as they out of their Mercy and Wisdom shall think fit; which will not be (of the truly loyal and indigent Party, that can prove themselves qualified according to the Act, not) the fifth Part of those that have gotten their Share of this last Money, which I shall more clearly make out how they may be proved at the latter End of this Book.

So having shewed you our Grievances in Part, I will now shew you the Faults our indigent Party are branded with, and not without a Cause.

The Faults of the indigent Party laid open without Flattery.

AS the Complaints are great of the indigent Party, to the Grief of many civil Men (their Friends) so their Grievs hath been as great to hear the Complaints against them, which I confess is not without a Cause: And give me leave to lay open to you those Faults which are too openly seen, and heard, to our Shame in the World; that makes many say, we can see the Motes in others Eyes, but perceive not the Beams that are in our own. Our Sufferings were great before his Majesty was restored; you will say 'tis greater now: 'Tis true our Sins were great before, they are far greater now; God hath restored us to our Peace and Liberty, which we so long prayed for, and wished for, what Returns have we made to him for that Mercy? Instead of sending new Praises and Thanksgivings to present him from our Hearts and Lips for those Mercies, we have invented new Oaths and Curses to send him: He that cannot swear and swagger, drink, rant and rogue, is looked upon (by some) as a pitiful Fellow, and not worth their keeping Company; and if he cannot vapour, he is not looked upon to have any Valour: These Vices have got such a Custom of late, that they are looked upon to be the only Badge to distinguish a Cavalier from a Sectary, that you shall find in Court and Camp, in City and Country, that those that are crept into Places of Profit and Preferment by their Purfes (which I believe serve the King more for Lucre of Pay than Love to his Person) these are now become as absolute *Dam-me Boys* as the best (or the worst I may say) which formerly would as soon cut a Cavalier's Throat as swear an Oath, and esteemed it a less Sin, unless it had been the Covenant or Engagement; but I have no more to say to them. But how can we look for Mercies from God, or Favour from the King, when we (who should

should shew such good Examples for the Glory of God who hath delivered us, and the Honour of our King, whose Cause we fought for) are now so accustomed to these odious Sins, that we neither fear God's Judgments, nor the King's Laws, which are both Enemies to such counterfeit Cavaliers (I can term them no other, nor ever did) who hath done the King more Harm by their Debauchedness, than ever they can do him good by their Service, if he should have Occasion to use them; therefore, you that make your Service and Sufferings out for his Majesty, shew it in your Carriage and Behaviour, for your future Happiness and his Majesty's Honour: We have Enemies enough, we had need make God our Friend, and that can never be with such Courses: I believe, if some thought there was a God, they would not call upon him to damn them so often as they do; it is an Oath so common, it is grown a Custom by Rich and Poor, Men and Women, Old and Young; we can talk against the Pride of the Gentry, the Covetousness of the Clergy, the Deceit of the Citizens, and the Corruption of the Lawyer; but Swearing, Cursing, Lying, Back-biting, and Insinuating are counted no Sins amongst us; and that I must be bold to tell you, that those that profess themselves the *Indigent Party*, are greatly guilty in this, and by jarring and quarrelling one with another, every one thinking his own Wit best, till at last some outwitted all those that are truly indigent; and well they may, having four to one against us, and good Backers to second them: These, and such like, are the Faults of the indigent Party, which I have here declared, not out of Envy or Hypocrisy, but out of the Love to them that are of the right Party, hoping you will better accept of it from a Friend than from an Enemy: For others, let them think what they will, and speak what they list, I have done what I can to make it appear who are the *truly loyal and indigent Party*, and who the Counterfeit, that the Cheat may be found (though the Gamesters be hid) for the Satisfaction of our Friends, which are grieved for us; and likewise for our Enemies, which rejoiceth at our Poverty, and would work upon our Necessity if they could; but I hope they shall find us more contented with our Rags of Loyalty, with a quiet Conscience, than they can be in their Robes of Sedition, which they have gained by our Ruin, not doubting but God's Mercy, and the King's Clemency in Time may relieve us, when it is clearly known who hath faithfully served and suffered for him; in the mean time, I desire all them that fear God and honour the King, not to let their Grievances and Poverty move their Passion so much by their Cursing and Swearing, which makes us stink in the Nostrils of God, and odious in the Company of civil Persons, and become a laughing Stock to our Enemies, that hath nothing else to look for, but the Judgments of God to fall upon us, such like Sins, which are too much used by those that profess themselves the King's Friends.

So having now shewed you the Faults of our Party, I shall shew you the Causes, which are many; I will instance a few, and though they be great, I desire to remove them, that our Faults may be mended.

The Causes that produceth their Faults discovered in reality.

WE can plead no Cause we have for our Sins, or Faults, but what produceth them, we may ; and that I shall declare, which is Pride, Poverty, and Passion. You will say, 'Tis strange that the indigent Party should be tainted with Pride, for they have Cause enough to be humbled ; yes, but the Counterfeits are proud in Conceit, that they have out-witted, out-vapoured, and can out-swear the truly loyal and indigent Party, as by woful Experience we have found. I must tell you, that they take such Pride in their Swearing, that they think they are not looked upon as Gentlemen and Cavaliers, unless they can swear to all they speak, whether it be Truth or Lies ; nay, I dare say, that there are many Hundreds that have received their Portion of this indigent Money (with the best) that have discharged more Volleys of Oaths in the Faces of the King's Friends, than ever they discharged Corns of Powder gallantly in the Faces of his Enemies. If the greatest Swearers and Vapourers could prove themselves the best Soldiers and the greatest Sufferers for his Majesty, they then may be proud of their Loyalty to the King ; but they cannot boast of their good Service to God. I must tell you, 'tis the greatest Honour that can redound to a Soldier to be counted religious, as well as valorous ; and Humility is the truest Badge of Gentility. You must not blaze every Man's Arms now by the Coat he wears on his Back ; if you should, Poverty procured by Loyalty, would be a great Blot in the Scutcheons of many a gallant Soul, and well-bred Gentleman, which can patiently see every Day rich Coats worn by such as cannot find a Coat of Arms to blaze, unless they fetch it from the Heraldry of Rebellion, or buy it, as many hath done Places of Honour and Preferment, with the Purfes they have gained by the Plunder, Purchase, and utter Ruin of some of his Majesty's best Subjects, which in their Eyes, and in their Hearts, they think and will speak a-far off, that our Poverty is a just Reward for our Loyalty, terming us Fools that we did not turn Knaves as they did, and then face about with them, having but Money in our Purfes they say it would have procured us Friends enough at Court. I hope every rational Man may clearly see that I have spoken nothing but Truth, and you may give Losers leave to speak, having nothing more to lose now but our Lives ; for few of us can boast of being sure of our Liberty, not daring to walk the Streets in the City for fear of a Compter Scuffle, nor out of the City for fear of a worse Party, which hath taken many of our indigent Officers, and conveyed them to such Garrisons, where they must lie till God in his Mercy take them away, or the King in his Clemency find Exchanges for them, which some of their hard-hearted Creditors had rather see starved to Death, than relieved or released by them ; and this is the Poverty that hath caused many a civil Soul to fall into Passion to see his Fellow-sufferer ready to starve, and not able to relieve him, to see him carried to Prison and cannot help him, to hear him laughed at, scorned and derided by others, and dare not vindicate him without the venturing your Life, or flying your Country, or suffer yourself to be vilified in taking his Part, by such as with their insinuating

insinuating into some Men's Favours that are in Authority, shall smite you secretly (if it be possible) and you shall never know who hurts you, and shall ruin you in your Credit, as they have done in your Estate, if their Tongue or their Purse can do it. Are not these sufficient Causes to move Passion in civil Men, to break out beyond Reason sometimes? when our Poverty for our Fidelity shall make us ridiculous, our Inferiors predominating over us, our Superiors more countenancing our Enemies than hearkening to us, and our own Party not able to help one another, our Complaints being kept from his Majesty's Ear, as our Persons, by our Poverty, are kept from his Presence; so that I believe some of us may compare with *Job* for Patience, and outstrip him too in some Points, as I shall take a little Leave to parallel. *Job* was a rich Man, had Wife and Children, God suffered Satan to afflict him in Body and Estate to try his Patience, he endured to the End, and was restored. We cannot read, that ever *Job* wanted Bread, nor was forced to fly from his own House and Home, or ever stood in Danger of his Life every Hour by the Hands of the Rebels, in his own Country: He had his Liberty (though in Sores and Misery) no debarring of any Friends that would come and visit him: How many of the King's Friends have lost all, many have been starved for Want, and at this Time wants Bread, having neither House nor Habitation of their own to go to, and now when the Time of Restoration was expected. How many hath been forced formerly to fly their own Country, every Day in danger of a Gaol, if not their Life; their Friends not daring to visit them without being in danger of being undone for them, being plundered and robbed by their own native Country, their Kindred (not *Chaldeans*) professed Enemies to our Country, as *Job's* was to him; yet enduring to the End with Patience, never cursing the Day of our Nativity, nor the Cause that brought us this Misery, as willing still to venture our Lives for his Majesty that now is, as we hazarded our Lives and Estates formerly for his Father of blessed Memory. Give me Leave to think, if *Job* had lived in these Times to have been an indigent Officer, and endured so much Slavery and Poverty, and afterwards been delivered to his former Liberty, and a reasonable Provision provided by King and Parliament for his present Necessity, and that being ordered and handled so that it produceth him to more Misery, by the close sinister Ends of those that profess to be his Friends, and of his own Party, I believe it would have urged his Patience, and with some us, think that (if it were to be searched out) they would find in it much Partiality, and that the main Ends of some covetous Parties hath brought many to Misery, and highly abused the King and Parliament's Clemency, which was never intended for such as hath received it, which are above three Thousand not qualified according to the Act, which hath formerly declared, and can be clearly made out by civil rational Men, that are neither Vapourers nor Flatterers, and will prove it the greatest Cheat that ever was acted against so needful an Act of Charity as this was.

So having shewed you our Grievances, our Faults, and the Causes, I shall now propound some Remedies, which being applied to these Sores, may open
abundance

abundance of Corruption to the Sight of those (in time) may pity our Condition, and use some Remedies to cure our lingering Disease.

Remedies described in good Will (out of true Loyalty) for the Recovery of the truly loyal and indigent Party.

THE Remedies that I shall produce are but few; yet being applied with the Help of these, we look for Relief and Redress from, which are these honourable Persons (the Parliament I mean) that (under God) hath already, and will heal, I hope, our tottered and once almost ruined Kingdom, which we may justly claim to be Members of; though some, by Age and Wounds, and others by Poverty, are not able to do as they have done, yet are willing still, and I dares boldly say (in the Behalf of some) if tried, are as able now (by their Knowledge and Courage) to do the King as good Service (if there were Occasion to use them) as they did formerly for his Father of ever-blessed Memory: But for the Remedies in hand; some Things that are past I shall not propound, which were to recover a Thing impossible, which is the Money that was allotted among us, it being dispersed into so many greedy and needy Hands, which I believe (and 'tis thought, by not rash, but rational, Men) that a good handsome Part of the three-score thousand Pounds will fall into the Hands of but a few Persons that will be made by our undoing; but the Letters of Attorney will skin over that Sore, and it can hardly be remedied; for the Office-Money, how that hath been handled, none can justly tell, though give a shrewd Guess; but if the Raters and Receivers were but thoroughly purged and searched, that Corruption may be fetched out, and a Remedy in time may be procured; but I must confess it is but a Folly in me (or any other of our poor Party) to propound any Remedies for such old Sores that are too deep for us to search into; therefore I shall leave those Things that is past my finding out, and prescribe a few Remedies that may do well for the future, to help those that are the truly loyal and indigent Party, that if ever the King or Parliament, or any other, should be willing to help heal us, that those may be looked on, whose Service, Sufferings, and Deserts, deserve Pity; and that should be made appear by a new Certificate, from the Hand or Hands of the chiefest Officer of the Regiment now living, that is known himself to be a deserving gallant Man, and it was a compleat fighting Regiment, and then to certify that he knew such a Man, and he had a real Command so long, as he can testify of his own Knowledge, and of his Behaviour and Carriage while he was under his Command, and thus to certify the Truth according to his Deserts upon his Credit; and likewise to get another Certificate from the Hands of creditable Men where he lived, or from others that knew him where he had been since the Wars, and would testify for his Loyalty after he left the King's Army to the Restoration of our now gracious Sovereign. I believe if none but those that could produce such a Certificate should have had a Share of this indigent Money, we should have had no Cause to declare our Grievances; but I believe then it would have been a great Grief

Grief to some to have seen none but honest Men provided for; for then they should not have been so well provided for, as they are now, with our Money. Next Remedy is, if for the future there should any Provision be made, either by Offices or Places, either Martial or Civil, or any Money given by his Majesty, or any others, that it may be put into the Hands of impartial Men to be distributed, such as *Jethro* prescribed to *Moses*, *Men fearing God and hating Covetousness*; that Rewards intended for deserving Men and Sufferers that wants, may not be distributed to particular Persons in private, by Letters from Ladies, or great Men, to their Serving-men, Footmen, or Porters, or to such as hath had more already than ever their Service deserved; being a Cluster of insinuating, impudent, more-than indigent, Officers, that runs up and down, hearkening after such Gifts, either fawning with the Favourites, or seeing them (and the Clerks that belongs to such Persons that hath the distributing of such Gifts) that when their own Turn is served, if there be any thing left (giving them a Part with you) they will make you acquainted with it. This hath been the Course of most Gifts that hath been bestowed since his Majesty came in; that if it were openly known upon whom it hath been bestowed, it could not be made appear that it hath been half distributed according to the Intentions it was given for; so that a few particular Persons hath, and doth, get a Share in every thing, and most of them deserves nothing, and some wants nothing; when some Gentlemen, to my Knowledge, that had done the King good Service, hath been great Sufferers, gallant Soldiers, and no Deserters, that could not get a Penny of all this Money to relieve them, not hearing of it till it was all distributed, some being brought to that Condition thro' Want, that now they are past Want; such as could not make their Case known to none but such as could not help themselves, but only with Hopes, which keeps their Hearts from breaking, thinking they are now at the worst, therefore in hopes it will mend. Another Remedy would be desired for the truly loyal and indigent Soldiers that served his Majesty, as well as Officers, which are or should be provided for by Pension, according to the Act, which I believe if they were clearly purged, and none to have it but such as could produce (from their Officers, and the Places where they have lived or been since the Wars) such Certificates as I prescribed for such indigent Officers before, I believe then there would be a good Subsistence for all true Pensioners, Widows, or others, which I believe is not many more than they have made indigent Officers, if they were carefully examined; but there is as great Complaints from them as there is justly from us; some that never served the King, some that served a while and run home, others that served the Rebels here in *England* till the King came in; yes, and received their Wounds in their Service against the King, some of them, and had a Pension for it from them; yet making Friends, and getting some Officer's Hand, like themselves, or to keep them from the Parish Charge, hath gotten in to be Pensioners, when, to my Knowledge, there are those that hath been stout Soldiers, and served as Corporals and Serjeants, and continued till the End of the Wars, lame and wounded too, and have been faithful ever since; some can get nothing, some forty Shillings or three Pounds a Year, when four Pounds or more, shall be

allotted some that can be proved as unworthy Rascals against the King's Friends (in the Time of Rebellion) as those that were always against us, and worse too, and would be as ready still to stand for Rebellion, if they thought it would prove the stronger Side: Thus hath the King's and Parliament's Clemency in the Act been abused, which I hope God will put into the Hearts of some of the Nobility and Clergy to move his Majesty in our behalf, that he would appoint some noble Persons to hear our Grievances, and in some Way relieve us, that such whom God in his Mercy hath preserved their Lives, and shifted for their Liberty and Livelihood in the worst of Times. as we thought, should not now complain for want of Food and Raiment, and Liberty, and to see, both in Court and Camp, Sea and Land, Places of Profit and Preferment bestowed upon them that hath enough to live on besides, which they gained when we lost all, when able Men, and civil Men as ever served his Majesty, only branded with Poverty, must be looked upon by these Persons as unworthy Men, and not fit to have any Employment, by reason of the Deboyness of some that hath made themselves the Cavalier Party.

I must of Necessity conclude, and leave these Remedies (and what else is wanting) to be remedied by those whom God directs and appoints, not only to hear us, but what they shall see, in their Wisdom, is wanting for the Advancement of his Majesty, the Peace and Preservation both of Church and People under his Majesty's Dominions, which shall be the Prayers of him, which for this Time takes his Leave, desiring what you see in this Book writ out of Ignorance or Passion, judge favourably of it, and let that real Intention which I aim at, without sinister Ends, plead for my Infirmities, which you discover here, reflecting upon yourselves, knowing there is none free from some or other.

POSTSCRIPT.

I Know there is many will wonder, that I should presume to take upon me to write this Book, being there is many of our Party that were far more able to have undertook the handling of it. I must confess it might have come from a better Pen, but not a truer Heart. It grieved me to see what Confusion there hath been amongst us from the Beginning; some drawing up Remonstrances, and Grievances, and setting of Hands to this Thing and that Thing; then chusing of Trustees, appointing of Meetings at several Places, and so spend our Time and Money too (them that had it) some siding for one Party, some for another; every one crying out they are wronged, when some of them are as much tainted themselves as the worst, yet take upon them to right others, when they have done the most Wrong, and think their pretended high Commands that they have had will bear them out.

Some of those Gentlemen that we chose for Trustees, I much honour, whose Aim and Intentions I believe were right; but for some amongst them, I cannot understand that how they can be clearly for our Good, that cannot clear themselves. Must not they wink at others, for fear themselves should be brought to Light? I should desire every one to rest themselves contented, and not hearken after the Fancies

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 387

of every sinister-ended Party, that are more for their own Ends, than for the general Good of us (if they should bring their Purposes to pass.) For my part, the Writing of this Book was intended (from me) only to give Satisfaction to all loyal Subjects, how his Majesty's and the Parliament's Clemency have been abused, and we wronged and disgraced, having such a Company of pitiful Fellows lay claim to be Commission-Officers; some I believe knows not a Rank from a File, nor a Counter-march from a Wheel; that never looked as if they had either Wit or Valour in them, and wanting both, they were very unfit to command; for I believe the King was never in such Need of Officers; and some that were more fit for a Rod, than wear a Sword, in his late Majesty's Service, being twenty-six or thirty Years of Age, hath had this Dividend too; so that what long of such, and your roaring, dam-me, counterfeit Cavaliers, hath rendered our Party so ridiculous in the Eyes of some People, that they slight and scorn all civil Cavaliers for their Sakes: But I must tell them, there was, and is, as gallant and as civil Men in the King's Army, which hated, and doth hate such Courses, as much as the greatest Zealot of them all, not out of Hypocrisy, or Fear of the Law, but out of the Fear of God, which we should all live in; perhaps some may censure 'tis out of Envy, or Vain-glory, that I have so often touched upon Swearing. It is so often in my Ears, against my Will, which makes me mind it so often to you, that you may bend your Mind to leave it.

For Envy and Vain-glory, how much I have been guilty of these two Sins, I leave those to Censure that knows me now, or formerly, in the King's Service; which I was constantly in one Army, and in one Regiment, though under four Colonels, first the Lord Mohun's, then Sir Charles Mohun's, afterwards Col. John Digby's, and last Sir Chichester Wray's; my Service being most in the West, belonging to the Cornish Army; and now, since his Majesty's Restoration, I have served in his Majesty's Regiment of Guards, as a Soldier, in the Right Honourable Col. John Ruffel's own Company: What my Service or Carriage hath been from the first to the last, I leave to the Censure of those that are able to report of both, either for my Credit or Shame, desiring them to give no better nor worse a Character than I have deserved, which I know can never redound to my Dishonour for my Service (and I hope as little for my Carriage and Behaviour to every Man) which I shall endeavour to continue with the utmost of my Power, hoping in time to see such Men countenanced, if not provided for, whose Service and Carriage hath never dishonoured that just Cause they ever fought for, which was for God's Glory, and his Majesty's just Rights; which is the Desire of him that for the present leaves you, and remains your Friend to the utmost of his Power, so far forth as you are loyal Subjects; hoping this Book may light into the Hands of some near the King, that may reflect upon their own Sufferings formerly, and to do now as they would be done unto, if they were in our Condition.

His Majesty's gracious SPEECH to both Houses of Parliament, on *Monday, July 8, 1661.* Together with the Speech of Sir *Edward Turner*, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.

Printed in the Year 1661.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT is a good Time since I heard of your passing this Bill of Money, and I am sure you would have presented it to me sooner, if you had thought I had desired it; but the Truth is, though I have Need enough of it, I had no Mind to receive it from you, till I might, at the same time, give my Assent to this other very good Bill that accompanies it, for which I longed very impatiently: I thank you for both with all my Heart. And though there are other good Bills ready, with which you will easily believe I am very well pleased, and in which I am indeed enough concerned, yet I choose rather to pass these two Bills together, and to pass them by themselves without any other, that you may all see, and in you the whole Kingdom, that I am at least equally concerned for you and them, as for myself; and, in Truth, it will be want of Judgment in me, if I ever desire any thing for myself, that is not equally good for you and them: I am confident you all believe that my Well-being is of some Use and Benefit to you; and I am sure your Well-being, and being well pleased, is the greatest Comfort and Blessing I can receive in this World: I hope you will be ready within few Days to dispatch those other public Bills which are still depending before you, that I may come hither and pass all together, and then adjourn till Winter, when what remains may be provided for; and I would be very glad that you would be ready by the twentieth of this Month, or thereabouts, for the Adjournment; which methinks you might easily be, if you suspended all private Business till the Recess: The last Parliament, by God's Blessing, laid the Foundation of the Happiness we all enjoy; and therefore I thought it but Justice to the Memory of it, to send you Bills for the Confirmation of what was enacted then; and I cannot doubt, but you will dispatch what remains of that Kind with all convenient Speed; and that you will think, that what was then thought necessary or fit for the public Peace to be enacted, ought not to be shaken now, or any good Man less secure of what he possesses, than he was when you came together: It is to put myself in Mind, as well as you, that I so often (I think as often as I come to you) mention to you my Declaration from *Breda*; and let me put you in Mind of another Declaration published by yourselves about the same time, and which I am persuaded made mine the more effectual, an honest, generous, and Christian Declaration, signed by the most eminent Persons, who had been the most eminent Sufferers, in which you renounced all
former

former Animosities, all Memory of former Unkindnesses, vowed all imaginable Good-will to, and all Confidence in, each other.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Let it be in no Man's Power to charge me or you with Breach of our Word or Promise, which can never be a good Ingredient to our future Security : Let us look forward and not backward, and never think of what is past, except Men put us in Mind of it, by repeating Faults we had forgot, and then let us remember no more, than what concerns those very Persons.

God hath wrought a wonderful Miracle in settling us as he hath done ; I pray let us do all we can to get the Reputation at home and abroad of being well settled. We have Enemies and Enviars enough, who labour to have it thought otherwise ; and if we would indeed have our Enemies fear us, and our Neighbours love and respect us, and fear us enough to love us, let us take all the Ways we can, that as the World cannot but take Notice of your extraordinary Affection to me, and of the Comfort I take in that Affection, so that it may likewise take Notice of your Affection to, and Confidence in, each other, which will disappoint all Designs against the public Peace, and fully establish our joint Security.

The SPEECH of Sir *Edward Turner*, Knight, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons, to the King's Most excellent Majesty, delivered on *Monday* the eighth Day of *July*, 1661.

May it please your Most excellent Majesty,

THE Writ of Summons whereby your Majesty was pleased to call together the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeesses of the Commons House of Parliament, gave us to understand that your Majesty had divers weighty and urgent Matters to communicate to us : Such as did concern your Royal Person, your State and Dignity, the Defence of the Kingdom, and the Church of *England* : And in the same Method propounded to us by your Majesty, we have applied ourselves to offer you our best Counsel and Advice.

We found your Majesty miraculously preserved by the Hand of God from the Hands of your Enemies ; we found you peaceably seated in the Throne of your Ancestors ; we found the Hereditary Imperial Crown of these Nations auspiciously set upon your Royal Head ; and all this after a sharp and a bloody Civil War.

We held it our Duties, in the first Place, to endeavour the Safety and Preservation of your Majesty's Person and Government, and to that Purpose have prepared a Bill.

Next to the Safety of your Majesty, we took into Consideration the State and Power that is necessary for so great a Prince ; and do hope, ere long, to settle your Militia so, that, by the Blessing of God, you need not fear Storms from abroad, or Earthquakes here at home.

Your

Your Majesty was pleased, at the Opening of the Parliament, to recommend unto us two Bills; one for Confirmation of public Acts, another for the private Acts that passed the last Parliament; they were so many in Number, and great in Weight, that hitherto we could not consider of them all, but some we have perused: The Act for Confirmation of Judicial Proceedings; for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries, and Purveyance, and also all those that do relate to your Majesty's Customs and Excise: And that we might, with some Chearfulness see your Majesty's Face, we have brought our Brother *Benjamin* with us, I mean your Act of Oblivion: I take the Boldness to call it yours, for so it is by many Titles; your Majesty first conceived it at *Breda*, you helped to contrive and form it here in *England*, and we must all bear you Witness, you laboured and travelled till it was brought forth: And since it had a Being, some Question being made of its Legitimation, your Royal Heart is not at Ease until it be confirmed. And now, Sir, give me Leave to say, by the Suffrage of a full, a free, and a legal Parliament, it is presented to your Majesty to be naturalized. Your Majesty's Desires are fully answered by all the Representatives of the People; and their hearty Prayer to God is, that all your Subjects may be truly thankful to you; and that your Majesty may long live to enjoy the Fruits of this unparalleled Mercy.

Your Majesty was pleased to intimate to us on *Saturday* last, that you so valued the Quiet and Satisfaction of your People, and the keeping of your Royal Word with them, that although divers other Bills were made ready for you, you would vouchsafe the Honour to this Bill alone, your Favourite, to come and pass it. Sir, hereby you have made this a great Holiday, and we shall observe it with Joy and Thanksgiving. Upon such solemn Festivals, there useth to be a second Service, an Anthem, and a Collect, or at least an Offering; my Anthem shall be, *Quid tibi retribuam Domine?* and my Collect a short Report of your Revenue. We know, great Sir, that Money is both the Sinews of War, and Bond of Peace; we have therefore taken Care of your Majesty's Revenue, and do desire to make it, in some good Proportion, suitable both to your Grandeur and your Merit.

We do believe the State of our King is the Honour of our State; and the best Way to preserve our Peace, is to be well provided for War: Our Time hath not permitted us to finish this Work; but as an Earnest of our good Affections, we desire your Majesty to accept an Offering from us.

We cannot enough admire your Majesty's Patience, Providence, and Frugality abroad; you did not bring home a Debt for us to pay, great as a Prince's Ransom. And since your Return, you have not, with King *Edward* the Third, after his Wars in *France*, or *Henry* the Fourth, *Henry* the Seventh, or *Henry* the Eighth, desired new and great Aids, and heavy Subsidies, from your People for your Supplies.

No, Sir, you have been so far from asking that Part of the Money which was given you last Parliament for your Household Provision, you have issued out towards Payment of our Debts, you have robbed your own Table (I had almost said, given the Meat out of your own Belly) to feed the hungry Seamen.

Dear

Dear Sir, these Things have a just Influence upon the People, they fill our Hearts with Joy and Affection to your Majesty.

I do not pretend much to Physiognomy ; but, if I mistake not greatly, the Faces of the People do promise great Frankness and Chearfulness in your present Supplies.

What would not your Majesty's Friends have given within these eighteen Months, to have seen your Majesty thus happily settled ? And what can be too much for those to return, who have received all they enjoy from your Majesty's Mercy ?

Great Sir, to conclude this solemn Service, The Commons of *England* do, by me their Servant, humbly present you with this Bill, intituled, *An Act for a free and voluntary Present*, and wish it a Success answerable to your Royal Heart's Desire.

The DECLARATION and Remonstrance of the Earls, Lords, Viscounts, Barons, Knights, Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, and Gentlemen of the Roman Catholic Religion in the Kingdom of *Ireland* : With their Protestation to the King's Most Excellent Majesty ; and a List of the Names of the Subscribers that have openly disclaimed and renounced the Pope of *Rome*, and all other foreign Powers.

Printed in the Year 1662.

YOUR Majesty's most faithful Subjects the Roman Catholic Nobility and Gentry of your Majesty's Kingdom of *Ireland*, out of a deep Sense of those prodigious Afflictions under which the Monarchy of *Great Britain* has, before your Majesty's happy Restoration, groaned these twenty Years ; and out of our sad Thoughts, which daily bring more and more Sighs from our Breasts, and Tears from our Eyes, for, not only, the still as yet continued Miseries and Sufferings of the Catholic Natives of that our unfortunate Country, even amidst, and ever since, the so much famed Joys and Triumphs of your sacred Majesty's most auspicious Inauguration, but also of the Causes, whereinto we have made the most narrow Search we could, of these our own peculiar unparalleled Calamities ; and upon Reflection on that Allegiance we owe, and ought by all divine and human Laws, and which we are, and have been always ready to swear and perform to your Majesty, our only Sovereign Lord on Earth, and on the Scandal (notwithstanding) which some Persons (who are unwilling to understand aright our Religion) cast upon it, as if it were

392 *A Third Collection of* T R A C T S *on all Subjects.*

were not consistent with all dutiful Obedience and Faith to the supreme temporal Magistrate; and upon a Consideration likewise, of a further Tie of Conscience on us for endeavouring, as much as in us lies, to clear your Majesty's Royal Breast from all Fears and Jealousies whatsoever, if any peradventure your Majesty entertain of us, through the Suggestion of such as hate our Communion or Nation; and to wipe off that Scandal, and allay the Odium under which our Church hath lain this last Century of Years, among other Christian People in these Nations, of a different Way from ours in the Word of God, we humbly crave your Majesty's Pardon to vindicate both ourselves and our holy Belief, in that Particular of our Allegiance, by the ensuing Protestation. Which (in Imitation of the late good Example given by our Clergy, and pursuant to the general Doctrine and Practice of the Catholic Church) we make in the Sight of Heaven, and in the Presence of your Majesty, sincerely and truly, without Equivocation, or mental Reservation.

We do acknowledge and confess your Majesty to be our true and lawful King, supreme Lord, and rightful Sovereign of this Realm of *Ireland*, and of all other your Majesty's Dominions. And therefore we acknowledge and confess ourselves to be obliged, under Pain of Sin, to obey your Majesty in all civil and temporal Affairs, as much as any other of your Majesty's Subjects, and as the Laws and Rulers of Government in this Kingdom do require at our Hands. And that notwithstanding any Power or Pretension of the Pope, or See of *Rome*, or any Sentence or Declaration of what Kind or Quality soever, given, or to be given, by the Pope, his Predecessors, or Successors, or by any Authority spiritual or temporal, proceeding or derived from him, or his See, against your Majesty or Royal Authority, we will still acknowledge, and perform to the utmost of our Abilities, and our faithful Loyalty and true Allegiance to your Majesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign Power, be it either papal or princely, spiritual or temporal, inasmuch as it may seem able, or shall pretend to free, discharge, or absolve us from this Obligation, or shall any way give us Leave or Licence to raise Tumults, bear Arms, or offer any Violence to your Majesty's Person, Royal Authority, or to the State or Government; being all of us ready, not only to discover and make known to your Majesty, and to your Ministers, all the Treasons made against your Majesty or them, which shall come to our Hearing; but also to lose our Lives in the Defence of your Majesty's Person and Royal Authority, and to resist, with our best Endeavours, all Conspiracies and Attempts against your Majesty, be they framed or sent under what Pretence, or patronized by what foreign Power or Authority soever. And further we profess, that all absolute Princes and supreme Governors, of what Religion soever they be, are God's Lieutenants on Earth; and that Obedience is due to them, according to the Laws of each Commonwealth respectively, in all civil and temporal Affairs. And therefore we do here protest against all Doctrine and Authority to the contrary. And we do hold it impious, and against the Word of God, to maintain that any private Subject may kill, or murder the anointed of
God,

God, his Prince, though of a different Belief and Religion from his. And we abhor and detest the Practice thereof as damnable and wicked.

These being the Tenets of our Religion in Point of Loyalty and Submission to your Majesty's Authority, and our Observance and Veneration of, or Communion with the See of *Rome*, in Matters purely spiritual, no way entrenching on that perfect Obedience, which by our Birth, by the Laws of God and Man, we are bound to pay to your Majesty our natural and lawful Sovereign,

Prostrate at your Majesty's Feet, we most humbly beg, That all your Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects of *Ireland*, who shall, by Subscription or Consent, concur to this public Protestation of Loyalty, be protected from Persecution for the Profession or Exercise of their Religion, and all former Laws, upon that Account against them repealed.

Luke Earl of *Fingal*,

Morrogh Earl of *Inchiquin*,

Donogh Earl of *Clancarty*,

Oliver Earl of *Tyrconel*,

Theobald Earl of *Carlingford*,

Edmund Viscount *Mont-Garret*,

Thomas Viscount *Dillon*,

Arthur Viscount *Iveagh*,

William Viscount *Clane*,

Charles Viscount *Muscry*,

William Viscount *Taaf*,

Oliver Baron of *Lovith*,

William Baron of *Castle-Connel*,

Colonel *Charles* *Dillon*,

Matthew *Plunket*, Esq;

Lieutenant-Colonel *Nugent*,

Edward *Plunket*, Esq;

Nich. Plunket, Knight,

Matthew *Plunket* of *Dunsany*,

Christopher *Plunket*,

James *Dillon*, Knight,

Colonel *Bryan*,

Robert *Talbot*, Bart.

Ullick *Burk*, Bart.

Ed. Fitz-Harris, Bart.

Valentine *Brown*, Bart.

Sir Henry *Slingsby*,

Sir John *Bellew*,

Colonel *William* *Burk*,

Colonel *John* *Fitz-Patrick*,

Colonel *Brian* *Mac-Mabun*,

Colonel *Miles* *Reilly*,

Colonel *Gilbert* *Talbot*,

Colonel *Milo* *Power*,

Lieutenant Colonel *Pierce* *Lacy*,

Lieutenant Colonel *Ullick* *Burk*,

Lieutenant Colonel *Scurlog*,

And above sixty Esquires and Gentlemen.

His Majesty's most gracious SPEECH, together with the Lord Chancellor's, to the Two Houses of Parliament, at their Prorogation, on *Monday* the 19th of *May*, 1662.

Printed in the Year 1662.

My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I Think there have been very few Sessions of Parliament in which there have been so many Bills as I have passed this Day; I am confident, never so many Private Bills, which I hope you will not draw into Example. It is true, these late ill Times have driven Men into great Streights, and may have obliged them to make Conveyances colourably, to avoid Inconveniencies, and yet not afterwards to be avoided; and Men have gotten Estates by new and greater Frauds than have been heretofore practised; and therefore in this Con-juncture, extraordinary Remedies may be necessary, which hath induced me to comply with your Advice in passing these Bills; but I pray let this be very rarely done hereafter. The good old Rules of the Law are the best Se-curity; and let not Men have too much Cause to fear, that the Settlements they make of their Estates shall be too easily unsettled, when they are dead, by the Power of Parliaments.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You have so much obliged me, not only in the Matter of those Bills which concern my Revenue, but in the Manner of passing them, with so great Af-fection and Kindness to me, that I know not how to thank you enough. I do assure you, and I pray assure your Friends in the Country, that I will ap-ply all you have given me to the utmost Improvement of the Peace and Happinefs of the Kingdom, and will, with the best Advice and good Hus-bandry I can, bring my Expences within a narrower Compass. Now I am speaking to you of my own good Husbandry, I must tell you that will not be enough. I cannot but observe to you, that the whole Nation seems to me a little corrupted in their Excess of Living. Sure all Men spend much more in their Clothes, in their Diet, in all their Expences, than they have used to do. I hope it hath only been the Excess of Joy, after so long Sufferings, that hath transported us to those other Excesses; but let us take Heed that the Continuance of them doth not indeed corrupt our Natures. I do believe I have been faulty that Way myself: I promise you I will reform; and if you will join with me in your several Capacities, we shall, by our Examples, do more Good, both in City and Country, than any new Laws would do. I tell you again, I will do my Part, and I will tell some of you, if you do not do yours. I hope the Laws I have passed this Day will produce some Reformation, with Reference to the Multitude of Beggars and poor People which infest the Kingdom. Great Severity must be used to those who love Idleness, and refuse to work, and great Care and Charity towards those who
are

are willing to work. I do very heartily recommend the Execution of those good Laws to your utmost Diligence; and I am sure I need not put you in mind so to settle the Militia, that all seditious Insurrections may not only be prevented, to which the Minds of too many are inclined, but that the People may be without reasonable Apprehension of such Insecurity. You will easily believe, that it is very necessary for the public Justice of the Kingdom, and even for the Preservation of the Reverence due to Parliaments, that I make this a Session; and it will be worthy of your Wisdoms, when you come together again, to provide that there be not so great Clamour against the Multitude of Protections.

I will say no more, but renew my hearty Thanks to you all, and refer the rest to the Chancellor.

His Majesty's Speech being ended, the Lord Chancellor began as followeth:

The Lord Chancellor's S P E E C H.

My Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses of the House of Commons,

IT is now little more than a Year that the King first called you to attend him here, at the Opening of the Parliament; then you may remember he told you, That he thought there were not many of you who were not particularly known to him; that there were very of whom he had not heard so much good, that he was, he said, as sure as he could be of any thing that was to come; that you would all concur with him, and that he should concur with you in all Things which might advance the Peace, Plenty, and Prosperity of the Nation; his Majesty said he should be exceedingly deceived else.

It was a Princely Declaration, and a rare Confidence, which could flow from no other Fountain but the Sincerity and Purity of his own Conscience; which admitting no other Designs or Thoughts into his Royal Breast, but such as must tend to the unquestionable Prosperity and Greatness of his People, could not but be assured of your full Concurrence and Co-operation with him. It was a happy and blessed Omen, which at the Instant struck a Terror into the Hearts of those who promised themselves some Advantages from the Differences and Divisions in your Councils, and hoped from thence to create new Troubles and Molestations in the Kingdom; and, God be thanked, the King hath been so far from being exceedingly deceived, that he doth acknowledge he hath been exceedingly complied with, exceedingly gratified in all he hath desired, and he hopes he hath not in the least Degree disappointed your Expectation.

Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

You have, like the richest and the noblest Soil, a Soil manured and enriched by the bountiful Hearts of the best Subjects in the World, yielded the King two full Harvests in one Year; and therefore it is but good Husbandry

to lie fallow for some time: You have not only supplied the Crown to a good Degree for discharging many Debts and Pressures, under which it even groaned, and enabled it to struggle with the present Streights and Necessities, Debts not contracted, and Necessities not run into by Improvidence and Excess; you may, when you please, receive such an Accompt as will clear all such Reproaches; but you have wisely, very wisely provided such a constant growing Revenue as may, with God's Blessing, preserve the Crown from those scandalous Wants and Necessities as have heretofore exposed it and the Kingdom to those dismal Miseries, from which they are but even now buoyed up; for whatsoever other human Causes may be assigned, according to the several Fancies and Imaginations of Men, of our late miserable Distractions, they cannot be so reasonably imputed to any one Cause, as to the extream Poverty of the Crown: The want of Power could never have appeared, if it had not been for the want of Money.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, worthily provided for the Vindication and Manifestation of the one, by the Bill of the Militia, and for the Supply of the other, by the Act for the additional Revenue; and I am confident both the present and succeeding Ages will bless God, and celebrate your Memories for those two Bills, as the Foundation of their Peace, Quiet, and Security, how froward and indisposed soever many are at present, who finding such Obstructions laid in their Way to Mutiny and Sedition, use all the Artifice they can to persuade the People that you have not been solicitous enough for their Profit, and wickedly labour to lessen that Reverence towards you, which sure was never more due to any Parliament.

It was a very natural and an ingenious Animadversion and Reflection which the late incomparable Lord Viscount of St. *Albans* made upon that old Fable of the Giants, who were first overthrown in the War against the Gods, when the Earth, their Mother, in Revenge thereof, brought forth *Fame*, which he said is the same when Princes and Monarchs have suppressed actual and open Rebellion, then the Malignity of the People, the Mother of Rebellion, doth bring forth Libels, Slanders, and Taxation of the State, which, he says, is of the same Kind with the Rebellion, but more feminine: And, without doubt, this seditious Daughter of the Earth, this Spirit of Libelling, was never more pregnant than it is now; nor King, nor Parliament, nor Church, nor State ever more exposed to those *Flagella linguæ*, those Strokes of the Tongue, from which God Almighty can only preserve the most innocent and most excellent Persons; as if Repining and Murmuring were the peculiar Exercise of the Nation, to keep it in Health; as if *England* had so much of the Merchant, *Nunquam habendi fructu fœlix, semper autem quærendi cupiditate miserrima.*

Men are in no Degree disposed to imitate, or remember the general excellent Temper of the Time of Queen *Elizabeth*, the blessed Condescension and Resignation of the People then to the Crown; the awful Reverence they then had to the Government, and to the Governors, both in Church and State. This good and happy Spirit was in a Time beyond our Memory; but they remember, as if it were but yesterday, how few Subsidies Parliaments then

then gave to that Queen ; how small Supplies the Crown then had from the People, and wonder that the same Measures should not still fill the Coffers, and give the same Reputation, and make the same Noise in Christendom.

But, my Lords and Gentlemen, how bold soever some unquiet Spirits are with you, upon this Argument, you are much superior to those Reproaches. You know well, and you can make others know, without breaking the Act of Indemnity, how the Crown hath been used, how our Sovereign Lord the King found at his blessed Return to it ; you can tell the World, that as soon as he came hither, besides the Infinite that he forgave, he gave more, more Money to the People, than he hath since received from them : That at least two Parts of three that they have since given him, have issued for the disbanding Armies never raised by him, and for Payment of Fleets never sent out by him, and of Debts never incurred by him. You will put them in mind of the vast Disparity between the former Times, and these in which we live, and consequently of the Disproportion in the Expence the Crown is now at, for the Protection and Benefit of the Subject, to what it formerly underwent. How great a Difference there is in the present Greatness and Power of the two Crowns, and what they were then possessed of, is evident to all Men ; and if the Greatness and Power of the Crown of *England* be not in some Proportion improved too, it may be liable to Inconveniencies it will not undergo alone. How our Neighbours and our Rivals, who court one and the same Mistress, Trade and Commerce, with all the World, are advanced in Shipping, Power, and an immoderate Desire to engross the whole Traffic of the Universe, is notorious enough ; and this unruly Appetite will not be restrained, or disappointed, nor the Trade of this Nation supported and maintained with the same Fleets and Forces which were maintained in the happy Times of Queen *Elizabeth*. Not to speak of the Naval Power of the *Turks*, who instead of sculking abroad in poor single Ships as they were wont to do, domineer now on the Ocean in strong Fleets, make Naval Fights, and have brought some Christians to a better Correspondence, and another Kind of Commerce and Traffic with them than was expected ; insomuch as they apprehend no Enemy upon the Sea, but what they find in the King of *England's* Ships, which hath indeed brought no small Damage upon them, with no small Charge to the King, but a great Reputation to the Nation.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

You may, with a very good Conscience, assure yourselves and your Friends and Neighbours, that the Charge the Crown is now at by Sea and Land, for the Peace and Security, and Wealth and Honour of the Nation, amounts to no less than eight hundred thousand Pounds a Year ; all which did not cost the Crown, before these Troubles, four-score thousand Pounds the Year ; and therefore they will never blame you for any Supply you have given, or Addition you have made to the Revenue of the Crown ; and whosoever unskilfully murmurs at the Expence of *Dunkirk*, and the other new Acquisitions, which ought to be looked upon as Jewels of an immense Magnitude in the Royal Diadem, do not enough remember what we have lost by *Dunkirk*, and should always do, if it were in an Enemy's Hands ; nor duly consider

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the vast Advantages those other Dominions are like, by God's Blessing, in a short Time, to bring to the Trade, Navigation, Wealth and Honour of the King and Kingdom. His Majesty hath enough expressed his Desire to live in a perfect Peace and Amity with all his Neighbours ; nor is it an ill Ingredient towards the Firmness and Stability of that Peace and Amity which his Royal Ancestors have held and maintained with them, that he hath some Advantages in case of a War, which they were without.

It was a right Ground of Confidence, such an one as seldom deceives Men, that the great Law-maker, the wise *Solon*, had, when he concluded, that Reverence and Obedience would be yielded to his Laws, because he hath taken the Pains to make his Citizens know and understand, that it was more for their Profit to obey Law and Justice, than to contemn and break it. The extravagant Times of Licence, which I hope we have almost out-lived, have so far corrupted the Minds, and even the Nature of too many, that they do not return with that Alacrity they ought to do, into the Road and Paths of Order and Government, from which they have so long been led astray ; nor, it may be, is there Pains enough taken to make them understand the Profit, Benefit, and Ease which always attends a chearful Obedience and Submission to Laws and Government. I am persuaded, a little Pains and Kindness, and Condescension in the Wise towards the Weak, half the Diligence and Dexterity in Conversation and Example, which hath been used to corrupt the People in their Loyalty and Understanding, will quickly reduce them to their primitive Temper, which is, to be the best Neighbours, and the best Friends, and the best Subjects of the World : And I make no question, but the great Piety and Devotion, the Moderation, Wisdom, Charity, and Hospitality of my Lords the Bishops, in their several Diocesses, will, in a short Time, recover the poor misled People : And though the Frowardness and Pride of some of their Teachers may not be yet enough subdued, though some of the Clergy still repeat their old Errors, for which they have been glad to receive Pardon, and do in truth discredit all their other Doctrine, with the Absence of any visible Repentance for what Mischief they have formerly done ; yet I hope the Laity will soon return into the Bosom of their dear Mother the Church, and easily discern the Fraud and Imposture of their Seducers ; and that all Diligence and Dexterity will be used, seriously and heartily, to reconcile both Clergy and Laity, by all Means which may prove effectual.

You have, my Lords and Gentlemen, like wise Patriots, upon your Observation, that the most signal Indulgence and Condescensions, the temporary Suspension of the Rigour of former Laws, hath not produced that Effect which was expected ; that the Humours and Spirits of Men are too rough and boisterous for those soft Remedies, you have prepared sharper Laws and Penalties to contend with those refractory Persons, and to break that Stubbornness which will not bend to gentler Applications : And it is great Reason, that they upon whom Clemency cannot prevail, should feel that Severity they have provoked. You have done your Parts, like good Physicians ; made wholesome Prescriptions for the Constitution of your Patients, well knowing, that the Application of these Remedies, the Execution of these sharp Laws, depends
upon

upon the Wisdom of the most discerning, generous and merciful Prince, who having had more Experience of the Nature and Humour of Mankind than any Prince living, can best distinguish between the Tenderness of Conscience, and the Pride of Conscience; between the real Effects of Conscience, and the wicked Pretences to Conscience; who having fought with Beasts at *Ephesus*, knows how to guard himself and the Kingdom from the Assaults and Violence of a strong, malicious, corrupted Understanding and Will; and how to secure himself and the Kingdom from the feeble Traps and Nets of deluded Fancies, and Imaginations: In a word, a Prince of so excellent a Nature, and so tender a Conscience himself, that he hath the highest Compassion for all Errors of that Kind, and will never suffer the Weak to undergo the Punishment ordained for the Wicked, and knows, and understands better than any Man, that excellent Rule of *Quintilian*, *Est aliquid quod non oportet, etiamsi licet, & aliud est jura spectare, aliud justitiam.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Machiavel, who, they say, is an Author much studied of late in this Kingdom, to extol his own excellent Judgment and Insight in History; in which indeed he was a Master, would persuade Men to believe, that the true Reason why so many unexpected Accidents and Mischiefs fall out, to the Destruction of States and Empires, is, because their Governors have not observed the same Mischiefs heretofore in Story, and from whence they proceeded, and what Progress they made, which, he says, if they had done, they might easily have preserved themselves from Ruin, and prevented the Inconveniencies which have fallen out. I am sure you are all good Historians, and need only to resort to the Records of your own Memories. Remember how your Peace hath been formerly disturbed, by what Contrivance and Artifices the People have been alarmed, with unreasonable and unnatural Fears and Jealousies, and what dismal Effects those Fears and Jealousies have produced. Remember how near Monarchy hath been dissolved, and the Law subverted, under Pretence of reforming and supporting Government, Law, and Justice. And remember how many honest Persons were misled by not discerning Consequences, who would as soon have renounced their Part in Heaven, as have concurred in the first unwarrantable Action, if they had suspected what did follow: And if we suffer the same Enemy to break in upon us at the same Avenues, if we suffer our Peace to be blown up by the same Trains and Machinations, we shall be held very ill Historians, and worse Politicians.

There is an Enemy amongst us, of whom I doubt we are not jealous enough, and towards whom we cannot be too vigilant, and in Truth, in Comparison of whom we may reasonably undervalue all other Enemies; that is, the Republicans, the Commonwealthsmen, who are every Day calling in Aid of the Law, that they may overthrow and abolish the Law, which they know to be their irreconcilable Enemy. Indeed, my Lords and Gentlemen, there is a very great Party of those Men in every Faction of Religion, who truly have no Religion, but as the Pretence serves to advance that Faction. You cannot be too solicitous, too inquisitive after these Men, who are restless in their Councils,

Councils, and wonderfully punctual and industrious in their Correspondences, which they maintain abroad as well as at home: And you cannot doubt they have Encouragement enough from abroad; few of our Neighbours love us so exceedingly well, but that they would be glad to see us intangled in domestic Broils. These Men are worthy of your Care and Diligence, in your speedy settling the Militia, which the King hath even now so particularly recommended to you.

I shall conclude with only putting you in mind, that there was scarce ever a more dangerous Sedition in the Republic of *Rome*, than in a Time of full Peace, when the Citizens were sullen, when there was no Noise but in Whispers, when Men neglected their Trades, and staid idle in their own Houses, as if they cared not which Way the World went; from whence alone their Neighbours, the *Etrurians*, were encouraged to make a War upon them. *Novum seditionis genus* (says *Livy*) *silentium otiumque inter cives*. Never any Nation under Heaven has less Cause of Sullenness than we, never more of Joy and Thanksgiving: We all know that God Almighty loves a chearful Giver, and we may as well know that he loves a chearful Receiver; besides all other stupendous Blessings conferred upon us, he hath given us the most chearful Giver that ever People hath been blessed with; a King that hath, with all imaginable Chearfulness, given us all we have asked of him, all he hath to give; who would not take or retain any Thing we give to him, but for our own Sakes; that by receiving and retaining it, he may give it to us again in more Abundance, in Abundance of Peace, and Plenty, and Honour, and all Comforts which can make a Nation happy.

This Time hath made a glorious Addition to our Happiness, which ought proportionably to increase our Chearfulness; we wanted only one Blessing, the Arrival of our Queen, whom God hath now safely brought to us; a Queen of such rare Perfection in Body and Mind, of such great Endowments of Wisdom, Virtue, and Piety, that we may reasonably promise ourselves from her all the Happiness we are capable of, and a Succession of Princes to govern us, till the End of the World: and there cannot be a more transcendent Instance of the King's Love and Passion for his People, than that he hath staid these four Days to take his Leave of you; and, that he might give you this Day's Work, all these good Laws, hath denied himself so long the enjoying the greatest Comfort he is assured of in this World.

If there be not the most universal Joy in the Reception of these Blessings, if there be not an universal Contentedness and Satisfaction in the Hearts of all Men; and if that Contentedness and Satisfaction do not break out, and is not visible in the Looks, and Thoughts, and Words, and Actions of the whole Nation, to the inflaming the Hearts of the other Nations under his Majesty's Obedience by our Example, we are guilty of an Ingratitude that is worthy to deprive us of all we enjoy, and to disappoint us of all we pray for. And therefore I do most humbly beseech you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, That as there is a most noble Chearfulness and Alacrity visible in you, and hath shed itself over all your Countenances; so that you will think it worthy of your Pains to infuse the same good Spirit into City and Country, that they may all express that Joy and Delight in the Blessings they are possessed of, and chearfully

fully endeavour to improve those Blessings, by their chearful enjoying them, that God may continue those Blessings to us, and the King's Comfort may be increased, by the Comfort he sees we have in him, and in what he hath done for us; and as all Princes may take a Pattern from him to govern, and make their Subjects happy; so that all Subjects may learn from us, how to obey, and make that Happiness lasting to them, by an eminent and innocent Alacrity in their Acknowledgment.

I am, by the King's express Command, to add one Particular which his Majesty meant, but forgot to say himself. You cannot but observe, that his Majesty hath not passed the Bill that concerns the Earl of *Derby*, which you cannot imagine proceeds from his Majesty's want of Care of, and Kindness to, that noble Family, which hath served him so faithfully, and suffered so much for so doing; but all Parties having referred the Matter to his Majesty, he doubts not but to make a better End for that noble Earl than he would attain if the Bill had passed.

I shall only add the King's Commands for the Prorogation of this Parliament till the eighteenth Day of *February*, and this Parliament is prorogued till the eighteenth Day of *February* next.

His Majesty's most gracious S P E E C H to both Houses of Parliament, on Monday the Twenty-first of *March*, 1663-4.

Printed in the Year 1663-4.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

YOU see, God be thanked, you have met together again, at the Time appointed; and I do assure you I have been so far from ever intending it should be otherwise, that I do not know one Person who ever wished it should be otherwise. Think therefore, I pray, what good Meaning those Men could have, who from the Time of the Prorogation to the Day of your Meeting, have continually whispered, and industriously infused into the Minds of the People, That the Parliament should meet no more; that it should either be presently dissolved, or so continued by Prorogation, that they should be kept without a Parliament. I pray watch these Whisperers all you can, as Men who use their utmost Endeavours to sow Jealousies between you and me: And I do promise you they shall not prevail with me; and I do promise myself they shall not prevail with you; and the Truth is, we are both concerned they should not; and we shall then, with God's Blessing, prevent all the Mischief they intend.

You may judge by the late Treason in the North, for which so many Men have been executed, how active the Spirits of many of our old Enemies still are, notwithstanding all our Mercy. I do assure you, we are not yet at the Bottom of that Business: This much appears manifestly, that this Conspiracy was but a Branch of that which I discovered as well as I could to you about two Years since, and had been then executed nearer hand, if I had not, by God's Goodness, come to the Knowledge of some of the principal Contrivers, and so secured them from doing the Mischief they intended. And if I had not, by the like Providence, had timely Notice of the very Hour, and several Places of their Rendezvous in the North, and provided for them accordingly, by sending some of my own Troops, as well as by drawing the Trained-bands together, their Conjunction would have been in greater Numbers than had been convenient.

You will wonder (but I tell true) they are now even in those Parts, and at this time, when they see their Friends under Trial and Execution, still pursuing the same Consultations: And it is evident, they have Correspondence with desperate Persons in most Counties, and a standing Council in this Town, from which they receive their Directions, and by whom they were advised to defer their last-intended Insurrection; but those Orders served only to distract them, and came too late to prevent their Destruction. I know more of their Intrigues than they think I do, and hope I shall shortly discover the Bottom; in the mean time, I pray let us all be as watchful to prevent, as they are to contrive their Mischief.

I cannot omit, upon this Occasion, to tell you, that these desperate Men in their Councils (as appears by several Examinations) have not been all of one Mind in the Ways of carrying on their wicked Resolutions: Some would still insist upon the Authority of the Long Parliament, of which they say they have Members enough willing to meet; others have fancied to themselves, by some Computation of their own, upon some Clause in the Triennial Bill, that this present Parliament was at an End some Months since, and that, for Want of new Writs, they may assemble themselves, and choose Members for Parliament; and that this is the best Expedient to bring themselves together for their other Purposes. For the Long Parliament, you and I can do no more than we have done, to inform and compose the Minds of all Men; let them proceed upon their Peril. But methinks there is nothing done to disabuse them in respect of the Triennial Bill. I confess to you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, I have often myself read over that Bill, and though there is no Colour for the Fancy of the Determination of this Parliament, yet I will not deny to you, that I have always expected that you would, and even wondered that you have not considered the wonderful Clauses in that Bill, which passed in a Time very uncareful for the Dignity of the Crown, or the Security of the People. I pray, Mr. Speaker, and you Gentlemen of the House of Commons, give that Triennial Bill once a Reading in your House, and then in God's Name, do what you think fit for me, and yourselves, and the whole Kingdom. I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments; never King was so much beholden to Parliaments as I have been, nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy without

without frequent Parliaments. But assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the Means prescribed by that Bill.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I must renew my Thanks to you, for the free Supply you gave me this last Session, of four Subsidies ; yet I cannot but tell you, that that Supply is fallen much short of what I expected, or you intended : It will hardly be believed, yet you know it to be true, that very many Persons who have Estates of three and four thousand Pounds a-year, do not pay for these four Subsidies sixteen Pounds ; so that whereas you intended and declared, That they should be collected according to former Precedents, they do not now arise to half the Proportion they did in the Time of Queen *Elizabeth* ; and yet sure the Crown wants more now than it did then, and the Subject is at least as well able to give.

The Truth is, by the Licence of the late ill Time, and ill Humour of this, too many of the People, and even of those who make fair Professions, believe it to be no Sin to defraud the Crown of any Thing that is due to it. You no sooner give me the Tonnage and Poundage, than Men are devising all the Ways they can to steal Custom ; nor can the Farmers be so vigilant for the Collection, as others are to steal the Duties. You give me the Excise, which all People abroad believe to be the most insensible Imposition that can be laid upon a People : What Conspiracies and Combinations are entered into against it by the Brewers, who, I am sure, bear not that Burden themselves, even to bring that Revenue to nothing, you will hear in *Westminster-hall*. You have given me the Chimney-money, which you have Reason to believe is a growing Revenue, for Men build at least fast enough ; and you will therefore wonder that it is already declined, and that this Half-year brings less in than the former did : I pray therefore review that Bill ; and since I am sure you would have me receive whatsoever you give, let me have the collecting and husbanding of it by my own Officers, and then I doubt not but to improve that Receipt, and will be cozened of as little as I can.

I will conclude with desiring and conjuring you, *My Lords and Gentlemen*, to keep a very good Correspondence together, that it may not be in the Power of any seditious or factious Spirits to make you jealous of each other, or either of you jealous of me, till you see me pretend one Thing and do another, which I am sure you have never yet done ; trust me, it shall be in no body's Power to make me jealous of you. I pray contrive any good short Bills which may improve the Industry of the Nation ; and since the Season of the Year will invite us all shortly to take the Country Air, I desire you would be ready for a Session within two Months, or thereabouts, and we will meet next earlier in the Year. And so God bless your Councils.

ARTICLES of Peace between his Sacred Majesty, Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. and the City and Kingdom of Algiers; concluded by Thomas Allen, Esq; Admiral of his said Majesty of Great Britain's Ships in the Mediterranean Seas, &c.

Printed in the Year 1664.

P R E F A C E.

IT is not needful to say much concerning the late Agreement betwixt his Sacred Majesty Charles the Second, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c. and the City and Kingdom of Algiers (the Articles whereof are in these following Papers, Word for Word exhibited): For certainly, that Man is very little read in the World, who sees not how much this Peace imports the Security and Benefit of the English Commerce, and no less the Honour of the English Nation; especially considering the Start it has given us of our powerful Neighbours, who are still labouring under great Trouble, Charge and Difficulty, with those People: And the Accord is yet more glorious, if we observe the Time wherein it was made; that is to say, it was made at a Time, when the English lay patiently exposed to all the Inconveniences which either the Fables or the Councils of Holland could give them; menaced in the very Channel by an open Force, and deserted in the Mediterranean after such a Manner, that we are loth to make Use of a Word answerable to the Quality of the Action: The Hollanders having first invited us into a conjunct Engagement with them, and afterward not only quitting the Place by Stealth and Surprise, but invading, at the same time, our Rights in Guinea: And yet so it is, at last, that notwithstanding all these Practices and Disappointments, we have now lived to see the Hollanders swallow their own Resolutions, by withdrawing their Shipping, and contenting themselves with the blind Passage of the North, rather than adventuring to give his Royal Highness the Lord High-Admiral of England, the unmannerly Provocation of pressing through the Channel. And we have likewise lived to enjoy the Fruits of that Peace which others have in vain attempted; and not only so, but to see ourselves acquitted of the Guilt of the late War, by a solemn Declaration of the Government itself of Algiers, and the Breach charged upon the Tumults and Disorders of their own Subjects; they themselves not sticking publicly to avow, That an Agreement with England was to them so necessary, that they were not able to maintain an Intercourse and Correspondence without it.

This being the Sum and State of that Affair, gives sufficiently to understand how great a Care his Majesty hath of the Reputation and Welfare of his People, and of the true Interest of the English Crown and Nation: And it is our further Happiness, that the Orders and Directions of so wise and gracious a Prince are committed into the Hands of suitable Officers and Ministers, as hath been manifested throughout the whole Course and Conduct of this Transaction.

ARTICLES

ARTICLES of Peace between his Sacred Majesty, *Charles* the Second, King of *Great Britain, France, and Ireland, &c.* and the City and Kingdom of *Algiers*; concluded by *Thomas Allen, Esq;* Admiral of his said Majesty of *Great Britain's* Ships in the *Mediterranean* Seas, according to Instructions received on that Behalf from his Royal Highness the Duke of *York and Albany, Earl of Ulster, Lord High-Admiral of England and Ireland, &c.* Constable of the Castle of *Dover, Lord Warden of the Cinque-Ports, and Governor of Portsmouth, &c.* Being the same Articles concluded by Sir *John Lawson, Knight,* on the 23d of *April, 1662,* and afterwards more solemnly confirmed on the 10th of *November* following, and since ratified by the Grand Signior.

I. **T**HAT from this Day, and for ever forward, there be a good and firm Peace between his Sacred Majesty the King of *Great Britain, &c.* and the Bashaw, Divan, and Governors of *Algiers,* and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and the Ships, Subjects, and People on either Party, shall not do or offer any Offence or Injury to each other, but treat one another with all possible Respect and Friendship; and any Ships belonging to the King of *Great Britain, &c.* or any of his Majesty's Subjects, may freely come to the Port of *Algiers,* and buy and sell as in former Times; and also unto any other Port that belongs to the Government of *Algiers,* paying the Custom of 10 *per Cent.* as in former Times; and no Man within the Jurisdiction of *Algiers* shall give the Subject of his said Majesty, a bad Word, or a bad Deed, or a bad Action.

II. That all Ships, as well those belonging to his Sacred Majesty, the King of *Great Britain, &c.* and any of his Majesty's Subjects, as those belonging to *Algiers,* shall freely pass the Seas, and traffick without any Search, Hindrance, or Molestation whatsoever.

III. That all Subjects of the King of *Great Britain, &c.* now Slaves in *Algiers,* or any of the Territories thereof, be set at Liberty, and delivered up, on paying the Price they were first sold for in the Market; and for the Time to come, no Subjects of his Majesty's be bought or sold, or made Slaves of in *Algiers,* or its Territories.

IV. That if any Ship of *Tunis, Tripoli, or Sally,* or any other, do bring any Ship, Men, or Goods, belonging to any of the Subjects of his Majesty the King of *Great Britain, &c.* into *Algiers,* or any of the Ports thereunto belonging, the Governors there shall not permit them to be sold within the said Territories.

V. That any Merchant of the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain, &c.* dying in *Algiers,* or its Territories, his Goods, or Money shall not be seized by the *Basha, Aga,* or any other Minister, but remain with the *English* Consul.

VI. That

406 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

VI. That the *English* Consul that lives in *Algiers*, be allowed a Place to pray in, and no Man to do him, or any of his said Majesty's Subjects any Wrong or Injury in Word or Deed whatsoever.

VII. That in case any of his Majesty's Subjects should happen to strike a *Turk*, or a *Moor*, if he be taken, let him be punished; but if he escape, nothing shall be said to the *English* Consul, or any other of his said Majesty's Subjects upon that Account.

VIII. That if any Ships of War of his said Majesty's, shall come into *Algiers*, or other the Ports of that Government, with any Prize, they may sell and dispose of it at their own Pleasure, without being molested by any, and that they be not obliged to pay Customs in any sort: And if the said Ships of War shall want Provision, Victuals, or any other Things, they may freely buy it at the Rate in the Market.

IX. That any Ships belonging to the Subjects of his Majesty the King of *Great Britain*, &c. coming into *Algiers*, or any of the Ports in its Territories, shall for such Goods as they sell, pay the Dues according to Custom; and the Goods they sell not, they shall freely carry on board without paying Duties for the same.

X. That no Shipwreck belonging to his said Majesty, or any of his Subjects on the Coast belonging to *Algiers*, shall become Prize, and that neither the Goods be forfeited, nor the Men made Slaves; but that the People of *Algiers* shall do their best Endeavours to save them and their Goods.

XI. That the Consul, or any other Subject of his sacred Majesty, be not bound to pay the Debts of any other *Englishman*, unless he become Surety.

XII. That no Subject of the King of *Great Britain*, &c. in Matter of Difference, shall be liable unto any other Judgment but that of the *Duan*.

XIII. That the Subjects of his said Majesty in Difference among themselves, shall be subject to no Determination but that of the Consul.

XIV. That no Merchant, nor other Subject of his said Majesty's, being a Passenger in or unto any Port, shall be molested, or meddled with.

And for the better practising of the second Article, according to the true Intent and Meaning thereof, it is agreed, that the *Algiers* Ships of War meeting any Merchant Ships belonging to the Subjects of the King of *Great Britain*, &c. not being in any of the Seas appertaining to his Majesty's Dominions, have Liberty to send one single Boat with but two Sitters more than the common Crew of Rowers; and no more to enter the said Merchant Ship but the two Sitters, without the express Leave of the Commander of the said Merchant Ship: That upon producing unto them a Pass under the Hand and Seal of the Lord High Admiral of *England*, the said Boat do presently depart, and the Merchant Ship to proceed on her Voyage; and although the Commander of the said Merchant Ship produce no Pass from the Lord High Admiral of *England*, yet if the major Part of the Ship's Company be Subjects to the King of *Great Britain*, &c. the said Boat shall presently depart, and the Merchant Ship proceed freely; and so, though there be Strangers, and their Goods on board, they shall be free, both they and their Goods; and any Ship of his Majesty the King of *Great Britain*, &c. meeting with any Ships of *Algiers*,

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 407

giers, if the Commander shall produce a Pass firm'd by the Chief Governors of *Algiers*, and the major Part of the Ship's Company be *Turks*, *Moors*, or Slaves, then the *Algiers* Ship to proceed freely; and though there be Strangers and their Goods on board, they shall be free, both they and their Goods.

That presently after the Signing and Sealing these Articles by the Governors, or Chief Authority of the City and Kingdom of *Algiers*, all Injuries and Damages sustained on their Part shall be quite taken off and forgotten, and this Peace shall be in full Force and Virtue: And for all Damages and Depredations that shall be afterwards done and committed by either Side, before Notice can be given of this Peace, there shall be full Satisfaction made, and whatsoever remains in kind, be restored.

That if any Grievances happen on either Side, it shall not be lawful to break the Peace till Satisfaction be denied.

Signed and Sealed in the Presence of the Great God, Octob. 30. 1664.

This following Article added, 30th of October, 1664.

THAT the *English* Consul, upon any Breach or Difference between his most excellent Majesty the King of *Great Britain*, &c. and the Governors of *Algiers*, shall have free Liberty, when he pleaseth, to depart to his own, or any other Country; and that the *English* Consul shall be permitted to chuse his own Druggerman; and that when the Consul departs, he shall carry with him all his Servants and Goods whatsoever, without the least Interruption or Hinderance: And further, that he may freely go on board of any Ships in the Road, and have the Liberty of the Country.

The Translation of a Certificate sub-signed by the Governors of Algiers, acknowledging the Breach of the late Peace betwixt his Majesty of Great Britain, &c. and the said Governors to have been the Act of their own Subjects.

THESE are to certify, That we who have hereunto sub-signed, do acknowledge, that the Breach of the Peace between his most excellent Majesty the King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, &c. and us of *Algiers*, was committed by our Subjects; for which, we have drowned one, banished another, some others fled to escape our Justice, and divers have been imprisoned, to give Satisfaction in part to his said most excellent Majesty.

Signed and Sealed the 30th of October, 1664.

Duke

Duke *Hamilton*, Earl of *Cambridge*, his Case, spoken to, and argued on the Behalf of the Commonwealth, before the High Court of Justice.

By Mr. STEEL of Gray's-Inn.

Printed in the Year 1649.

Mr. *Steel's* SPEECH before the High Court of Justice, upon Occasion of the first coming of the Earl of *Cambridge* to the Bar, February 9, 1648.

My Lord,

THAT Power which was at first in Families, Towns, and then in greater collective Bodies, was after, for the better Conservation of the Whole, disposed into Bodies Politic and Representative. *Principium Originis* is the Privilege of the one, as *Dispensation* is of the other; which Distinction as easily prevents all Disputes about the Pre-eminency of these Powers, as it usually satisfies that Question, touching Bodies Natural, viz. Whether the *Primum sensorium* be to be ascribed to the Heart or Head? Of the Birth and Growth of these Powers, God himself gave us some Resemblance, when that *Lux primogenia*, the Light created on the first, was upon the fourth Day contracted into those heavenly Lights which were the first created Rulers of this World. The Powers of Men, thus settled, were invested with various Immunities suitable to their Offices, as so many Beams flowing from them for the Good of Mankind; and amongst these, I know none more bright and influential to the World, than that of Justice; which, when 'tis rightly darted into the Hearts and Hands of Men, doth not prove like that Sword behind the *Ephod*, but rather as that of *Gideon*, and sometimes upon just Occasion, like that which hung over the Head of *Damocles*, ready to do speedy and impartial Execution: Of this Power I both suppose this honourable Court to be the proper Subject, and the now Prisoner at the Bar the proper Object.

The Proceedings of Justice are called *Streams of Righteousness*, for their clear and current Passage; and, my Lord, what if no gallant Ship nor Galley with Oars, sail in these of yours? yet if the glorious Lord vouchsafe you his Presence, he will be broad Rivers to you: What if others of inferior Rank spare not to load your Persons and Actions with Reproaches? yet you know, notwithstanding *Latratu Canum*, what is the Posture of that faithful Witness in Heaven, *Et peragit cursus surda Diana suos*: And as for this Lord, brought by a divine Hand to appear thus before you, I may say of him, *Quæ alios divisa reos faciunt in hunc conjuncta fluunt*, so fit is he to stand at the Bar of Justice. To look upon him as he now appears, may perhaps move Compassions,

as

as once *Date obolum Bellisario* did to that great Commander (and indeed, my Lord, however his Crime may be above your Mercy, yet I would not have his better Part either be beyond your Prayers or Pity) nevertheless, that you may take a right View of those Actions for which he is here convented, I wish he may rather be looked upon as marching the last Summer in the Head of twenty thousand Men, in an hostile and treacherous manner to invade this Nation, as if that, which some feared in the Argument of *Calvin's Case*, if the Judgment should pass, as it afterwards did, were under this Man's Conduct come to pass, viz. That the *Scots*, ambitious of such a Privilege as to be Denizens of *England*, would thereafter come like *avers sans number* into the *English Commons*; or as if he were willing to revive the Truth of that Observation of *Comines*, that what *Portugal* was to *Spain*, and the *Venetians* and *Florentines* then to *Italy*, that was *Scotland* of old to *England*, a Scourge to mind them of their Duties to God, and to keep them humble; but more particularly to touch the aggravating Circumstances of this horrid Treason, and therein to omit the mentioning of those personal Benefits this Nation had afforded him, by making him capable of their own Dignities and Privileges equal to any natural-born *Englishman*, and to take the Dimensions more peculiar to this Rebellion. We were the last Year, after a tedious Storm of War, beginning to rejoice in the Hopes of seeing the Vessel of this State come safe in the Harbour of Peace; but the Enemies of *England's* Happiness, and of their own, were not willing to enjoy this Blessing upon the Terms it was purchased; an harmonious Spirit must pass betwixt the South and North, the Vessel again launch into the Deep, all our Hopes of Settlement be indangered, and the poor wasted Northern Counties, which ere now expected a Jubilee, must, by these Brethren in Cruelty, be used like *Sechemites*, and again tormented, before they be healed of their old Sores, as if they now came to take Livery and Seisin of those Counties, which some affirm were promised them as Part of their Reward for this Service: And all this, as against those solemn Treaties transacted in 1642 and 1643, for the Union of both Kingdoms, and those Engagements not to make War with each other, before three Months Warning, nor to garrison *Berwick* or *Carlisle* without Consent of both Parliaments; so also against the frequent Premonitions of the General Assembly in *Scotland* (the Assembly here also by their Letter, signifying their Concurrence with those Endeavours of the *Scottish* Divines) and both agreeing this Expedition to be against, not for the Ends of, the Covenant; but whilst these Invaders were thus fore-warned, they notwithstanding fore-arm themselves in the worst Sense for us: But two Circumstances above all seem to me to extend the Vileness of this Fact, beyond all Aggravations; the one, That the Parliament of *England*, whilst they in *Scotland* were forming their Weapons against us, by their Commissioners residing there, often signified their Desires of preserving a brotherly Agreement; howbeit, instead of receiving any other Satisfaction, we must be answered, *Per argumenta baculina*; the other, That their coming in must be for the Ends of the Covenant, that being usually made the Stock whereon to graft their desperate Designs, thinking thereby, as to mask their own Deformities, so to seduce many well-meaning Men into

410 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

their Confederacy ; and from thence, as this third War was called *Bellum Hypocritarum*, so may the Prisoner, under whose Command in chief they came, be justly stiled *Hypocritarum Princeps* : The Parliament of *England* hereupon appealed to Heaven by their Declaration, and therein prophetically spake what came to pass, That they doubted not but God would be with them, and the Prayers of his People for them ; and that those who had dealt falsely, in striking Hands with the common Enemy, to kindle a new Fire betwixt these Kingdoms, should perish themselves therein ; upon which Appeal the highest Judge gave out his righteous Decree, *Et spes hypocritarum perit* ; and had he not indeed appeared for his despised People, by a more than ordinary Rule of his Dispensation, and enabled a small Company of Men, like Stars in their Course, to fight against and vanquish this *Sisera* and his mighty Host, *England* doubtless ere this had been a Field of Blood : Of this unnatural and unchristian Army, thus totally, by a Power from Heaven, routed, *habemus ducem*, we have here present the principal Author and Actor, against whom the pillaged depopulated Counties, the Blood of many Innocents, many of his own Countrymen, both at home, and now in foreign Parts, and God himself, by the Strange and speedy Delivery of him into your Hands, after his Escape from *Windsor*, coming himself sooner than possibly he could have done, if sent for, immediately after the former Execution, do all unanimously call for a just Sentence, and the same do I in the Name of the People of *England*.

The Charge being read against the said Earl, containing Matter of High Treason, for his invading this Nation in an hostile Manner, and levying actual War therein, he thereunto put this ensuing Plea.

The PLEA of James Earl of Cambridge, whereby (as he alledged) he was not to be tried for Treason within this Kingdom.

I. **T**HAT he was employed by the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, not to invade this Kingdom, but for the Ends they have declared, sent to the Parliament of the Kingdom of *England*.

II. That he is no *Englishman*, notwithstanding the Naturalization of his Father.

III. That he is a Prisoner of War, rendered upon Articles by Major-General *Lambert*; and that those Capitulations were made before his Rendition with Major-General *Lambert's* Commissioners.

The ARGUMENT of Mr. Steel, on the Behalf of the Commonwealth, touching the Matter of Law in the Case of the Earl of Cambridge.

My Lord,

THE Council for the Earl of *Cambridge* have framed their Arguments upon the Fact, as they conceive it proved ; and also by Admittance of the contrary in some Points, I shall use the same Method ; first arguing from

from the Fact, as I conceive it stated by the Proofs produced, and then by Admittance of the contrary, that though the Fact should be as they would have it, that yet the Law will fall out to be against them.

The Charge being read to the Prisoner, he hath thereunto put in his Plea, consisting of three Parts; the Truth and Validity whereof hath been denied on the Behalf of the Commonwealth.

First, The first Part of his Plea was, That he was employed by the Parliament of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, not to invade this Kingdom, but for the Ends declared by them. The Improvement made of this Part of the Plea, is, That the Earl was but a Servant in this Expedition, and under the Authority and Command of another, and tied under Oaths and Penalties to give Obedience; if he had disobeyed, he had been liable to Punishment; therefore it were hard for him to be punished for obeying also: That he hath not exceeded his Commission; besides the Parliament of *England*, in their Declaration of the 17th of *February* last, lay the Blame of this Invasion upon the Parliament of *Scotland*. And lastly, That the Earl's Case is not unlike that of an Ambassador, who is not to be blamed for acting against a State, if he have it in *mandatis*, as in the Case of the Bishop of *Ross* in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*.

By endeavouring to give Satisfaction to all which, I shall dispatch what I have to say upon this first Part of the Plea.

I shall admit it proved, that he had that Commission and Authority mentioned, and also, that the Rule is generally true, That a Man is not to be punished for an Act which he doth by the Necessity of Obedience, because he hath not *solutum arbitrium*, which is required to denominate Actions either blame-worthy or excusable; but I shall easily prove, that this Rule is capable of Restrictions, both by the Rules of Law and Reason; and if we observe the Distinctions aright, which determine this Question, we shall still find the Earl of *Cambridge* within that Part which renders him inexcusable.

First, The first Difference is, where the Action is lawful, and where unlawful, which is commanded; if it be lawful, a superior Command may dispense with some Circumstances; but if unlawful, the Servant obeying is not the less to be blamed. I never held that Law of *Ina* the Saxon King to be warrantable Divinity, *Servus si quid operis patrârit die Dominico ex precepto Domini sui Liber esto*, if the Precept itself were unjust.

Now for the Action in question, wherein this Earl was engaged, it is not defended by his own Council, the Dispute being only *de modo*, whether he be to be punished as an Enemy, or as Traytor, though if this Argument held, he were neither Way to be punished; and therefore certainly the Necessity of his Obedience is no Mitigation for his Crime; and if it should, *Empson* and *Dudley*, with all their monopolizing Successors, had been unjustly censured, who always have had Patents and Commissions from Authority to plead: And so also, all that Catalogue of former Traytors, who have hatched their Treasons and Designs against this State in Foreign Parts, and have ever had the Pope or Foreign Princes to put a Stamp of Authority and Command upon them, must, by this Argument, be in some measure justified.

412 A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.

It was never expected from any under Command, to write himself more a Servant than *usque ad aras*, those being the *Hercules's* Pillars whereon a *non plus ultra* is written, and therefore who ever exceeds those Bounds, he will find it to be at his Peril.

Secondly, The second Difference is, where the Instrument is *inanimatum*, and where an active living Instrument ; of the first it is truly said, *Instrumenti nulla vis*, all being therein attributed to the principal Efficient, but otherwise of the other : From hence the Statute of 1, 2. *Phil. and Mary, cap. 10.* did justly repeal the Statute of 33 *Hen. VIII. c. 20.* which had punished a Man for Treason, though he became *non compos mentis* before the Execution ; and no less justly did 25 *Edw. III. de proditionibus*, by the Word *Imagination* alter in the like Point that Law which was in Use till then, concerning such a Person's committing the Act of Treason, such an one being no better than *quasi inanimatus* : But who can affirm this Earl to be other than an active and vigorous Instrument, *non modo vivit sed in senatum venit*, being a chief Member of that Parliament, under whose Command he would shelter himself, and by that Means is a Master rather than a Servant, and so met with by that Declaration of the Parliament of this Kingdom, of which he would have made an Argument for himself.

Thirdly, Where there is *necessitas culpabilis*, the Law will not excuse, as it will where there is no Crime in contracting the Necessity. Those who in former Times gave Victuals and Provision to Sir *John Oldcastle*, were not punished as Traitors, because they did it (say our Records) *Pro timore mortis, & recesserunt quam cito potuerunt*, 3 *Inst. 10.* and upon this Reason seems that Opinion of *Tremayle* to be grounded, in 21 *Hen. VII. 39.* That a Servant may justify the killing of another, to save his Master's Life, if he cannot otherwise escape.

But if one being drunk commits a Crime, though he hath not properly and immediately the free Exercise of his Will, yet the Law reputes him *voluntarius Dæmon*, and he is not at all the less excusable by our Law, 1 *Inst. 247. 4 li. Beverley's Case* ; and by the Philosopher's Rule, such a one doth *ignorans*, not *per ignorantiam agere*, and is therein so far from being excused, that he is therefore to be doubly punished.

Now to assume, that whereby the Earl's Council would excuse him, *viz.* his Oath and Commission, renders him the less excusable, because both are strong Arguments of a free and full Consent ; for who can imagine them of *Scotland* to be such mean Statists, as to think that Oath equally obliging, which was compulsive, to the same, if freely taken, or that the General should be trusted with a Commission over all their Forces both by Sea and Land, as his Commission runs, whose Heart as well as Hand had not embraced it ; and truly, they that have heard his Letters read to Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, wherein he prays for the Increase of the Distractions at *London*, and for his Friends at *Colchester*, would not judge him an unwilling Instrument, but one exceeding, rather than falling short in executing his Commission.

Lastly, Necessity of Obedience may excuse in *privatis*, but never in *publicis* : If a Feme covert, together with her Husband, commit an Act which in another

other would amount to Felony, yet in her it shall not, because *sub potestate viri* 27 *Aff. p.* 40. but otherwise the Law is in Point of Treason, and so is the Judgment of my Lord *Verulam*, *Nec valet privilegium* (saith he) *contra rem publicam*. And as to the Case of an Ambassador urged on the other Side, and in particular of the Bishop of *Ross* in the Days of Queen *Elizabeth*, I answer, first, the Privileges of those who are entertained as Ambassadors, are very great, and not to be made Precedents or assumed by any other, whence *Pro-regis Dedecus redundat in regem*, and therefore before 25 *Edw. III.* it was Treason to kill an Ambassador, 22 *Aff. p.* 48. and from hence might arise that Privilege shewed to the Bishop of *Ross*. Secondly, It appears to be rather an Act of Grace than of Justice, that that Bishop was freed, because he was set at Liberty after a long Imprisonment, which if not liable to the Censure of the Law, he should not at all in Justice have endured: Also, by the Judgment of my Lord *Bacon*, cited by the learned Doctor on the other Side, in Point of Conspiracy against the State, even an Ambassador is not privileged; yet of this Bishop learned *Cambden* saith in his *Eliz. Fuit liberatus qui rebellionem clam faces subjecerat*, all which were Arguments of Grace, and therefore that Case will be no Precedent for this, wherein also Conspiracies and Correspondencies, with many of this Nation have been proved, and are otherwise notorious.

And for that inevitable Labyrinth out of which the Earl of *Cambridge* cannot extricate himself, but that whether obey or not obey, he is under a Mischiefe, he may for that thank himself, *volenti non fit injuria*, this is like the Plague of an erroneous Conscience, which whether obeyed or not, proves a Tormentor to its Subject.

Secondly, The second Part of the Earl's Plea is, That he is no *Englishman*, notwithstanding the Naturalization of his Father; which, in effect, is as much as to say, and so it hath been insisted on, he is by Birth a *Scotsman*, and by Consequence an Alien to, and not triable as a Traitor by, the Laws of *England*: Concerning the Handling of which Question, it being that whereupon the Validity of the other two doth, in my Judgment, principally depend, I shall first answer the material Objections which I conceive, made by the Council on the other Side, before I offer any Thing positively to assert the Invalidity of this Part of the Plea.

Obj. *It hath been said, The Proof is not clear, for the Earl of Cambridge his being a Postnatus, viz. one born after King James's Access to the Crown of England, and that being but a non liquet, in favorem vitæ, the most favourable Construction is to be taken for the Prisoner.*

First, *Answ.* I deny that the Proof amounts to no more in this Particular than a non liquet; for there is one positive Witness that speaks directly to the Earl's Birth, after King *James* his coming to the Crown of *England*; another speaks to the Earl's own Confession, of being about two or three and forty Years of Age, which speaks him born since that Time; and a third speaks to the common Report of his being born since; and if the Proof were but *semi-plena probatio*; yet as *Braeten* saith, that amounts to a Presumption; and, saith he, *Presumptioni stabitur donec probetur in contrarium*, especially when the Earl

Earl himself, who should have proved the contrary for the making good his Plea, hath offered nothing against it, and being asked, never absolutely denied it.

Secondly, I do agree, that what the *Jewish* Expositors observe in the Exposition of their Laws, which founded in favour, is to be observed in our Law, in those Things which we usually say the Law favours, *viz. Favores sunt ampliandi*, and that strict Expositions are only for penal Rules, according to that of the Civilians, *Constitutio penalis non excedit casum*, yet we shall find, that where the Penalty of a penal Law is against one or few Persons, and the Benefit redounds to the Generality, in that Case even a penal Statute shall be taken largely against the Offender, so the Rule is put, *Plow. Com. 36. Plat's Case*, where it is resolved, though the Statute of 1 *Rich. II. c. 12.* give an Action of Escape against the Guardian of the Fleet; yet, for the Reason above said, it is, though a penal Law, by a benign Interpretation, to extend to the Sheriff of *London*; and in like manner, if there were any Latitude in Cases of Treason and Murder (as there is not) yet to extend it on the Behalf of the Prisoners, might prove to many thousands, *Crudelis misericordia*.

Thirdly, Add to this, that the Law of *England* is so tender of the Public-weal, that tho', in other Cases, it may seem to insist too much upon Formalities, yet herein it will dispense sometimes with its most certain Rules: Hence it is, that if one pass over another's Land without his Consent, to fetch a Falcon, or the like, he may be punished as a Trespasser; but not so, if to hunt or kill a Fox, or an Otter (which Instances, I suppose, not unsuitable to the Prisoner) because these are Creatures *contra bonum Publicum*, which Reason the Book gives of the Law in that Case, 12 *Hen. VIII. 10.* For the same Reason, no Man shall be punished as a Trespasser for erecting Bulwarks on another's Land, *Dyer 36. Maleverer's Case*: And hence certainly was the Reason of that ancient Law, that capital Offenders who had transgressed against the Law, had *Lupina Capita*, and might therefore by the Justice of *Lex talionis, arteperire sua*; wherein the Law followed *Naturæ ordinem*: The Rules of Nature are most constant, yet for the Preservation of the whole, it will sometimes contradict itself, as to prevent a *vacuum*, and the like, what an Inversion do we see of Nature's most constant and ordinary Rules: Do not they then in this prove somewhat unnatural, and embrace a Cloud instead of Substance, that fear not to omit the weightiest Things of the Law, rather than in Cases of invincible Necessity, dispense with some Formalities?

Obj. But though the Earl of Cambridge were a Postnatus, yet he is quasi Ligeus acquisitus unto England; and if so, as his Allegiance began with an Act of the Nation, so it might determine by an Act of the same Power, to wit, by Command from the Parliament of Scotland.

First, Answ. The Strength of this Objection, if admitted, would, as I conceive, by a new invented Distinction, overthrow the learned and solemn Resolution of all the Judges and Chancellor of *England*, 6 *Jac.* in *Calvin's Case*, wherein all the Allegiances that the Wits of Men could imagine are enumerated, and they are but four, *viz. Ligeantia Naturalis, Acquisita, Localis, and Legalis*; and by the Judgment of that Case, *Robert Calvin, Son and Heir*

to *James Lord Calvin of Colcross in Scotland*, born three Years after King *James* his Access to the Crown (as also all other so born) were adjudged Subjects of this Kingdom of *England Ligeantia Naturali*, by the best and highest Allegiance, without any *quasi* at all, in the same Kind, and to all Intents and Purposes that any natural-born *Englishman* was.

Secondly, The Objection seems to me, not only to be against the Judgment of this Case, but against Reason also; for what Acquisition is there by the Party, or what contributes he to it, whether he be born in this or that Time or Place; the Conceit that there is any Act of the Party's in this (as there must be to make a *quasi Ligeus acquisitus*) seems to favour of the *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*, or that Opinion of *Plato*, who held a Pre-existence of Souls, which after came into the Bodies, *tanquam in ergastula*.

Obj. *It is inconsistent to have two natural Allegiances to two several Kingdoms, as it is impossible to have two Fathers, in which Case major relatio trahet ad se minorem, and in that Case the Earl is rather to be reputed a Subject of Scotland, where he was born, than of England.*

First, *Answ.* It is indeed inconsistent that the same Person should, in two several Kingdoms, have two original Allegiances, in a physical Acceptation, to wit, to be so born; yet, by Construction of Law, he that is born in *Scotland* may have an Allegiance to *England* equivalent with the other; thus *Calvin*, by the Resolution of that Case, was *Scotus patria*, and *Anglus privilegio*.

And thus, without any Contradiction, it was ever held for Law, That the Natives of *Gascoign* and *Aquitain*, and those other Countries which were geographically out of *England*, were yet, in Construction of Law, equally Denizens and Subjects of *England* with those born here, in regard of one Allegiance and Protection, wherein they were equally involved, 27 *Aff. Pl.* 48.

Secondly, No Allegiance which gains the Name of *alta & naturalis Ligeantia*, can, by the common Law of *England*, be divested, though otherwise it may be by the civil Laws, there being no *magis* and *minus* that it is capable of, which the Objection would suppose; and the Truth is, the Resolution of *Calvin's* Case answers all the Suppositions of any future Contingencies, and positively resolves, That this Allegiance cannot possibly be lost by any Matter *ex post facto*, no, not by Difference of Descents and Governments, 7 *Li.* 27. and what is agreed to be inherent to a natural-born *Englishman*, belongs also to a *Postnatus*, *non potest patriam in quo natus est exuere, nec Ligeantie Debitum ejurare*, 1 *Inst.* 129.

Thirdly, And for the Inconsistencies of Allegiances that the Objection seems to insinuate, in the Case of Competition between the Kingdoms, *Braeton* hath met with that Supposal long since, *Li. de exceptionibus* 427. speaking of one that is *ad fidem utriusque Regis, si contingat guerram accidere inter Regna*, putting the Case of one born in *France*, and indenized in *England*, *Remaneat personaliter cum eo cui Ligeantiam fecerit, & faciat servitium debitum ei cum quo non steterit in persona*.

Obj. *Though the Earl of Cambridge were a Postnatus, yet as this Case is, it makes him not to differ from an Alien, because the Kingdoms of England and Scotland were at the Time of this Invasion divided, and there were then several Administrations*

nistrations of their Powers, from whence a double Allegiance is to be considered, Regis & Regni.

First. Ans. If we look upon the judicial Powers of the Kingdoms in a legal Consideration, even at the Time mentioned in the Objection, besides the Union of Kingdoms made by Force of 1 *Jac. cap. 1.* we shall find as strong Stipulations and Engagements by Treaties confirmed by Parliament and otherwise, betwixt the Nations, as were possibly to be made, none of which were repealed at the Time of this Expedition, and so far from that, that the Earl himself hath often at the Bar professed, That neither his Coming nor Commission were against the Parliament or Kingdom of *England*; How then were the Powers of these Nations so legally or judicially different?

Secondly, The Union of the Laws and Governments of these Nations, was a Thing desired and endeavoured by some, as may appear by the latter Part of the Statute of 4 *Jac. cap. 1.* but it was not effected; therefore the Distinction of the Kingdoms was taken into Consideration in *Calvin's* Case, where *Regna* was one of the *Nomina operativa*, and granted, That though the Kingdoms, Laws, and Nobilities of the Nations of *England* and *Scotland* were several and distinct, yet the Allegiance of all born in either Nation after the Union, was one and the same; and the Pleading of that Case (which best denotes the Law) demonstrates this, That such Distinction of the Kingdoms was under Consideration; for the Pleading was, That *Calvin* was born *extra Ligeantiam Regni Regis Angliæ*, and *infra Ligeantiam Regni Regis Scotiæ*; and the learned Chancellor of that Time saith in his *Postnati*, that the Judgment was, That neither *Calvin*, nor any other *Postnati*, were Aliens to the King or Kingdom of *England*.

Thirdly, It is agreed on the other Side, That there was always one *Ligeantia Regis*; and therefore even thence I do infer, that there was also one *Ligeantia Regni*, because that Allegiance which was due to the King, was certainly due to him in his politic Capacity, though not to that only, or divided in the Subject from his natural Capacity; however, it may be said nevertheless, as it is in *Calvin's* Case (by a Community of Properties) that it was due to the natural Capacity also, *viz.* as it ought ever to be accompanied with the politic, thence it was but just in the Parliament, notwithstanding the King's personal Command and Opposition against them, yet to permit the taking of the Oath of Allegiance, and not to abolish it till after his Death, it being *ad Legem Ligatio*, yet the Person was so necessary, that without it, it had been ridiculous to administer it in the Form it was, in which Case, *magis dignum trahit ad se minus*; and hence it was, that capital Crimes committed in one King's Time, might be proceeded against after the Death of that King, 3 *Edw. III. Fitz. Reattachment* 18. and *Bro. Corone* 178. If the King had purchased Land to him and his Heirs, though the Word *Successors*, the Word of his politic Capacity, had not been mentioned, yet he was seised thereof in *jure Coronæ*, 43 *Edw. III.* 20. And if Land had been given to the King and another, and their Heirs, they had, for the same Reason, been Tenants in common, and not joint Tenants, *Com.* 239, for the same Reason: And though many of those Persons who have been Kings, have often oppressed, instead of preserved their Subjects, yet still that

that which *Braeton* hath said upon the same Ground, remains true of the regal Power, *Non aliud Rex potest quam quod de jure potest*, his Office still being *ex Officio*, as 2 *Li. Co.* *Wiseman's Case* saith, and *Fitz. na. bre.* 113. out of the Register, to provide for the Preservation of his People; and if any other Construction should be made, then it must have followed in the King's personal Absence, Minority, or Disability, the Kingdom must either have been but weakly, or not at all governed: From all which it may be inferred, That the Obligation and Allegiance which was owing to the King, did include, that which *sano sensu* was the Kingdom's also.

It remains now, that somewhat be spoken for the further invalidating of this Part of the Plea, wherein I shall,

First prove, That one born in *Scotland* after the Union of the Crowns, cannot be to any Purpose considered as an Alien to *England*.

Secondly, That though the Earl of *Cambridge* had been born before the Union, yet he had not been an Alien to *England*; partly from a national Consideration, but more principally from personal Consideration, *viz.* First, By reason of his local Allegiance both in *Scotland* and *England*. Secondly, *Ligeantia acquisita*, and that by the Naturalization of his Father, or his own Denization.

Thirdly, That though he had been an Alien, yet as this Case is upon the Proofs, he will prove triable for Treason by the Laws of this Kingdom.

Before I speak of any of these, I might touch upon that Part which layeth Murder to the Charge of this Earl; it having been fully proved, That several Persons by Name, amongst many others, were slain and murdered by the *Scottish* Army; and to make him punishable for this Crime, there is no Need of Denization, it being an Offence in itself against the Law of God and Nations, and no Trust requisite to be an Ingredient to it, as is requisite in Treason: Hence we find Rape punishable in *England*, committed by a *Scot*, 13 *Eliz.* *Dyer* 304. and Murder done by the Lord *Zanchar* of same Nation, 9 *Li. Co.* 116. where we find him indicted by the Name of *Robert Creighton Esq;* which, together with the express Authority of 11 *Eliz.* 3. *Fitz. bre.* 437. are (by the way) sufficient Warrants for our charging the Prisoner by the Name of *James Earl of Cambridge*, without mentioning his Dukedom, as he hath often intimated we should have done.

And if the Earl should say, he killed not these Persons himself, his Council can soon tell him, that is not material, the Law being, That if divers Persons come to do an unlawful Act, and one commit a Murder or Treason, it is so in all, 1 *Mar.* *Dyer* 38. 13 *Hen. IV.* 13. 19 *Edw. II.* *Fitz. Cor.* 433. But the Truth is, I shall not rely upon this, being not willing so high an Offence should pass under any other Name than that of Treason; therefore I pass to those aforementioned Considerations, which will evince his Crime to be no less than Treason.

1. As to the first of these, there being so much said in the Argument of *Calvin's Case*, I shall omit the citing of any thing particularly from thence, and select something from the Statutes made shortly after the Union. It is agreed by all Historians, that these two Kingdoms were anciently but one,

418 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Divisos orbe Britannos, & subducta Britannia mundo; thence it is observable, that in the Preface of 1 Jac. cap. 1. by the Access of the King of Scotland to this Kingdom, the Parliament speaking of the Union, correct themselves in these Words, or rather a re-uniting of these two Nations (though anciently but one;) if so, this Re-union amounted to no less than (as it were) a national Remitter of the ancient Union.

For the Settlement of this Union, Commissioners were chosen to compose some Differences betwixt the Nations, and to consider what was fit and necessary to be done for the Commonwealth of both Kingdoms, 1 Jac. cap. 2. These Commissioners consult long about it, and because they could not perfect it within the Time prefixed, an Act passeth for longer Time, 3 Jac. cap. 3.

At length the Work is finished by the Statute of 4 Jac. cap. 1. by which all Statutes that express or imply any Strangeness of the one Nation to the other are repealed; and moreover, it doth enact and say, *That if there had appeared any other Statutes of this Realm of England, wherein any Thing is ordained, enacted and established, expressly and by Name, against the Scottish as Enemies, or Scotland as an Enemy Country to the King of this Realm, or the State of the same, we should, for so much of them as concerneth Scottish Men or Scotland, have utterly abrogated and annulled the same, seeing all Enmity and Hostility of former Times between the two Kingdoms and People is now happily taken away.* So the Statute. After which it seems as strange, that any born in Scotland, after and during the Continuance of that Union, should make themselves Strangers to England; as if natural-born Englishmen should have made the same Allegation.

In the aforefaid Statute of 4 Jac. 1. there is a Clause, That no Scottishman coming into England to prosecute the Law against any Englishman offending in Scotland, is to be arrested here, except for Treason and Murder; and in the latter End of the Act, amongst other Things, it is enacted, *That if any Englishman should commit Treason or other Crimes in Scotland, and come into England, he should not, upon his Apprehension here, be sent into Scotland to have his Trial there, but be tried where he is taken*; but the Statute of 7 Jac. cap. 1. which was the Year after the Resolution in Calvin's Case, repealed that Clause of 4 Jac. 1. last mentioned, as to all Offences but Treason, leaving the Offenders in that Kind to be tried in the Kingdom where they were apprehended; and though the Statute speak only of English, yet the like Act was to pass in Scotland, in case any of that Nation committed Treason here, else neither was to be binding to the Nations.

2. In the next Place, somewhat may be said from a National Consideration to prove the Earl no Alien here, though born before the Union; not that my Purpose is to endeavour the Revival of that ancient Homage done formerly by that Kingdom to this, it is not worth the mentioning, in Comparison of that Love and those Engagements which have been betwixt us, *Gens una summus*, was heretofore said of us, and if it may be, I wish, *Sic simus in ævum*; but because somewhat hath been on the other Side cited from the Stories of Bruce and Baliol, in the Days of Edward I. and for that I find both Law and History afford some Matter for this Argument, I hold it my Duty not to be altogether

silent

silent in what passed in those Times and since: I will not insist upon those several Appeals made by *Magdolphus* and others of the *Scottish* Nation to *Edw. I. contra custodes Scotiæ*, and against the Kings of *Scotland* themselves, all Arguments of Allegiance then acknowledged from that Kingdom to this.

But to instance in some Precedents nearer to this in question, *Simon Fryfel*, in 34 *Edw. I. anno 1306*, a Native of *Scotland* came in an hostile Manner from that Kingdom to invade this, and being apprehended here, he was condemned as a Traytor; the Words of *Matth. West. 465.* concerning him are, That he was *a turri Londinensi per plateas distractus ut proditur.*

In the same Year of *Edw. I. William Wallis* the Commander in Chief of the *Scottish* Forces, and a Native of that Nation also, as the Prisoner was, came into this Kingdom, and being apprehended, was, saith *Walsingham, fol. 61. Londonias usque ductus & judicialiter condemnatus, trahitur, suspenditur, & ultimo decollatur*, though he pleaded, as our Historians tell us, what this Earl doth, That he was a Subject of *Scotland*, and not of this Kingdom, and therefore ought not to be tried here for Treason. In 42 *Edw. III. 3.* in the Lord *Beaumont's* Case, when it was replied that the Party objected against to be an Alien was a *Scotsman*, the Plea is no longer insisted upon. A Protection *quia profecturus* lies not into a Country that is within the Allegiance and Protection of *England*, 7 *Hen. IV. 14.* yet we shall find the only Reason given wherefore it was granted into *Scotland*, was, because of the Wars that were then betwixt the Nations, 7 *Edw. IV. 27.* And after the ceasing of which Wars, it may be collected by the Book, a Protection would have lain no more thither, than it would have lain into *Wales* or *Ireland*.

In 13, 14 *Eliz. Dyer 304.* one was arraigned for a Rape, at the Return of the *venire facias* to try him, he pleaded that he was a *Scotsman*, and desired a *medietate linguæ*, which manner of Trial is granted to Aliens by the Statutes of 27 and 28 *Edw. III.* but by the Judgment of the Judges of both Benches it was denied him, for this Reason, amongst others, because saith the Book, a *Scotsman* was never here reputed for an Alien, but rather a Subject.

Obj. *Whereas it hath been said, This was because the Statutes of 27 and 28 Edw. III. were made when Scotsmen were generally reputed Subjects to this Kingdom.*

Ans. I answer, That the Book gives no such Reason. Secondly, To affirm this, is to suppose the Judges, by such a foreign Conceit, to go against the express Provision of two Acts of Parliament, and the constant Practice in pursuance thereof.

In the same Year of 13 *Eliz.* in the Case of the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Evidence of the Bishop of *Ross*, a *Scotsman*, was offered against the Duke by the Council for the Commonwealth, which the Duke opposed from the Judgment of *Bracton*, That a Foreigner's Testimony was not in that Case to be received; but *Cataline*, Chief Justice, though he says nothing to *Bracton's* Opinion touching *exterorum testimonium*, yet he gives the Rule of the Court, that the Testimony was to be received, *Cambden's Eliz. 214.*

After this Time also the Queen of *Scots* was tried in this Kingdom, though not upon the Statute of 25 *Edw. III.* yet upon the Statute of 27 *Eliz. cap. 2.*

then in Force: And though in the Proceedings of that Business Commissioners of both Nations met, and that the *Scots* Commissioners did protest, that though they did join with our Commissioners, yet they did thereby make no Acknowledgment, that they were other than a foreign Nation to this; yet the *Englishmen* protested against that Protestation, as we find in the History of that Queen.

3. But to pass from this National to a more personal Consideration, and from thence (though he were an *Antenatus*) to prove the Earl liable to Punishment for Treason against this State, and that by a local Allegiance, both in *Scotland* and *England*; wherein it must be granted as a Principle, and cannot be denied, but that if an Alien come into this Nation, and there abide, and commit that Act which would always be Treason in an *English* Subject, it is by the Law Treason in him during that Abode, because he oweth *localem ligeantiam*, and the Indictment against him shall say *Contra ligeantiae suae debitum*, 7 li. *Calvin's Case*. Thus in 36 *Eliz.* the *Portugals* here in *England* join in an Act of Treason with Dr. *Lopez*, and it was adjudged Treason in all. Thus this Earl, though he had been born before the Union, yet he lived in *Scotland* after the Union, and at the very Time of this Invasion, whereby he became a Subject, at least *locali ligeantia*.

So in *England* also, not only by his former Residence here, which he will say perhaps was avoided by his Removal hence, but by his late coming in, he became *Ligeus* here *locali Ligeantia*, because he came from a Kingdom then, by his own Confession, in Amity with this. This was the Case of *Sherley*, a *Frenchman*, 4 *Mar.* who came from *France*, then in Amity with *England*, and being taken, levying War in an hostile Manner, was indicted and executed as a Traytor, *Dyer* 144, and as the Book puts it, 7 li. *Calvin's Case*, if he had had Issue here that Issue should have inherited.

4. In the next Place, I shall prove the Earl of *Cambridge* (though he had been an *Antenatus*) to be a Subject of *England Ligeantia acquisita*, and that by the Naturalization of his Father or by his own Denization: But, first, as to the Naturalization of his Father.

1. The Act of Parliament hath been read and proved, whereby the Father of this Earl, by the Name of *James* Marquis of *Hamilton*, Earl of *Cambridge*, in 21 *Jac.* was naturalized, to be to all Intents and Purposes a Subject of this Nation, as if he had been here born, with a further Clause, that his Heirs might inherit and purchase any Lands, Tenements, &c. By which Act it clearly appears, that this Earl is naturalized also. For, 1. Though in the Case of a Denization there may need the Word *Heirs* to extend it to them, because it goes as it is limited, it may be for Life, in Tail, or upon Condition, 9 *Edw.* IV. 7. yet it is repugnant to suppose, that, in Point of a Naturalization, because he that is born in *England*, as by Relation this makes him, without any other Expressions, conveys the Right to his Heirs: Hence Naturalization is never *temporanea* though *data*, 1 *Inst.* 129. 2. Here are not wanting Words neither that reach to the Heirs, if necessary; for the Act is, That his Heirs may inherit and purchase, &c. And in pursuance hereof it is notorious that this Earl hath done both; but we shall find, that oftentimes no more goes

to.

to exprefs a Naturalization than this: No other Exprefſion is uſed to import the Privilege of being *Engliſh* to them that are born of *Engliſh* Parents beyond Sea, but only that they may have and freely bear the Inheritance within the ſame Allegiance as other Inheritors, 25 *Edw.* III. *de natis ultra Mare*. And in 3 *Hen.* VI. 55. *Hall* and his Wife brought a Writ of *Dover*, the Tenant pleaded, That the Feme was an Alien, the Demandants reply, That the Feme in the Time of *Hen.* IV. was enabled by Act of Parliament to purchaſe Lands and Tenements, &c. with which Reply the Defendant's Council reſted ſatisfied, as if the Replication expreſſed it ſufficiently that ſhe was naturalized, and thereupon demanded View.

Obj. But it hath been objected, That this Act can have no other Effect, than if the now Earl's Father had been born in England; and though he were a native Engliſhman, yet having Iſſue, this Earl, by a native Scotſwoman in Scotland, the Iſſue thereby remains an Alien, though his Father were naturalized or born in England.

Anſ. firſt, I ſhall eaſily grant, both that this Earl was ſo born in Scotland, and that the Naturalization amounts to no more than if the old Earl had been born in England; but do deny the Inference drawn from thence, That therefore the now Earl muſt be an Alien. For though in former Times ſome Controverſy hath been touching this Queſtion, viz. Whether the Iſſue of an Engliſhman, going out of the Kingdom, born of an Alien Woman, ſhall be a Subject of England, or no? Yet I take the Law to be clear at this Day, that ſuch Iſſue is a Subject of England.

By the common Law, if Father and Mother, both Engliſh, have Iſſue beyond Sea, that Iſſue is Engliſh, 1 *Rich.* III. 4. the Statute of 25 *Edw.* III. *de natis ultra mare*, being declarative of the common Law, 42 *Edw.* III. cap. 10. and if the Reaſon and Practice of the Law be examined, we ſhall find it to be the ſame, where the Father only is Engliſh, for theſe Reaſons.

Firſt, Becauſe at this Day any Perſon may go from this Kingdom to another without Licence, though he be neither Nobleman, Merchant, or Soldier, except ſome Reſtraint by a *ne exeat regnum*, Proclamation, or other Act of State be againſt him, ſo it is reſolved, 12, 13 *Eliz.* *Dyer.* 296. And though all, except Perſons ſo qualified, were reſtrained by 4 *Rich.* II. cap. 2. yet that Statute is repealed by the Statute of 4 *Jac.* cap. 1. made principally in Reference to Scotland; Therefore, however the Law may be as to ſuch as go when prohibited, or who ſtay beyond Sea, when commanded to return; yet as to all others at this Day, and always as to Noblemen, as the Father of this Earl was, upon whom no Reſtraint was ever put by common or Statute Law, certainly the Law is otherwiſe, eſpecially when the Removal is to a Country in Amity, as Scotland was.

Secondly, *Partus ſequitur ſemen* by the common Law, therefore in 4 *Edw.* IV. 25. *Stattham villenage* 9. if a free Man marry a Wife, and have Iſſue, that Iſſue is free; but otherwiſe, if the Man had been Villain and the Woman free.

Thirdly, The Woman Alien by the Marriage is indenized, and the Iſſue then muſt needs partake of the Privilege; and it appears by 26 *Edw.* I. *rot. Parl.* 1. that when *Edmund*, the Brother of *Edw.* I. who married the Queen of Navarre, died,

died, all the Judges resolved she should be endowed; and what though she should not, as in other Cases it hath been doubted; yet that hinders not, but during Coverture she was endenized, and that's enough to endenize the Issue. If a Wife marry a free Man, it is and hath been a Doubt, whether this be a perpetual Infranchisement to the Woman after the Death of her Baron, but it never was doubted, but that both herself, during Coverture, and her Issue ever after, were enfranchised, *Lit. sect.* 187. 1 *Instit.* 136.

And for express Authority in the Point in hand, besides the ancient Authority of *Abridg. Ass.* 39. *tit. Bastard.* 7. and *Bro. Denizen* 21. it was the Judgment of all the Judges of *England*, 2 *Ca.* in the *Dutchy-Chamber*, betwixt the King and *Eaton*, usually called *Stephen's Case*, the Record whereof is ready to be produced, where Judge *Yelverton* and *Harvey*, then Judges-Assistants to that Court, declared it to be their Judgments, as also of all the other Judges, That the two Sons of *Stephenson*, born beyond Sea upon the Body of an Alien, were Denizens.

Object. I observed but one Book cited for Maintenance of the contrary Opinion, and that was 26 *Hen. VI.* where indeed it is 22 *Hen. VI.* 38.

Answer. Which Authority is against, not for that Opinion for which it is cited; for in an Action there brought, the Defendant pleads, that the Plaintiff's Ancestor, in the Time of *Hen. IV.* went beyond Sea without Licence, and there had Issue the Plaintiff; upon this Plea, *Araerne* the Plaintiff's Council demurs; but saith the Book, *Prisot*, the Defendant's Council, durst not demur.

Secondly, If the Book were as it is supposed, yet it makes nothing against the Law at this Day; because by the Book it appears, that the Plaintiff's Ancestor went beyond Sea in the Time of *Hen. IV.* without Licence; which being after *Rich. II.* there was a Restraint upon him, except by Licence, or qualified as that Statute of *Rich. II.* requires; which Restraint is now abrogated as is before said; and the Inhabitants of *England*, as is suitable to all Islanders, may travel at Pleasure, except especially forbidden; and so whatever the Law was then, it's otherwise now, *mutata ratione legis mutatur lex.*

Object. What if the present Earl did himself endeavour, or, as he saith, was advised, notwithstanding the Naturalization of his Father, to procure himself to be naturalized, or endenized.

Answer. Yet that could be but *in majorem cautelam*, as some Savings have been inserted into Acts of Parliament themselves, not for Necessity, but for Satisfaction of the Lay Gentlemen, as our Books express it, 1 *lib. Co.* 24 *Plow. Com.* 379, upon the Statute of 5 *Edw. VI.* and even in that Case of *Stephenson*, though the Judges Assistants delivered what was their own Opinions, and of the rest of the Judges; yet if making the Party a Denizen would end the Controversy, they did advise it.

Fifthly, Besides this Purchase of his Fathers, the Earl hath himself contributed to his own Denization, not so much by inheriting his Father's Dignity, and purchasing and enjoying himself Lands in *England*, that being rather an Evidence of what he formerly was, than making him what he was not before, but by the Writ of Summons sent to this Earl himself, 15 *Car.* The Record

cord whereof hath been read, commanding him *ex fide & ligentia sua*, to appear in Parliament as a Peer of this Realm; who accordingly did appear, and acted in this Parliament, being chosen of several Committees in the Lord's House, to consider of many Things of great Concernment, some whereof were for the Strength of the Nation, as hath been fully proved by the Records of the Lord's House: All which Actions are so inconsistent with his being an Alien, and would be such a Solecism in State, to admit an Alien to be invested amongst others, with a judicial Power, that rather than it should be admitted, all this laid together will, I conceive, amount to at least a Denization.

I will not say, that the granting of every Office, or the being employed in any Transaction which concerns the Law or Government of the Kingdom, will make an Alien a Denizen, the Books of 9 *Edw.* IV. 1. and 14 *Hen.* IV. 19. forbid me to say; but it is another thing to have a judicial Power in Parliament, and to sit by Virtue of such Summons in the Parliament of *England*. The Lord *de la War* was disabled to sit in the House of Peers during his Life; but he dying, a Writ of Summons coming to his Son, he was by Virtue thereof enabled, not only to sit, but to enjoy that Place which his Ancestors formerly had done, 11 *lib. Coo.* 1. and in 39 *Edw.* III. 29. *Umfrail* Earl of *Angos* ought to be named Earl in the Writ against him; because by that Name he was summoned to the Parliament, and for not naming him so, the Writ abated: A Denization is a kind of a National Manumission. Now as there is in Law an express Infranchisement of a Villain, and an Infranchisement in Law, *Lit. sect.* 205, so it may be said of Denizations. And amongst other Manumissions by Act in Law, I find in *Britton*, fol. 79 and 82, if a Villain was made Knight, this did make him free *ratione dignitatis*, and did not make the conferring of that Dignity to be a void Act, parallel whereunto is the Case in hand.

Sixthly, The last Thing I shall insist upon, touching this second Part of the Plea, is to make it appear, that though the Earl had been born before the Union, and an Alien, that yet there are other Circumstances in this Case yet remaining, which will clearly make this Act of his to amount to no less than Treason, *viz.* his coming from a Kingdom in Amity with this, and his marching in hither with *English* Traytors: That he marched in and held Correspondency with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and his Son, and with Sir *Thomas Glenham*, and divers others, hath been fully proved; and that that Kingdom was then in Amity with this, besides the National Treaties and Engagements unrepealed, it appears as well by the Earl's own Confessions at the Bar, as by the Words of the *Scotish* Declaration made upon this Expedition, read at the Earl's own Request; which, whatever it be, doth yet conclude this Earl and all his Party from alledging the contrary for their Advantage, it having been often reiterated by him; and also therein said, That this Expedition was neither against the Parliament, nor People of *England*; besides, that it is no slight Matter to make the Nations in Amity to become open Enemies in a legal Construction, which we are now upon, as appears by the Book of 19 *Edw.* IV. 6.

Now

424 *A Third Collection of T R A C T S on all Subjects.*

Now that these Circumstances will make this Act reach to Treason, appears by these Authorities of Law. In the Days of Queen *Mary*, *France* and *England* were in Amity, *Sherley*, a *French* Native, during that Amity, joins himself with some *English* Traytors, *Sherley* is apprehended and indicted as a Traytor *contra ligeantiae suae debitum*, 4 *Mar. Dyer*. 144, which is confirmed for good Law likewise, 7 *lib.* in *Calvin's Case* by all the Judges, with which agrees *Brook. Treason*. 32, and *Crompton's Jurisdiction of Courts* 72, and Mr. Justice *Dallison's Reports*, 3, 4 *Mar.* All which Authorities agree in this Difference, that if alien Enemies join with *English* Rebels, and be apprehended, the Aliens shall be tried by Martial Law, or ransomed; but if alien Armies so join, it is Treason in all; and 'tis observable, that the Case is put cautelously in *Hen. IV.* and so abridged by *Brook. Treason*. 1. that where alien Enemies join with *English*, the Aliens shall be tried by Martial Law, and the *English* as Traytors.

Object. The Objection hath been made, and so far it seems the Law is agreed, That if Aliens fight under the Banner of *English*, that this may be Treason in all, but not if the *English* fight under the Command of Aliens, which is alledged to be the Case in hand.

Answer. First, I cannot safely admit that which the Objection takes for granted, that the *English* were the Auxiliaries, and the *Scots* the Principals in this Act, when I find in the Proof offered by the Earl himself, that he came in by the Invitation of their Friends in *England*; and when I remember what was designed and produced in the South of *England* before and at the same time with this Expedition. 2. But admit it to be otherwise, yet if this Difference were material, then it should follow, that if alien Enemies did fight under an *English* Command, it should be Treason in all, but it is not so.

3. The Law makes no such Difference, nay, the very Objection seems to be made and answered, 4 *Mar. Dyer*. 144. for the Book saith, that though *Shirley* were an Alien, yet *hoc non refert tempore pacis inter Anglos & Gallos*, the Weight is laid upon *tempus pacis* only.

4. The true Reason of the Law in one Case is the same in both, which I conceive to be from the Detestation of conspiring with an inward secret Enemy, and from the Trust the Law reposeth in such as are of a Country in Amity. There is no Treason, but where there is a Trust; hence anciently Treason, in its genuine and original Acceptation, was only and properly amongst Allies and Friends, who mutually did repose Confidence in each other, as may be seen in the *Mirror*, *f.* 30, and 201. And that a greater Trust was placed in Aliens Armies than in others, appears in that our Law allows not only Traffic and Commerce with them, but also allows them to be to some Purposes Denizens, namely, as to the bringing personal Actions; which, if they bring, it shall not be allowed to plead, that the Plaintiffs are Aliens, 19 *Edw. IV.* 6, and 6 *Hen. VIII. Dy.* 2.

Object. But the Earl hath objected, that upon the *Scottish* Forces coming in and under his Command, they of that Nation were, by the House of Commons, voted Enemies, and those of this Kingdom, who adhered to them, Traytors.

Answer.

Answ. 1. The Words of that Vote seem to be exclusive of the Prisoner, mentioning only those under his Command. 2. Though every Enemy in the legal Signification of the Word, be not a Traytor, yet every Traytor is an Enemy; and therefore if now he be proved a Traytor, he may be well enough an Enemy within that Vote. The present Charge against him is a Charge of High Treason; yet the Conclusion doth not improperly pray Judgment against him, both as a Traytor and public Enemy. 3. Take the Words in the strictest Sense, and the Vote only names those of the *Scotish* Nation Enemies, but those of this Kingdom Traytors: Now the Labour hath been, and I suppose it clear, that the Earl himself is of this Nation, and so a Traytor by that Vote, from which he would derive an Argument for himself. 4. If yet any other Construction should be made, *Leges posteriores priores abrogant*, he is, by the Act whereby this Court now sits, ordered to be tried for Treason in the same Kind as the rest, who are now under question; and if his Fact be Treason, it will easily follow by an Argument of *a denominatis* that he is a Traytor.

3. The third Part of the Earl of *Cambridge's* Plea is, that he is a Prisoner of War, and rendred upon Articles, and that those Capitulations were made before his Rendition with Major-General *Lambert's* Commissioners.

That there were Articles, and he a Prisoner of War, I shall agree to be proved, as also that one of those Articles was, that he should have Quarter, and have his Life assured; and it must be agreed on the other hand, that the Lord *Gray*, who had equal Authority, protested from the first against that Treaty, and after took him Prisoner before any Assent thereunto: But whether, by the Proof, the Earl was not a Prisoner before the signing the Articles, and whether before the Articles were to have any Effect, the same were not to be ratified by the Commanders in Chief, is submitted to the Judgment upon the Evidence. That therefore I may do the Prisoner Right in this Point, which he seems to make his strongest *Affylum*, I shall admit that there were such Articles, and wave the relying upon the other Circumstances, which may not seem so clear in Proof.

Nevertheless I shall briefly shew my Reasons; wherefore I apprehend no Security from the Stroke of Civil Justice belongs to the Prisoner by this Refuge; for as to the Military, is not the Contention.

First, If these Articles be of Avail against the Civil Power of the State, they must in Effect amount to a Pardon or Discharge of Treason (for this Point doth take the last Point by Admittance, *viz.* that the Fact is Treason.) Now, though the Military Power may exempt a Prisoner of War from the Execution of the Sword, and of their own Power, yet it is not in their Power, nor do they assume, or ever challenged such a Power, as to exempt Delinquents and Traytors from the Execution of the Magistrate, for the bringing of whom to condign Punishment the Soldier was at first armed, and the War principally begun; and if it should be in the Power of one Soldier, it would *pari ratione* be in the Power of all, as well to spare all as one; and if to grant a Pardon of Life, then likewise for their Livelihoods, and so the End of the War, and the Satisfaction promised, would be in the Power of the Ser-

426 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

vants of the State to frustrate; not that the Articles have no Effect, for he was by them freed from the immediate Execution of the Sword.

Secondly, The Pardoning of Treason is a Power so inseparable to the supreme Power, that by the Authority of the Law it is not communicable to any other. In 5 *Edw.* IV. 123, 'tis made a great doubt, and so said to be 1 *Bro. Treason.* 22. Mercy and Justice being not transferable, 7 *lib. Coo.* in the Case of penal Statutes, 9 *Edw.* IV. 2. and 20 *Hen.* VII. 6. 'Tis true indeed, there was a Time when some had gotten this Power into their Hands; but by the Statute of 27 *Hen.* VIII. *cap.* 24. this Power was resumed into the supreme Power, and there it hath since lodged; and however we dispute not what the Parliament may do by express Words, as they have done in many Acts and Tenders of Indemnity, yet without such Expressions, not by an implicit Power, nor *ex Officio*, can any justly assume it.

Thirdly, By the Rules of Law, no Officer or Minister of State can give away or dispense with the Interest of the Commonwealth: If a Customer, who is an Officer of State take a Bond in his own Name for the Importation of Bullion, he cannot discharge this Bond. 4 *Edw.* IV. 4. and 12. The King was the supreme Officer of the Commonwealth; yet if an Indictment of Nuisance had been preferred against one in his Name, it had not been in his Power to have discharged this Offence, 3 *Edw.* III. *Fitz. Aff.* 445. nor could he for the same Reason by any *non obstante* dispense with the Penalty of any Statute which did concern the Interest of the Commonwealth, 12 *Jac.* Sir *Arthur Ingram's* Case, and *H.* 36. *Eli.* betwixt *Hamond* and *Griffith*, in an Information upon a penal Statute, the Informer died, yet the King's Attorney might proceed. The Difference I apprehend to be, as to the Point in hand, betwixt one triable by Martial Law meerly, as an alien Enemy is, for such a one being triable by the Sword, if taken, may be discharged by that Power, though in that Case I totally exclude not the Legislative Power; but for a Traytor, originally and legally, only triable by the municipal Laws of a State, to be absolutely discharged by a subordinate Power, without the Concurrence or Confirmation of the Magistrate, will ever be strange to me, till I find that Rule overthrown of *nil dat quod habet*, which can never be in a just and moral Sense.

Fourthly, However the Words sound, the Intention and true Meaning of the Parties was not to free those that were concerned from Justice, if the State required it; and Intentions are the best Rules for Construction in these Cases: That it was intended only in this Treaty to free the Prisoner from the present Execution of the Sword by the Martial Law, and no otherwise, hath been sworn by two of those Gentlemen that were Commissioners under Major-General *Lambert*, who have sworn their own Intentions. Words, saith *Bracon*, are but *vestimenta rerum*, as the Body and outward Form; the true Meaning and Intention of Parties is the Life and Soul of every Contract. As for *sensus literalis* it hath been (I have observed) *via regia*; but it hath not proved unto that Side *via tuta*: However Words sound, the Exposition must be *secundum subjectam materiam*. In 41 *Edw.* III. 6. if one having divers Faculties hath an Annuity granted to him *pro concilio impenso*, the Words are general, but it shall

shall be construed for Counsel in that Art which was intended : And as *Brudnel* saith, in 14 *Hen. VIII.* 2. Contracts shall be expounded according to the Intents of those that did contract. *Cicero* saith, speaking *de justitia*, as a Judge, not as an Advocate, *fol.* 24. to cavil with Words against the Mind of the Parties *est calumnia quædam & malitiosa juris interpretatio* ; in which Place he puts a Case upon a Treaty, as ours is, of one who had made a Truce for one hundred and thirty Days with his Enemy, and taking Advantage of the Letter, fell upon his Enemy in the Night, alledging the Truce was only for Days, which the Orator derides as mere Injustice, and no otherwise may the literal Construction, contended for, be in the present Case, except the Letter must be observed, or not observed, as it proves advantageous or disadvantageous to the Prisoner ; besides, 'tis usual in Law, that by Averments the Intentions of Parties take place where the Letter would not so decide the Question, as 5 *lib. Coo.* 68. and 21 *Rich. II.* *Fitz. devis.* 27. Nor do I see how, in the penning those Articles, any other Expressions could well have been, if Provision had been made, that the Prisoner should have been exempted from the Power of Civil Justice, that had been void ; and if it had been expressed, that nothing was by those Articles intended to exempt him from Civil Justice, that had also implied a Power in them, if they had seen Cause to have given an absolute Discharge from the Magistrate, which had been equally, by Construction, derogatory to the Civil Power.

Fifthly, If the Earl had ever been *de facto* pardoned, yet he may seem to have lost the Benefit thereof by his Escape made after a special Promise to the Governor, with whom he was Prisoner. The Civil Law, as *Fortescue* observes, *cap.* 46. *Libertinum ingratum in pristinam redigit servitutem*, and our Law saith, If one hath committed a capital Crime, and, being pardoned after, do but break the Peace, he forfeits the Benefit of the Pardon, 3 *Hen. VII.* 7. as *Bartue* did the Benefit of his License to travel, by his Resort to the Fugitives, 2 *Eliz. Dy.* 176. And I conceive no Difference, whether the Condition be expressed or implied, which I infer not to make the Escape Treason, being not so charged, and the Statutes of 2 *Hen. VI.* and 14 *Eliz.* being expired, concerning that, but only for this Purpose it is enforced, that he who rendred himself up a Prisoner of War, and had for that Consideration Quarter granted him, and yet after breaks that which was on his Part to be performed, hath thereby deprived himself of that Privilege which otherwise he might have enjoyed.

Object. If now the Prisoner shall be questioned for his Life, who by the Rendition of himself had Quarter given him for it, how is the Consideration made good which did induce him to surrender ; besides, there if he had died (as the Earl himself said) he had preserved his Estate, and avoided the Consequences of Attainder ?

Ans. 'Tis strange that it should be thought no Privilege to have so much Time to die, in case there were Certainty of it, above a Death by a Military Execution, which usually is sudden and *sine strepitu Judicii.* 2. Is it no Privilege above an immediate Death by the Sword, to have a fair judicial Proceeding by a Charge against him, putting in his own Plea thereunto, the Mat-

ter of Fact by Witnesses and other Evidence proved on both Sides, and Counsel assigned him of his own Choice, to argue his Cause in point of Law, and himself to be heard as much as he could speak in his own Defence? 3. And the Danger seems by this manner of Trial not greater than before; for he that dies a Traytor *in furore belli*, because himself is the Cause why Formalities of legal Proceedings against him cannot be observed, by the ancient Law, forfeited his Estate, and remained attainted notwithstanding, *Plowd. Com.* 262. *Fitz. Dower.* 106. where, in a Writ of *Dower*, the Demandant was barred, for that her Husband went into *Scotland*, and joining himself with the Enemies, died in Enmity.

Object. As to the Examples of *Joshua* with the *Gibeonites*, and of the Prophet *Elisha* forbidding the King of *Israel* to smite those whom he had taken Captive with his Sword and Bow.

Answer. I answer, as to the first, *viz.* that of *Joshua* with the *Gibeonites*; God forbid but that as that, so all other Leagues and Treaties should be kept so far as to bind that Power that made them, and who can rationally expect more? Now *Joshua* was the Successor of *Moses*, and a Magistrate as well as Commander; besides, 'tis said the Princes of the Congregation swore unto them, and had these Circumstances been incident to this Case, the Dispute had been ended.

1. As to the other Instance, the Men of *Syria* had a personal Quarrel against *Elisha*, and therefore none being interested but the Prophet, it might well become his Piety to be their Intercessor. 2. For any thing appears, the Prophet only speaks against their being smitten with the Sword of War, which if it had been drawn in cold Blood, might have been the Blood of War in Peace, but not against the Sword of Civil Justice. 3. These Enemies were taken in the midst of *Samaria in cruento prælio*, and therefore Bread and Water might well be set before them, that they might eat and go to their Masters; but there hath been in this Case much Blood drawn, and Mischief done; for the Avenging and Satisfaction whereof, Justice cries to them that bear not the Sword in vain.

And now, my Lord, though I might have demanded Judgment for want of the Prisoner's making good his own Plea, which he ought to have done before I had said any thing to the contrary, the Plea of being an Alien lying on his Part to prove that pleads it, 9 *Edw.* IV. 12. and *Dy.* 300. And the Plea of a Pardon being a Confession of the Fact, if not made out, proves fatal and final also to the Party, *Stanf. cor.* 150. Yet nevertheless, for that the Prisoner hath not been confined herein to the strict Formalities of the Law, I have also, on the Behalf of the Commonwealth, taken the Privilege of speaking thus much for asserting the Invalidity of his Plea; and therefore upon the whole Matter, having now said what hath prevailed with my Judgment to offer in this Case, I humbly submit the same to the Judgment and Consideration of this honourable Court.

The CASE of those Persons who have Licences, or Letters Patent under the Great Seal of *England*, for the Keeping of Taverns, and Selling of Wines by Retail.

I. **T**HAT the said Letters Patent were without hearing of the Patentees, or any Notice had thereof, disallowed and made void, by a late Act of the last Parliament, intituled, *An Act for the better ordering the selling of Wines by Retail, &c.* and which was confirmed in the Gross with divers other Acts by this Parliament.

II. That the said Letters Patent were granted by King *Charles* the First (of glorious and blessed Memory, and his Royal Progenitors) unto the Patentees during their Lives, in Consideration of valuable Sums of Money, *viz.* 100 *l.* 200 *l.* and other Sums, which were severally paid as Fines by the Patentees, and certain yearly Rents, reserved to be paid unto the Crown, and Bonds given to the Crown for Payment of the said Rents, and the Patentees are still liable to be sued upon the said Bonds for the growing Rents, and to have their Estates and Goods extended and seized.

III. That in the Act 21 *Jac. cap. 3.* which puts down Monopolies, the Wine Licences are excepted, and the Grants or Letters Patent of the same before and afterwards to be made, established.

Provide also, and be it enacted, That this Act, or any Declaration, Provision, Penalty, Forfeiture, or other Thing before mentioned, shall not extend or be prejudicial to any Grant, Letters Patent, or Commission heretofore granted, or hereafter to be granted, of, for, or concerning the Licensing of the keeping of any Tavern or Taverns, or selling, uttering, or retailing of Wines to be drunk or spent in the Mansion-house or Houses, or other Place in the Tenure or Occupation of the Party or Parties so selling or uttering the same, or for or concerning the making of any Compositions for such Licences; so as the Benefit of such Compositions be reserved and applied to and for the Use of his Majesty, his Heirs or Successors, and not to the private Use of any other Person or Persons.

IV. The said Grants or Letters Patents have been made and confirmed above sixscore Years.

V. There was no other Ways or Means of taking Wine-Licences when the Patentees took theirs, and if they had not taken such Licences they had incurred great Penalties by the Law: And the Customs arising to the Crown by Wines had been much less, if the Vent thereof had been stopped for want of Licences.

VI. All the late usurped Powers, when many other Letters Patent, bearing Date after the twelfth Year of the Reign of his late Majesty, were by great Injustice disallowed, did allow the said Grants or Letters Patent.

VII. Most of the Patentees have been great Sufferers for their Loyalty and Services to his Majesty that now is, and his Royal Father (of ever-blessed Memory)

mory) and some of them have compounded at *Haberdashers-Hall* for the said Grants or Letters Patent, and afterwards were decimated, and the whole Livelihood of divers of them and their Families dependeth upon the Benefit of the said Grants.

VIII. Some of the said Letters Patents were granted to Persons in Trust, for and towards the Maintenance of Hospitals, and for other pious and charitable Uses.

IX. Some of the said Grants or Letters Patents have been given and received as Marriage-Portions, in Consideration whereof Jointures have been settled, and others having been leased with Houses by the Grantees (being Owners thereof) for a certain Term of Years yet to come; the said Grantees are necessitated to give more Rent for new Licences (if they take any) than they receive for their Houses and old Licences together: Which new Licences, if they refuse to take, they are liable to be sued by their Lessees.

X. Although the said Letters Patents be allowed, the Profits arising by the rest of the Wine-Licences will exceed that Revenue, which the last Parliament did set upon all the Wine-Licences when they rated the same, and settled them upon his Majesty as Part of his Majesty's Revenue.

XI. The said Grants or Letters Patents are to continue only during the Lives of the Grantees, most of whom are ancient Persons, there having been no Grants made since the Year 1643.

XII. It is already provided in the aforesaid Act *for the better ordering the selling of Wines, &c.* That the Mayor and Burgesses of *St. Albans* shall enjoy the Benefit of three Wine-Licences granted unto them by Letters Patents, for and towards the maintaining of a Free-School; which said Letters Patents having been granted (as they were) out of mere Grace and Favour, the Patentees hope, that they, in regard of the valuable Considerations which they paid, and of their great Sufferings for their Loyalty, and the whole Livelihood of them and their Wives and Children depending upon the Benefit of their said Letters Patent, and the other Reasons aforesaid, shall obtain the same Justice or Favour.

XIII. The Patentees do humbly conceive, that the said Letters Patent which were granted for and towards the maintaining of Hospitals, and for other pious and charitable Uses, ought, according to Reason and Equity, to be allowed, as well as the aforesaid Letters Patent which were granted towards the maintaining of the Free-School at *St. Albans*.

XIV. That the Honourable House of Commons, in their former Sessions, was pleased to refer the Petition of the Patentees (then presented) unto a Committee, who made Report, that the Petitioners had just Cause of Grievance, and ought to be relieved.

XV. That thereupon the said Honourable House, in regard they could not then, by the Orders and Rules thereof, repeal any Part of an Act made in the same Session, for a present Expedient, thought fit to recommend the Petition and Case of the Petitioners unto his Majesty, as worthy of his princely Consideration and Relief; and three of the Members of that Honourable House, by Order thereof, did attend his Majesty with the same; and his Majesty was graciously

graciously pleased to answer them that he would take the Petitioner's Case into his special Consideration.

XVI. That his Majesty intending the Patentees should enjoy the Benefit of their Letters Patent, and some of the present Agents, Commissioners and Farmers of the Wine-Licences then presenting a Petition unto his Majesty, wherein they offered to allow all the said Letters Patents, his Majesty was pleased to refer the said Petition unto his Royal Highness the Duke of York, toward whose Support and Maintenance his Majesty had been pleased to assign all the Rents and Revenues arising out of, or by Reason of, the said Wine-Licences.

XVII. Thereupon certain Articles of Agreement were concluded and executed between his Royal Highness, and the present Agents, Commissioners and Farmers; whereby it is amongst other Things agreed and concluded, That none of the Patentees should be questioned, sued, molested, or troubled by them the said Agents, Commissioners and Farmers, their or any of their Deputies, Agents, or Assigns, for, or by reason of their retailing of Wines in pursuance of their respective Letters Patents: And further, by the said Articles it is agreed, That his Majesty's Royal Proclamation should be procured, commanding all Persons but the Patentees, to compound and perfect their Agreements for Licences by a certain Time with the said Commissioners.

XVIII. That in pursuance of the said Agreement made between his Royal Highness, and the present Agents, Commissioners and Farmers, the Commission granted to the former Agents was called in, and a Commission was granted by his Majesty in or about the Month of *June* last, unto the present Agents, Commissioners and Farmers, who thereupon entered upon the Management of the said Wine-Licences, and his Majesty's Royal Proclamation issued out soon after, according to the Tenor of the said Articles.

XIX. That his Majesty having granted all Arrears of Rents growing due since the Act of Indemnity, upon the said Letters Patents, unto two of the present Agents, Commissioners and Farmers; several of the Patentees have paid their Arrears of Rents unto them accordingly: And the said Agents, Commissioners, and Farmers, declared and promised unto some of the Patentees, that the said Letters Patents should be allowed and made good, and directed them to give Notice to as many other Persons concerned as they could, That all their respective Letters Patents should be allowed and made good.

XX. Nevertheless the present Agents, Commissioners and Farmers do refuse to allow the said Letters Patents, pretending they are disannulled and made void by a late Act of Parliament; and have troubled and sued several of the Patentees for retailing of Wines in pursuance of their said Letters Patents, and have, by their Under-Agents and Messengers, compelled several of the Patentees to give Bonds of great Penalty, to appear before them the said Agents, Commissioners, and Farmers, at their Office on a certain Day, and not to depart thence without their Licence; and have threatened, contrary to the Laws of the Realm, to seize upon the Persons of several of the Patentees, unless they would enter into such Bonds, and pay unto them very unreasonable and unlawful Sums of Money demanded of them, which for Quietness Sake they have paid more or less.

The

The REPRESENTATION of *Francis Rockley, Esq;*

THAT the Revenue of the Excise may be improved two hundred thousand Pounds *per annum* (if the Proceed of it be more than so much now) by the Imposition of a proportionable Excise in Substance upon every Quarter of Malt, to the Excise which is now imposed upon so much Ale and Beer as is the Proceed of a Quarter, in place of that Excise which is imposed upon Ale and Beer brewed to sell, and which will be,

- I. A far more equal Tax.
- II. To be advanced with more Certainty according to the Rule thereof.
- III. With much less Charge ; and,
- IV. With much less Clamour than what is now imposed.

To the first, *a far more equal Tax* ; for being that all and every Person must brew with Malt ; if all Malt be equally charged, all and every one must thereby (*viz.* the Excise being charged upon Malt) be equally charged ; but as the Excise is now established, all are not equally charged ; for,

Every Person who brews to sell, by whom only the Excise of Beer and Ale is now charged upon the Subject, is either,

I. The Brewer, who brews to sell by great Measures, and wholly serves other Families by the same ; which Sort of Brewers are only in some few great Cities and Towns, not above twenty throughout the Land, by whom all Persons, who buy their Drink in such Places, become equally charged, being all Persons in those Places are provided of their Drink from such public Brewers, who stand obliged to levy the same, and know to whom and what Proportion they sell, &c. Or,

II. The Brewers, who brew to sell by Retail, by whom only the Excise of Beer and Ale is charged upon the Subject in the rest of the Land : These Sort of Brewers charge almost only such as drink the same in those Houses where the same is brewed and sold, or those who necessarily buy the same for their Relief, and therefore supplies but a small Proportion of the rest of the Land, being that in almost all Market-towns, Villages, Hamlets, and private Houses in the Country throughout the Land, all the Inhabitants brew for themselves, at least by much the greatest Proportion of what they use (though these may better afford to pay the Imposition of Excise laid upon these their Drinks than those who now only pay the same) *viz.* than Gentlemen and Labourers in those great Towns where they are provided of these Drinks from public Brew-houses, and then Travellers and the Peasantry in the Country who buy the same, being it is to be supposed the Brewer must have a Profit out of his Industry, a Charge which is saved by those who brew for themselves, so unequal it is, that these only should escape this Impost, who being so great a Proportion of the whole Land, may be the Half or more, this Impost of Excise is proportionably short to what it is equal it should be.

II. Every

II. Every Proportion of Malt to be made throughout the Land may with much more Certainty be known by Survey, than the several Proportions of Beer and Ale brewed in the Land *.

Every Brewer, great as well as small, may surreptitiously, at least, dispatch some considerable Portion of their Brewings (so quick is the Expedition of that Work) and give such Supplement to their Liquors, that it is impossible, without an Officer's minute Attendance of each Brewing (a Charge not to be borne throughout the Land by the Profit arising thereout) certainly to know the Proportion of each Brewing, though an indifferent good Account may be taken of what those great Brewers brew, who brew to sell by great Measures, yet there is much Deceit familiarly in them, which is unavoidable; whereas, first all Malt requires so much Time to be made in, as the Grain whereof it is made, must lye steeping in a certain Vessel, easily measureable by Gauge, for so long a Time, viz. two Days, so as a Survey of the Quantity of the same may be taken without Fraud, as demonstratively as a Yard of Cloth may be measured to be so by a Yard Wand, and the same Proportion of Grain requires above a Fortnight's Time longer, that it be made into good Malt, to lye couched and spread in great open Floors made for that Purpose, obvious without Fraud to every Man's Eye, who shall be employed and impowered to survey the same, so very ready, if Occasion shall require to be measured again for so long a Time together.

To the *third*, This Impost may be advanced upon the Maltster with much less Charge than immediately upon him that brews, being one Maltster familiarly supplies at least ten Brewers, who brew to sell in the Country, and many more private Houses, who brew for their own private Use only, whereby one Man may, by Survey, take an Account of above ten times so much, if this Excise shall be immediately charged upon the Maltster, as he can take Accounts of, if charged upon the Brewer, to answer for the same, &c.

To the *fourth*, This Impost upon Malt may be charged upon the whole Land indifferently, to answer with much less Clamour than the Impost upon Beer and Ale, as it is now charged, is charged upon a Portion of the Land only.

There is a Necessity of the Maltster's having a great Stock, whereas he that brews to sell in the Country hath frequently no other Substance to subsist by than the Credit of two or three Quarters of Malt from the Maker thereof, unto whom the Brewer stands constantly so particularly obliged, that such Brewer will, in Probability, chearfully discharge his Part to his Maltster, without any Distinction in the Price of what is paid for the Grain, what for the Excise thereof, whereby this Imposition of Excise (being charged upon the Maker of the Malt, will steal insensibly upon whomsoever buys it, together with the Price thereof as a Portion of the same, as amongst the Commons the Impost of Custom is now happily mistaken for the intrinsical Value of the Commodity itself, whereas so great are the Necessities of those who brew to sell in the

* I have heard a Brewer of London say, that he knew Brewers who gained by the Excise ten Pounds per Week.

Country, that this Impost of Excise being immediately charged upon them, though with an unquestionable Honesty and Evenness, according to the Rules thereof (which cannot be performed without a greater Charge than the Profit arising thereout can amount unto) yet shall it not escape the Murmur and Clamour of those poor Brewers upon whom it is so immediately imposed, when it comes to be discharged, they being ever so unfit to discharge the same; and if this Impost of Excise shall, by Composition, be imposed upon the Brewer in the Country after any Sort, at the Will of the Officer employed to advance and collect the same, as hitherto it hath been imposed and must be imposed again, if the Establishment of Excise (which hath been) shall continue, or nothing be advanced thereout above the Charge. It is known by Experience amongst us (especially when the Excise hath been in Farm, the Farmers usually regarding the Profits of the same with much more Exaction (as well for the Safety as Improvement of their Fortunes) when they execute it for themselves than when for others, that not only Discontent and Clamour, but Insurrections also have been often made hereby, before what hath been thus contracted for, could be levied, whereas imposed upon the Maker of the Malt, it is not only imposed upon a People who are in as great a Plenty as any Subjects of the Nation of any Condition whatever are, but the same may, at an easy Charge, be imposed upon them according to the Rules the same shall be directed to be levied by, and shall not need an arbitrary Composition, which is necessary for levying of the Excise as now it is established upon Ale and Beer in the Country, whereby all Clamour will be taken off, they, *viz.* the Maltsters, being generally so well able to discharge the same, and being imposed upon them to discharge it without any other Burden than what they bear equally with all their Fellow-Subjects.

It is not to be understood, there can be public Brewers established in this Land for all his Majesty's Subjects to have their Drink from, as in the United Provinces of the *Netherlands*, where all live in so much Neighbourhood to each other by Situation of their Houses, and Commerce of their Rivers; where it may be most convenient amongst them to have their Drink from common Brewers, yet the much greatest Share of our Land being so well appointed of these their Drinks by their own Brewing, with much more Conveniency than they can have the same from any Establishment of common Brewers in this Land, where so many Villages and private Houses are at so great Distance from each other (wanting that Familiarity of Rivers which are in the United Provinces to bring all Commerce to them by) the same cannot be established amongst us for all Families of Force to have their Drink from common Brewers.

The Lords and Inheritors of Lands are the sole Persons liable to the Burden of Wardships, and what Reason is there why these should discharge themselves of this their Burden upon the Shoulders of the Commons beneath the same *?

* And there is scarce a Lord, Gentleman, or Free-holder throughout the Land, of any continued Family, who have not only been more liable to suffer, but really have suffered more,

by being once in Wardship, than the Excise of this Commodity could have charged the same Family in two hundred Years.

The Person who proposeth this Translation of the Excise from Beer and Ale, as now it is established unto Malt, hath prepared a Platform ready to be prescribed for levying of the same according to his Propositions.

ANIMADVERSIONS upon a Paper, intituled, *Considerations touching his Majesty's Revenues of Excise.*

WHEN after his Majesty's glorious Restoration, it was under Consideration in Parliament, to continue an Excise upon some Liquors, both native and foreign ; the Distillers did give many Reasons, and such as they hoped would have satisfied, that the Product of their Art and Mystery might at last have been discharged of that heavy and vexatious Burden, introduced thereupon by the long Oppressors of this Nation, and the Trade thereof, instancing and insisting chiefly how impracticable it was to be brought under Charge by the same Rules as Beer and Ale, and how destructive it would be to all of their Faculty, through the narrow Inspection into their several Ways of Operation, and how little it would contribute to the public Revenue, if it were charged with no more than the same could reasonably bear.

But the said Parliament nevertheless judged it fit, that every Gallon of Strong-water or *Aqua vitæ*, made and sold, should be charged with 2 *d.* and every Gallon of Spirits made of any Kind of Wine or Cyder imported, with 4 *d.* to be paid by the Maker, and to oblige the Distiller, equally with the Brewers of their own Drink, and Retailers thereof, once in every Month, to make particular Entries of all Strong-waters by them made, and to subject them to gauge, and all other Ways of Check and Discoveries, and to make them equally liable to all Penalties and Defaults, as any other Makers and Retailers of the Liquors therein specified : And these Acts have been confirmed by this Parliament, and the Distillers did acquiesce, as they do still, in the Courses which the Commissioners first appointed by his Majesty, took and observed for levying of these Duties of the Distillers.

So when the Distillers heard, that according as is declared in the said Acts, the Lord High Treasurer of *England* was in Treaty to farm, among other Liquors this of their Making and Retailing, they foreseeing that they might be exposed to the same absurd, violent, and unreasonable Courses as they were under the late usurped Powers, and well understanding the Difference between Farmers and Commissioners, did humbly address to his Lordship to be admitted Farmers of these Duties of Excise upon Strong-waters made within *London*, and twenty-one Miles about, which is the Extent of their Incorporation ; setting forth, how they were well informed, that within the Limits aforesaid there was never yearly, by all the Extremities used to advance the same, collected more than 800 *l.* and that at least 300 *l.* thereof was expended

in Charges ; and therefore offered 500 *l. per annum* in Certainty ; but it being not thought fit to farm any Part alone by itself, the Distillers said Proposition was not accepted : And since the Farm of the whole Duties of Excise upon Beer, Ale, and other *Liquors*, it will be acknowledged they have not been otherwise treated, than they were before by the preceding Commissioners of his Majesty.

But now they find by a printed Paper which walks abroad, and is intitled, *Considerations touching his Majesty's Revenues of Excise*, That under Colour of improving thereof, it is sought to introduce again the same intolerable Courses, by which the Distillers were formerly infinitely afflicted, and their lawful Art and Trade, against all Reason, pryed into, discovered and disturbed.

As first, under Pretence that the Powers, Authorities, and Directions given by the Acts for Excise, to the Officers thereof, for the charging of the particular Persons subject to the Duties therein contained, are insufficient as to all, and not appliable as to some of the Commodities themselves, upon which the said Duties are laid, this Paper doth instance, as to the Commodity the Distillers make, that the Gauge cannot be applied, but with infinite Charge and Attendance, if it could at all be, in regard of the great Multitude of the poor Retailers. And herein much Truth is acknowledged, but not all : For indeed it is impossible to make any Gauge at all upon the Operations of a Distiller.

But the Remedies which are offered in this Case, are the worst, and the most impracticable and absurd that ever could be devised. For, as to the first, That no Distillers may be permitted to sell Strong-waters, without Security first given to pay the Duties of Excise, it is humbly hoped, that no such Slavery shall be ever introduced on Citizens, and such as are incorporated, and a Guild of *London*, and keep no Tipling-houses, no more than the like is imposed upon the common Brewer : And that it will be considered, that it would be no Remedy at all ; for that nothing can be discovered thereby, more than in the present Course, nor can it ever produce a Charge, nor will at all reach so far as the present Obligation on the Distillers to enter monthly of themselves, and to pay the Duty within a Month after, upon the Penalties of the Law.

And as to the second Remedy, *viz.* That Distillers shall not deliver without Ticket (by which the least that can be meant is, that they shall not deliver the Strong-waters they make without Ticket) there could nothing have been contrived of more Vexation and worse Absurdity. For a sick Person sends for the eighth Part of a Pint every Hour in the Day, shall the Distiller so often be obliged to send his own Servant, or the weak Man's Messenger, to the Office of Excise for this Ticket ? And if the Distiller is knocked up in the Night, as it often happens, who will be at the Office to deliver this Ticket ? As much might be said, as to Passengers in the Street, and in many other Instances, to shew with what little Reason this Remedy is represented. But here it may, perhaps, be replied, that these small and necessary Supplies to Persons under these Accidents, and other unavoidable Occasions, are not intended in this Proposition, but only great Parcels : And hence may be enforced again, to give therefore the Bond propounded in the first Remedy. But what need all this Caution ? Is not the Distiller obliged by the Law already to enter his monthly

Makings ?

Makings? What shall the Condition of this Bond be that can secure further? And what Course will be taken to distinguish between Foreign Strong-waters perfectly made before, wherein the Distiller may, and doth also deal, and what he also makes himself?

But there is one general Head more of this Paper, whereunder the Deficiencies which concern the Disposition of the coercive and judicial Power are comprised: And, among others, it is instanced, that the Commissioners have no Power to punish Contempt in any Witness neglecting, or refusing to appear upon Summons, to give Testimony in any Case of Excise in his Majesty's Behalf, or that appearing shall refuse to be sworn, or declare his Knowledge: And in this Case the Remedy is propounded, That the Commissioners, &c. may be empowered to punish the Contempt of *any Person* summoned as a Witness, who shall refuse to appear, or to be sworn or to give Testimony. Hereupon the Distiller is put in mind how this Word *any Person* hath been strained, *viz.* to their Apprentices, and sworn Servants, to discover upon Oath what Strong-waters his Master hath made from time to time, and so to make it sure he shall be once forsworn. But the Distillers will be humbly confident, That however, by the specious Representations that have been made, that Strong-waters might both bear and produce a good Charge and great Revenue; and so a Parliament hath been induced to insert the Liquors of their Trade amongst others to be excised, yet that Parliament, though they found a Precedent of the like Nature, and under like general Term, in former Ordinances so called, in those Times, did purposely reject this Course of Inquisition, for the Abomination thereof. And the Distillers, though they can well submit that all lawful Means may be provided in behalf of his Majesty, whereby all Frauds and Evasions may be reasonably discovered, and all good Means made Use of to recover and secure this Revenue, yet they will humbly hope that no more extraordinary Course shall be induced upon them to either of these Ends than is consonant to the Laws of God and Man, and than will consist with Traffic, and is precedent and used in any Case of his Majesty's greater and ancients Revenue of Tonnage and Poundage, &c. or than is practised in his Majesty's Courts of Justice, in any Case of a penal Law wherein his Majesty is made a Party.

But still there is yet more upon the Stocks, which is a Model framing how the Trade of the Distillers shall be circumscribed in the future in relation to the Excise, the Printing whereof shall be attended. In the mean-time, this Paper is adventured abroad, that at one Instant, if possibly, it might come to public View with the printed Paper before mentioned in behalf of the Farmers, and to prevent all Prepossession upon any Man's Judgment or Understanding.

To the Right Honourable the House of Commons, now assembled
in Parliament.

The humble PETITION of Sir *Job Harby*, Knight
and Baronet, Sir *John Jacobs*, Sir *Nicholas Crisp*, and
Sir *John Harison*, Knights,

SHewing,

THAT they with some others deceased, did, *anno* 1640, contract
with his late Majesty for the two Farms of the Customs, called *The*
Great and Petty Farms, and at his Majesty's Instance did advance
on the Rent agreed upon 253200 l. as may appear by Tallies or Constants
out of the *Exchequer*; which Money was disbursed to the Navy, and other
public Uses.

That upon the Meeting of the late long Parliament, it was interpreted a
great Fault to have farmed the Customs; and at that Time the Necessities of
the Nation being very pressing, in Assurance to free themselves from their
great Debt due from the King, they thought it no ill Means to condescend to
raise for the public Service (which was then to disband two devouring Ar-
mies) 165000 l. and the Houses then promising to provide for their Re-pay-
ment, when they considered the settling the King's Revenue, they thereupon
found Credit to raise that Money; which, with what they had lent before,
sunk them and many more Families, whose Cases to this Hour are as grievous
to your Petitioners Thoughts as their own Miseries, which in respect of their
Persons and Estates, and Extremities of Law put on both, have been as re-
markable as any Case can be instanced.

Therefore not for themselves only, whose Conditions merit Pity, but for those
thus involved with them, and for the Honour of the King, and Justice of
the Parliament, and in Consideration of the public good Service the Money
was raised for,

They humbly pray their Debt of 253200 l. may be fixed and assigned out
of the remaining Excise, in the Power of the Houses yet to dispose.

And they shall ever pray, &c.

Job Harby,
John Jacobs,
Nicholas Crisp,
John Harison.

The CASE of the distressed Lady HARRINGTON; together with her Petition, humbly presented to this Honourable House.

SHE was the Daughter of Sir *Edmund Wright*, who was the Lord Mayor of *London* in the Beginning of the Troubles, and appeared upon all Occasions for the late King, and continued loyal to his dying Day, suffering both Fine and Imprisonment for him.

She brought her Husband a great Portion in Money, and Sir *Edmund Wright* gave her a House and some Lands at *Swakeley* for her Life, and after her Death, to her eldest Son and his Heirs, who was always in his Judgment for a King, and kingly Government, and never in the least Measure disloyal; and she hath eleven Children besides, and no manner of present Livelihood amongst them all.

Her Husband was not chosen a Member into the long unhappy Parliament before 1646, and long before that Time Arms were taken up, and Battles fought; upon which many fatal Consequences ensued.

She confesseth her miserable Husband, after two Summons, and an Order to record his Default if he did not appear, did the 23d of *January* only appear, and no other Time, either in the *Painted Chamber* or *Westminster-Hall*, though often summoned, neither staid he the doing of any one Thing, but left the Court abruptly; whereupon they made an Order, *That thenceforth none should leave the Court but with License*, as by the Journal-Book thereof may appear, nor ever appeared he in any other High Court of Justice.

Her Husband's Estate is no other than as followeth, viz. At *Merton* in *Oxfordshire* about 600 *l. per Annum*, which was settled upon Marriage for her Jointure, and intailed upon her Issue. At *Ridlington* in *Rutlandshire* between 300 and 400 *l. per Annum*, but is charged with 150 *l. per Annum*, to his Brother *John* for Life, with Power to make his Wife a Jointure. He had a little House at *Highgate* worth about 30 *l. per Annum*, but mortgaged and forfeited.

Her Husband oweth in real and personal Debts above 8000 *l.* and her poor Son, in Obedience to his Father, is bound with him for near 4000 *l.* of that Debt.

She humbly prayeth, That her poor eldest Son, who is in no sort guilty in the least, may not be buried alive in a Prison, by a Law now to be made, which must be the Consequence, if his Father's Debts be left upon him; and she hopes your Honours will not reckon any Man's Estate his own before his Debts be paid.

That she who cannot be charged with any Crime, and her twelve innocent Children (some not born when her Husband's Fault was committed) may not be turned all to beg, but that whilst her Husband's Fault is remembered, her Father's Sufferings, and her own and Children's Innocency, may not wholly be forgotten; and that all such in this Honourable House as are either Fa-
thers,

thers, Husbands, or Children, would seriously consider the Case of her and her twelve innocent Children, before they expose them to final Ruin, without any Fault in them, as Men and Christians, to mitigate their Sentence, that Life may not be more cruel than Death, but be consistent with Mercy in Imitation of God. The God of Mercy, who hath declared his Promise, and pronounced his Blessing to the Merciful, of which to make you all Partakers, shall be the Prayers of your Honours most miserable and distressed Suppliant and her numerous Issue.

Who cast themselves at your Honours Feet for Mercy to her whole Family.

A P R O C L A M A T I O N.

CHARLES R.

HIS Majesty in his Princely Compassion, and very tender Care, taking into Consideration the distressed Condition of many his good Subjects, whom the late dreadful and dismal Fire hath made destitute of Habitations, and exposed to many Exigencies and Necessities; for present Remedy and Redress whereof, his Majesty, intending to give further Testimony and Evidences of his Grace and Favour towards them, as Occasion shall arise, hath thought fit to declare and publish his Royal Pleasure, That as great Proportions of Bread and all other Provisions as can possibly be furnished, shall be daily and constantly brought, not only to the Markets formerly in use, but also to such Markets as by his Majesty's late Order and Declaration to the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex* have been appointed and ordained, viz. *Clerkenwell, Islington, Finsbury-Fields, Mile-end Green, and Ratcliff*; his Majesty being sensible, that this will be for the Benefit also of the Towns and Places adjoining, as being the best Expedient to prevent the Resort of such Persons thereunto as may pilfer and disturb them. And whereas also divers of the said distressed Persons have saved and preserved their Goods, which nevertheless they know not how to dispose of, it is his Majesty's Pleasure, that all Churches, Chapels, Schools, and other like public Places, shall be free and open to receive the said Goods when they shall be brought to be there laid: And all Justices of the Peace within the several Counties of *Middlesex, Essex, and Surrey*, are to see the same done accordingly: And likewise that all Cities and Towns whatsoever shall, without any Contradiction, receive the said distressed Persons, and permit him the free Exercise of their manual Trades; his Majesty resolving and promising, that when the present Exigent shall be passed over, he will take such Care and Order, that the said Persons shall be no Burden to their Towns or Parishes. And it is his Majesty's Pleasure, that this his Declaration be forthwith published, not only by the Sheriffs of *London* and *Middlesex*, but also by all other Sheriffs, Mayors, and

and other Chief Officers in their respective Precincts and Limits, and by the Constables in every Parish. And of this his Majesty's Pleasure, all Persons concerned are to take Notice, and thereunto to give due Obedience to the utmost of their Power, as they shall answer the contrary at their Peril.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall*, this Fifth Day of *September*, in the Eighteenth Year of our Reign, One Thousand Six Hundred and Sixty-six.

GOD save the King.

A brief RELATION of Sir *Walter Raleigh's* Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Castle of *Sherborne* in *Dorset*, from him and his Heirs, being his indubitable Inheritance.

Printed in the Year 1669.

To the Right Honourable the Commons of *England*, assembled in Parliament.

The humble PETITION of *Carew Raleigh, Esq; only Son of Sir Walter Raleigh, late deceased,*

Humbly Sheweth,

THAT whereas your Petitioner conceiveth, That his late Father Sir *Walter Raleigh*, was most unjustly and illegally condemned and executed, and his Lands and Castle of *Sherborne* wrongfully taken from him and his, as may more at large appear by this brief Narrative hereunto annexed. The Particulars whereof your Petitioner is upon due Proofs ready to make good. Your Petitioner therefore humbly submitting to the great Justice and Integrity of this House (which is no way more manifested, than by relieving the Oppressed) humbly craveth, that he may receive such Satisfaction for these his great Oppressions and Losses, as to the Wisdom and Clemency of this honourable House shall seem fit.

And your Petitioner shall humbly pray, &c.

A brief Relation of Sir Walter Raleigh's Troubles, with the taking away of the Lands and Castle of Sherborne, in Dorset, &c.

WHEN King *James* came into *England*, he found Sir *Walter Raleigh* (by the Favour of his late Mistress Queen *Elizabeth*) Lord Warden of the *Stannaries*, Lord Lieutenant of *Devonshire* and *Cornwal*, Captain of the

Guard, and Governor of the Isle of *Jersey*, with a large Possession of Lands both in *England* and *Ireland*. The King for some Weeks used him with great Kindness, and was pleased to acknowledge divers Presents which he had received from him, being in *Scotland*, for which he gave him Thanks: But finding him (as he said) a martial Man, addicted to Foreign Affairs, and great Actions, he feared lest he should engage him in a War (a thing most hated, and contrary to the King's Nature) wherefore he began to look upon him with a jealous Eye; especially after he had presented him with a Book, wherein, with great Animosity, he opposed the Peace with *Spain*, then in Treaty, persuading the King rather vigorously to prosecute the War with that Prince then in hand, promising (and that with great Probability) within few Years to reduce the *West-Indies* to his Obedience. But Sir *Walter Ralegh*'s Enemies soon discovering the King's Humour, resolved at once to rid the King of this Doubt and Trouble, and to enrich themselves with the Lands and Offices of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; wherefore they plotted to accuse him and the Lord *Cobham* (a simple passionate Man, but of very noble Birth and great Possessions) of High-Treason. The Particulars of their Accusation I am utterly ignorant of (and I think all Men both then and now living) only I find in general Terms, they were accused for plotting with the *Spaniard* to bring in a foreign Army, and proclaim the Infanta of *Spain* Queen of *England*, but without any Proofs, and the Thing itself as ridiculous as possible: However, Sir *Walter Ralegh* was condemned without any Witness brought in against him; and the Lord *Cobham*, who was pretended to have accused him barely in a Letter, in another Letter to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, upon his Salvation, cleared him of all Treason or treasonable Actions, either against King or State to his Knowledge; which original Letter is now in the Hands of Mr. *Carew Ralegh*, Son of Sir *Walter*, to be produced at any Time. Upon this Condemnation, all his Lands and Offices were seized, and himself committed close Prisoner to the *Tower*; but they found his Castle of *Sherborne*, and the Lands thereunto belonging, to be long before entailed on his Children; so that he could not forfeit it but during his own Life. And the King finding in himself the Iniquity of Sir *Walter*'s Condemnation, gave him all what he had forfeited again, but still kept him close Prisoner; seven Years after his Imprisonment, he enjoyed *Sherborne*; at which Time it fell out, that one Mr. *Robert Car*, a young *Scotch* Gentleman, grew in great Favour with the King, and having no Fortune, they contrived to lay the Foundation of his future Greatness upon the Ruin of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whereupon they called the Conveyance of *Sherborne* in question in the *Exchequer Chamber*, and for want of one single Word (which Word was found notwithstanding in the Paper-book, and was only the Oversight of a Clerk) they pronounced the Conveyance invalid, and *Sherborne* forfeited to the Crown, a Judgment easily to be foreseen without Witchcraft, since his chiefest Judge was his greatest Enemy, and the Case argued between a poor friendless Prisoner and a King of *England*.

Thus was *Sherborne* given to Sir *Robert Car* (after Earl of *Somerset*) the Lady *Ralegh* * with her Children humbly and earnestly petitioning the King for

* She was the only Daughter of Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, who was arraigned in Queen *Mary's* Time, and quit. See *Fox's Acts and Monuments*.

Compassion on her Knees, could obtain no other Answer from him, but *that he mun have the Land, he mun have it for Car*: She being a Woman of a very high Spirit, and noble Birth and Breeding, fell down upon her Knees with her Hands heaved up to Heaven, and in the Bitterness of Spirit beseeched God Almighty to look upon the Justice of her Cause, and punish those who had so wrongly exposed her and her poor Children to Ruin and Beggary. What hath happened since to that Royal Family is too sad and disastrous for me to repeat, and yet too visible not to be discerned. But to proceed: Prince Henry hearing the King had given *Sherborne* to Sir Robert Car, came with some Anger to his Father, desiring he would bestow *Sherborne* upon him, alledging that it was a Place of great Strength and Beauty, which he much liked, but indeed with an Intention to give it back to Sir *Walter Ralegh*, whom he much esteemed.

The King who was unwilling to refuse any of that Prince's Desires (for indeed they were most commonly delivered in such Language as sounded rather like a Demand than an Intreaty) granted his Request; and to satisfy his Favourite gave him five and twenty thousand Pounds in ready Money, so far was the King or Crown from gaining by this Purchase; but that excellent Prince within a few Months was taken away, how and by what Means is suspected by all, and I fear was then too well known by many. After his Death the King gave *Sherborne* again to Sir Robert Car, who not many Years after, by the Name of Earl of *Somerset*, was arraigned and condemned for poisoning Sir *Thomas Overbury*, and lost all his Lands. Then Sir *John Digby*, now Earl of *Bristol*, begged *Sherborne* of the King and had it. Sir *Walter Ralegh* being of a vigorous Constitution, and perfect Health, had now worn out sixteen Years Imprisonment, and had seen the disastrous End of all his greatest Enemies; so that new Persons, and new Interests now springing up in Court, he found Means to obtain his Liberty, but upon Condition to go a Voyage to *Guiana* in Discovery of a Gold Mine: That unhappy Voyage is well known, almost, to all Men, and he was betrayed from the very beginning, his Letters and Designs being discovered to *Gondomar* the *Spanish* Ambassador, whereby he found such strong Opposition upon the Place, that though he took and fired the Town of *St. Thoma*, yet he lost his eldest Son in that Service, and being desperately sick himself was made frustrate of all his Hopes.

Immediately upon his Return home he was made Prisoner, and by the violent Pursuit of *Gondomar*, and some others (who could not think their Estates safe while his Head was upon his Shoulders) the King resolved to take Advantage of his former Condemnation sixteen Years past (being not able to take away his Life for any new Action) and though he had given him a Commission, under the Broad Seal, to execute Martial Law upon his own Soldiers, which was conceived by the best Lawyers a full Pardon for any Offence committed before that Time, without any further Trouble of the Law, cut off his Head.

Here Justice was indeed blinded, blindly executing one and the same Person upon one and the same Condemnation for Things contradictory; for Sir

444 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Walter Ralegh was condemned for being a Friend to the *Spaniard*, and lost his Life for being their utter Enemy. Thus Kings, when they will do what they please, please not him they should, God, and having made their Power subservient to their Will, deprive themselves of that just Power whereby others are subservient to them. To proceed: *Mr. Carew Ralegh*, only Son of Sir *Walter*, being at this Time a Youth of about Thirteen, bred at *Oxford*, after five Years came to Court, and by the Favour of the Right Honourable *Will. Earl of Pembroke*, his noble Kinsman, hoped to obtain some Redress in his Misfortunes; but the King not liking his Countenance, said, he appeared to him like the Ghost of his Father, whereupon the Earl advised him to travel, which he did until the Death of King *James*, which happened about a Year after. Then coming over, and a Parliament sitting, he, according to the Custom of this Land, addressed himself to them, by petitioning to be restored in Blood, thereby to enable him to inherit such Lands as might come to him either as Heir to his Father, or any other Way; but his Petition having been twice read in the Lords House, King *Charles* sent Sir *James Fullerton* (then of the Bed-chamber) unto *Mr. Ralegh* to command him to come unto him, and being brought unto the King's Chamber by the said Sir *James*, the King (after using him with great Civility) notwithstanding told him plainly, that when he was Prince, he had promised the Earl of *Bristol* to secure his Title to *Sherborne* against the Heirs of Sir *Walter Ralegh*; whereupon the Earl had given him, then Prince, ten thousand Pounds, that now he was bound to make good his Promise, being King: That therefore unless he would quit all his Right and Title to *Sherborne*, he neither could nor would pass his Bill of Restoration. *Mr. Ralegh* urged the Justice of his Cause, that he desired only the Liberty of a Subject, and to be left to the Law, which was never denied any Freeman. Notwithstanding all which Allegations, the King was resolute in his Denial, and so left him. After which, Sir *James Fullerton* used many Arguments to persuade Submission to the King's Will, as the Impossibility of contesting with Kingly Power; the not being restored in Blood, which brought along with it so many Inconveniencies, that it was not possible without it to possess or enjoy any Lands or Estate in this Kingdom; the not being in a Condition, if his Cloak were taken from his Back, or Hat from his Head, to sue for Restitution. All which Things being considered, together with splendid Promises of great Preferment in Court, and particular Favours from the King not improbable, wrought much in the Mind of young *Mr. Ralegh*, who being a Person not full twenty Years old, left friendless and fortuneless, prevailed so far, that he submitted to the King's Will.

Whereupon there was an Act passed for his Restoration, and together with it a Settlement of *Sherborne* to the Earl of *Bristol*; and in shew of some kind of Recompence, four hundred Pounds a Year Pension, during Life, granted to *Mr. Ralegh* after the Death of his Mother, who had that Sum paid unto her during Life in lieu of Jointure.

Thus have I, with as much Brevity, Humility, and Candor, as the Nature of the Case will permit, related the Pressures, Force, and Injustice committed

mitted upon a poor oppressed, though not undeserving * Family; and have forbore to specify the Names of those who were Instruments of this Evil; lest I should be thought to have an Inclination to scandalize particular, and perchance noble, Families.

Upon the Consideration of all which, I humbly submit myself to the Commons of *England* now represented in Parliament; desiring, according to their great Wisdom and Justice, that they will right me, and my Posterity, according to their own best liking; having in mine own Person (though bred at Court) never opposed any of their just Rights and Privileges, and for the future being resolved to range myself under the Banner of the Commons of *England*; and so far forth as Education, and fatherly Instruction can prevail, promise the same for two Sons whom God hath sent me.

* Sir *Walter Raleigh* discovered *Virginia* at his own Charge, which cost him 4000 *l.* He was the first of the *English* that discovered *Guiana* in the *West-Indies*. He took the Islands of *Fayall* from the *Spaniard*, and did most sig-

nal and eminent Service at the taking of *Cadix*. He took from the *Spaniard* the greatest and richest Caric that ever came into *England*, and another Ship laden with nothing but Gold, Pearls, and *Cochineal*.

A full and true Relation of his Excellency the Pope's Nuncio making his public Entry at *Windsor* on Sunday the third of this Instant *July*, 1687.

Printed in the Year 1687.

THE Town of *Windsor* was so full of all Sorts of People, from all Parts, that some of the Inhabitants were astonished; and it was very difficult to get Provisions or Room, either for Horse or Man; nay, many Persons of Quality, and others, were forced to sit in their Coaches and Calashes almost all the Day.

So great were the Expectations of all People to see this Ceremony, supposing it to be greater than ordinary, by reason there has not been any public Minister of State from the Pope, for above an hundred and forty Years, that hath made any public Entry, as I am informed.

All the Spectators supposed he would set out a little after Noon, but did not till between five and six of the Clock in the Afternoon; at which time his Excellency took Coach, it being one of his Majesty's, for that Purpose, at his own Lodgings, the Duke of *Grafton* and Sir *Charles Cotterel* being in the Coach with him; his Excellency was clothed in Purple, and a Gold Crucifix hanging at his Breast.

The first that appeared in this Ceremony, was one of the Knight-Marshal's Men on Horseback, and after him two others followed on Foot; after them went his Excellency's Footmen, being twelve in Number, their Coats being all of

of a dark-grey coloured Cloth, with white and purple Lace. After them followed the Coach of State, in which was his Excellency, having four Pages to attend him, two on each Side, taking hold of the Coach; their Coats were very richly laced. His Excellency had three Coaches, with six Horses a-piece in each Coach. Immediately after his Excellency, in two of his Coaches, were ten Priests, his Coach of State going empty. After them went the Lord Chancellor's, two of the Lord President's, the Lord Privy Seal's, and the Lord Chamberlain's Coach. There were eighteen Coaches more besides them, with six Horses a-piece; in which Number the Lord Bishop of *Durham's* was one, and the Bishop of *Chester's* another. In this Order they went up to the Castle, where they stayed about a Quarter of an Hour, and then his Excellency returned back to his Lodgings.

By the KING, a DECLARATION.

Printed at *Holy-Rood-House* in the Year 1688.

JAMES R.

AS we cannot consider this Invasion of our Kingdoms, by the Prince of *Orange*, without Horror, for so unchristian and unnatural an Undertaking, in a Person so nearly related to us; so it is a Matter of the greatest Trouble and Concern to us, to reflect upon the many Mischiefs and Calamities which an Army of Foreigners and Rebels must unavoidably bring upon our People. It is but too evident, by a late Declaration published by him, that notwithstanding the many specious and plausible Pretences it carries, his Designs, in the Bottom, do tend to nothing less than an absolute usurping of our Crown and Royal Authority; as may fully appear by his assuming to himself, in the said Declaration, the Regal Stile: Requiring the Peers of the Realm, both Spiritual and Temporal, and all other Person of all Degrees, to obey and assist him in the Execution of his Designs, a Prerogative inseparable from the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and for a more undeniable Proof of his immoderate Ambition, and which nothing can satisfy but the immediate Possession of the Crown itself, he calls in Question the Legitimacy of the Prince of *Wales*, our Son and Heir apparent, though, by the Providence of God, there were present at his Birth so many Witnesses, of unquestionable Credit, as it seemed to have been the particular Care of Heaven, on purpose to disappoint so wicked and unparalleled Attempt.

And in order to the effecting his ambitious Designs, he seems desirous, in the Close of his Declaration, to submit all to the Determination of a free Parliament, hoping thereby to ingratiate himself with our People; though nothing can be more evident, than that a Parliament cannot be free, so long as there is an Army of Foreigners in the Heart of our Kingdoms, so that in

Truth

Truth he himself is the sole Obstrueter of such a free Parliament: We being fully resolved, as we have already declared, so soon as (by the Blessing of God) our Kingdoms shall be delivered from this Invasion, to call a Parliament, which can no longer be liable to the least Objection of not being freely chosen, since we have actually restored all the Boroughs and Corporations of this our Kingdom to their ancient Rights and Privileges, and in which we shall be ready, not only to receive and redress all the just Complaints and Grievances of our good Subjects, but also to repeat and confirm the Assurance we have already given to them, in our several Declarations, of our Resolution, by God's Blessing, to maintain them in their Religion, their Liberties and Properties, and all other their just Rights and Privileges whatsoever. Upon these Considerations, and the Obligations of their Duty and natural Allegiance, we can no ways doubt, but that all our faithful and loving Subjects will readily and heartily concur and join with us, in the intire Suppression and repelling of those our Enemies and rebellious Subjects, who have so injuriously and disloyally invaded and disturbed the Peace and Tranquillity of these our Kingdoms.

Given at our Court at *Whitehall* the 6th of November 1688, and of our Reign the Fourth Year.

A LIST of the Foot and Horse that are come with the Prince of Orange, as printed in Holland.

HORSE.		FOOT.	
The Life-Guard,		Foot-Guards, commanded by	
Regiment of Guards commanded by		C. Solmes,	25 Comp.
<i>Benting,</i>		<i>Mackay,</i>	12 Comp.
<i>Waldeck's Regiment,</i>		<i>Balfour,</i>	12 Comp.
<i>Nassaw,</i>		<i>Talmash,</i>	12 Comp.
<i>Ginckel,</i>		Regiment which was for-	
<i>Mompellian,</i>		merly <i>Bellise's,</i>	12 Comp.
Count <i>Vander Lip,</i>		Regiment which was for-	
The Prince's Dragoons,		merly <i>Wachop's,</i>	12 Comp.
<i>Marrewis's Dragoons,</i>		Regiment which was the	
<i>Sgravemoer,</i>		late Earl of <i>Offory's,</i>	10 Comp.
<i>Sapbroek,</i>		<i>Barckvelt,</i>	10 Comp.
<i>Fioddorp,</i>		<i>Holstein,</i>	10 Comp.
<i>Seyde,</i>		<i>Wirtemberg,</i>	12 Comp.
<i>Oye,</i>		<i>Hagendorn,</i>	10 Comp.
<i>Suylestein,</i>		<i>Fagel,</i>	10 Comp.
In all,		<i>Nassaw,</i>	10 Comp.
Troopers,	1683	<i>Carelfon,</i>	12 Comp.
Life-Guard,	197	<i>Brander,</i>	10 Comp.
Regiment of Guards of <i>Benting,</i>	480	Prince of <i>Borckvelt,</i>	10 Comp.
Prince's Dragoons,	860	In all,	164 Comp.
<i>Marrewis's Dragoons</i>	440	At 53 in a Company, is	8692
		Of Guards,	2000
In all	3660	Summa	10692
			All

448 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

All these Troops (if compleat) would have	Foot	10692
amounted to this Number, but, as they	Horse	3660
are not, they amount but to about		14352
		12000

LIST of the FLEET.

Men of War,	-	-	-	-	-	65
Fly-Boats,	-	-	-	-	-	500
Pinks,	-	-	-	-	-	60
Fire-Ships,	-	-	-	-	-	10
						635
In all	-	-	-	-	-	

Father *La Chaise*'s Project for the Extirpation of Heretics.

In a Letter from him to Father *P---rs*.

Worthy Friend,

I Received yours of the 20th of *June* last, and am very glad to hear of your good Success, and that our Party gains Ground so fast in *England*. But concerning the Question you have put to me, that is, What is the best Course to be taken to root out all the Heretics? To which I answer: There are divers Ways to do that; but we must consider which is the best to make Use of in *England*. I am sure you are not ignorant how many thousand Heretics we have in *France*, by the Power of our *Dragoons*, converted in the Space of one Year; and by the Doctrine of those *booted Apostles*, turned more in one Month than Christ and his Apostles could in ten Years. This is a most excellent Method, and far excels those of the great Preachers and Teachers that have lived since Christ's Time. But I have spoke with divers *Fathers of our Society*, who do think that your King is not strong enough to accomplish his Design by such Kind of Force, so that we cannot expect to have our Work done in that Manner; for the Heretics are too strong in the three Kingdoms, and therefore we must seek to convert them by fair Means, before we fall upon them with *Fire, Sword, Halters, Goals*, and other such like Punishments: And therefore I can give you no better Advice than to begin with soft easy Means, wheedle them in by *Promises of Profit*, and *Offices of Honour*, till you have made them dip themselves in treasonable Actions, against the Laws established, and then they are bound to serve for Fear. When they have done thus, turn them out, and serve others so, by putting them in their Places; and by this Way, gain as many as you can. And for the Heretics, that are in Places of Profit and Honour, turn them out, or suspend them on Pretence of Misbehaviour, by which their Places are forfeit, and they subject to what Judgment

Judgment you please to give upon them. Then you must form a Camp, that must consist of none but Catholics, this will make the Heretics heartless, and conclude all Means of Relief and Recovery is gone. And lastly, take the short and the best Way, which is to surprize the Heretics on a sudden; and to encourage the zealous Catholics, let them *sacrifice them all, and wash their Hands in their Blood*, which will be an acceptable Offering to God. And this was the Method I took in *France*, which hath well, you see, succeeded, but it cost me many Threats and Promises, before I could bring it thus far, our King being a long time very unwilling.

But, at last, I got him on the Hip, for he had lain with his Daughter-in-law, for which I would by no means give him Absolution, till he had given me an Instrument, under his own Hand and Seal, to sacrifice all the Heretics in one Day. Now, as soon as I had my *desired Commission*, I appointed the Day when this should be done, and, in the mean time, made ready some thousands of Letters, to be sent into all Parts of *France* in one Post-Night. I was never better pleased than that time; but the King was affected with some Compassion for the Hugonots, because they had been a Means to bring him to his Crown and Throne; and the longer he was under it the more sorrowful he was, often complaining, and desiring me to give him his Commission again, but that I would by no Persuasion do, advising him to repent of that heinous Sin; and also telling him, that the Trouble and Horror of his Spirit did not proceed from any Thing of Evil in those Things that were to be done, but from that great Wickedness which he had done; and that he must resolve to undergo the severe Burden of a troubled Mind for one of them or the other, and if he would remain satisfied as it was, his Sin being forgiven, there would, in few Days, be a perfect Atonement made for it, and he perfectly reconciled to God again. But all this would not pacify him, for the longer the more restless, and therefore I ordered him to retire to his Closet, and there spend his Time constantly in Prayer, without permitting any one to interrupt him; and this was in the Morning early, when the Evening following I was to send away all my Letters. I did indeed make the more Hasten, for fear he should disclose it to any body, yet I had given him a strict Charge to keep it to himself, and the very Thing that I most feared, to my great Sorrow, came to pass; for just in the Nick of Time, the Devil, who hath always his Instruments at work, sent the Prince of *Conde* to the Court, who asked for the King; he was told that he was in his Closet, and would speak with no Man; he impudently answered, *That he must and would speak with him*, and so went directly to his Closet; he being a great Peer, no Man durst hinder him. And being come to the King, he soon perceived, by his Countenance, that he was under some great Trouble of Mind, for he looked as if he had been going into the other World immediately. Sir, said he, what is the Matter with you? The King, at the first, refused to tell him; but he pressing harder upon him, at last, the King, with a sorrowful Complaint, burst out, and said, *I have given Father La Chaise a Commission under my own Hand, to murder all the Hugonots in one Day, and this Evening will the Letters be dispatched to all Parts, by the Post, for the performing it; so that there is but small Time left for my Hugonot Subjects*

to live, who have never done me any Harm : Whereupon this cursed Rogue answered, Let him give you your Commission again. The King said, How shall I get it out of his Hand, for if I send to him for it, he will refuse to send it ? This Devil answered, If your Majesty will give me Order, I will quickly make him return it. The King was soon persuaded, being willing to give Ease to his troubled Spirit, and said, Well, go then, and break his Neck, if he will not give it you ; whereupon this Son of the Devil went to the Post-House, and asked, if I had not a great Number of Letters there ? and they said, Yes, more than I had sent thither in a whole Year before ; then, said the Prince, By Order from the King, you must deliver them all to me ; which they durst not deny, for they knew well enough who he was. And no sooner was he got into the Post-House, and had asked these Questions, but I came also in after him, to give Order to the Post-Master, to give Notice to all those under him, in the several Parts of the Kingdom, that they should take Care to deliver my Letters with all Speed imaginable. But I was no sooner entered the House, but he gave his Servants Order to secure the Door, and said confidently to me, You must, by Order from the King, give me the Commission which you have forced from him : I told him, I had it not about me, but would go and fetch it, thinking to get from him, and so go out of Town, and send the Contents of those Letters another time ; but he said, You must give it me, and if you have it not about you, send somebody to fetch it, or else never expect to go alive out of my Hands, for I have an Order from the King, either to bring it or break your Neck : And I am resolved either to carry back that to him in my Hand, or your Heart's Blood on the Point of my Sword. I would have made my Escape, but he set his Sword to my Breast, and said, You must give it me or die, therefore deliver it, or else this goes through your Body.

So when I saw nothing else would do, I put my Hand in my Pocket and gave it him, which he carried immediately to the King, and gave him that and all my Letters, which they burnt : And being all done, the King said, *Now his Heart was at Ease.* Now, how he should be eased by the Devil, or so well satisfied with a false Joy I cannot tell : But this I know, that it was a very wicked and ungodly Action, as well in his Majesty as the Prince of Conde, and did not a little increase the Burden and Danger of his Majesty's Sins. I soon gave an Account of this Affair to several Fathers of our Society, who promised to do their best to prevent the aforesaid Prince doing such another Act ; which was accordingly done, for within the Space of six Days after the damned Action he was *poisoned, and well he deserved it.* The King also did suffer too, but in another Fashion, for disclosing the Design to the Prince, and hearkening to his Counsel. And many a time since, when I have had him at Confession, I have shook Hell about his Ears, and made him sigh, fear, and tremble, before I would give him Absolution ; nay, more than that, I have made him beg for it on his Knees, before I would consent to absolve him. By this, I saw that he had still an Inclination to me, and was willing to be under my Government, so I set the Baseness of the Action before him, by telling the whole Story, and how wicked it was ; and that it could not be forgiven till he had done some good Action to ballance that, and expiate the Crime. Whereupon,

Whereupon, he at last asked me what he must do? I told him, that he must root out all the Heretics from his Kingdom: So, when he saw there was no Rest for him without doing it, he did again give them all into the Power of me and our Clergy, under this Condition, *That we would not murder them*, as he had before given Orders, but that we should by fair Means, or Force, convert them to the Catholic Religion; to which End, he gave us his Dragoons to be at our Devotion and Service, that we might use them as we saw convenient, to convert them to the true Religion. Now, when we had got the Commission, we presently put it in Practice, and what the Issue of it hath been, you very well know. But now in *England* the Work cannot be done after this Manner, as you may perceive by what I have said to you, so that I cannot give you better Counsel, than to take that Course * in hand, wherein we were so unhappily prevented; and I doubt not, but that it may have better Success with you than with us.

I would write to you of many other Things, but that I fear I have already detained you too long; wherefore I shall write no more at present, but that I am,

Your Friend and Servant,

Paris, July 8th, 1688.

LA CHAISE.

* To put them all to the Sword, and murder them.

The Relation of the Rejoicings made in *Rome* for the Birth of the most Serene Prince of *Wales*, only Son of *James* the Second, King of *Great Britain*, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Faithfully translated into English, from the Italian Impression, as it was printed at Rome and Genoa.

Printed in the Year 1689.

THE Angelical Kingdom of *England*, that in Times past equalled, as I may so say, *Idumæa*, with so many glorious Palms of Martyrs sent to Heaven, and which published thousands of Volumes that her holy Doctors wrote in favour of the *Roman* Church; with a diabolical Impiety, rebelling against the Eternal Monarch, became a miserable Slave of Satan: And changing the divine Worship into the Doctrine of Devils, continued in a most deplorable Condition for many Years, an Enemy of the King of Kings; but at length the most merciful God, being moved to Compassion for so many Souls so unhappily lost, was inclined to reduce her to her Primitive State,

and make her a Worshipper of the Holy Catholic Religion, and the Successor of *St. Peter*, his Vicar on Earth. And to bring so worthy a Work to a fortunate End, makes use of the most ardent Zeal of the Catholic *James* the Second, there by the Divine Providence constituted King.

He was prepared for so glorious an Enterprize, not regarding either Dangers, or Oppositions, nor forbearing any Application, always indefatigable, and all intent to reduce his triple Dominion to the Adoration of the Holy Trinity, the Confession of the true Faith, and the Obedience of the Pope. This he knew he should effect, through the Assistance of the Divine Omnipotence, which made the lamentable Farce give Way to his Power, who trampled on the heretical Doctrines, caused the Precepts of Jesus Christ to be publicly professed, called home the banished Priests, restored the profaned Temples to the sacred Ministry, and throwing down the Banners of the Prince of Darkness, sets up the Standard of the Catholic Faith. And offering his Sceptre at the Feet of his Holiness our Lord Pope *Innocent XI.* resumed it, tributary to Heaven, raising to himself Statues of his singular Merit with the Divine Majesty, and everlasting Fame, throughout the Universe. And having driven away those rebel Angels that led his People to eternal Damnation, gave them for their Guides Priests of the Church of *Rome*, that would conduct them to the everlasting Delights of Paradise.

The Great God being pleased to reward him on Earth, before he took him hence to receive a more glorious Recompence in Heaven, has blessed him with a Male-child, born the 20th of *June*, in the Year 1688, being, according to the *English* Stile, the Feast of the Holy Trinity, betwixt the Hours of nine and ten in the Morning.

The Catholic Ruler acknowledged so valuable a Grace bestowed on him by the Creator of all, and returned his due Thanks, rejoicing that he was like to breed up a Son himself in the Divine Precepts, that might be equally Heir both of his Father's Greatness, and most ardent Zeal for the Catholic Religion.

By an Express from his Majesty this News arriving at *Rome* the 2d of *July*, occasioned a Jubilee in the Breast of the most Holy Pastor, and universally filled all with extreme Joy.

Whereof there were public Demonstrations, and for three Days successively was solemnized the Nativity of this Royal Infant, beginning from the 25th of the same Month, the Feast of *St. James* the Apostle, in the Manner following.

His Eminence, Cardinal *Philip Thomas Howard* of *Norfolk*, of the Order of Preachers, Titular of *St. Mary* at the *Minerva*, designing the Church of *St. Thomas* of the *English* Nation, for the Return of Thanks to God, richly hung it with Brocard Silks, and very noble Tapestries, which, with the sacred Vestments, appeared so splendidly, by the Reflection of a vast Number of Lights, that it resembled a Palace of the Sun, and even dazzled the Eyes of the Beholders.

Leave being obtained of his Holiness, the Morning of the said 25th Day there was a Chapel for the Cardinals, where were present eighteen of their Eminences, who gloried much in this, that after so many Years they were at last

last met together to congratulate the Nativity of a Son of a Catholic King of *England*.

Here was celebrated the High Mass, at which assisted the most famed Musicians, and choicest Singers, making their several Virtues to be admired by their angelical Voices and harmonious Concerts. After the Communion *Te Deum* was begun, which being followed by them, was accompanied by a Concert of Drums and Trumpets, and divers Salutes of Mortar-pieces, got ready for that Purpose, that for a long time made the *Latian* Fields, and Banks of *Tyber* to resound.

His Eminence caused Wine, Bread and Cheese, and other Refreshments, to be distributed to the Servants, Footmen, and Coachmen of their Eminences the Cardinals that were at this Feast, who, while eating and drinking, made continual Huzza's of *Viva* for his Eminence and the Royal Babe.

He caused also a great Fountain of most noble Architecture, painted over like Marble, to be erected, covered with Gold on the Corners and Edges, on the Top whereof were the Arms of his Majesty of *Great Britain*, adorned with a rich Crown, supported by a Lion and Unicorn; near whereto in the Night were set great Numbers of white Wax Lights, adding Beauty to this stately Structure; that for three Days together, and as many Nights, run no small Quantity of exquisite Wine for the Benefit of the Public, and was distributed in exact Order by Men habited in Vests, with the Arms of his Eminence embroidered on them.

All the Palace of his Eminence contiguous to the formentioned Church of *St. Thomas*, in the three Rows of Apartments without, was beset with Torches of white Wax, and below were Links on several Posts of Wood planted on the Ground about the Palace, making that vast Fabric by an unusual Miracle more resplendent than even the Heavens when fullest of Stars.

His Eminence also caused a Mount of Earth to be raised in the Court of the *English* College, joining to the said Church of *St. Thomas*; on the Top whereof was made a majestic Theatre, all adorned with rich Tapestries and Greens, set together by a curious Workmanship; in the midst of which, the first Day (to imitate the ancient Custom of *London* on their solemn Festivals) was roasted a whole Ox, the extreme Parts all covered with Gold and Greens, and within full of young Pigs, and several sorts of Fowls, that from divers Parts of the Ox seemed, though dead, as if they would fly Death, thrusting out their Heads and Feet at the several Holes in it, which were certain to serve either as a Prey to the devouring Flames, if they fell there, or to the People, if pulled thence.

And for the roasting the said great Animal, there was a Machine erected, framed with great Wheels, turned with six Men in Coats with the Arms of his Eminence gilded on them, and Caps with the like; who going round that Theatre, dispensed Flesh and Bread in great Quantity to the People, making frequently loud Acclamations of *Viva* for the new Prince of *England*.

It gave no little Content to see the People that thronged to get the Meat; and when some, with no small Pains, were come up just ready to receive it, they were strongly beat back by a Multitude of others, that with all the Force
they

they had thrust up to this Machine; and in like manner was it great Pleasure to behold the coveted Food taken out of a Man's Hand after he had got it with a great deal of Sweat, by those that could not have it from the Distributers.

One greedily snatched the Bread and Meat, another went to drink, a Third returned to the Theatre, or to the Fountain; one clamoured, another at a Distance called for Things; one asked for Wine, another cried out to make Way that he might come to eat and drink: And thus Eating and Drinking (not to lose Time in the Narration) in all Appearance it looked like an inward Jubilee; and such a Spectacle was so pleasing, that all *Rome* unanimously confessed they had not seen the like.

During the Illuminations, the Lights in the Air excited not only this City, but the neighbouring Places, to the greater Rejoicings.

Two good Concerts of Drums and Trumpets continuing all the three Days and Nights, made all that feasting Neighbourhood ring again.

And in the Palace of his Eminence was heard most incomparable Music, and Symphonies of the best Instruments; where his Eminence gave great Quantities of Refreshments to all those Persons of Quality that were met together for the Festivity of the Royal Infant.

His Eminence did also exercise the wonted Acts of his Generosity, distributing large Alms among the modest indigent Persons of the Parish of *St. Catherine's*, where his Eminence lives, and the like to the Parish of *St. Mary* at the *Minerva*, of which he is Titular; and besides, he gave a rich Regale to all his Court proportionably to their respective Charges.

And other Cardinals and Princes, that were either allied by Relation to his Majesty, or were his Dependents, or well-affectioned to the Kingdom, made their Feastings for the happy Birth of the Royal Babe, by setting up so many Torches and Lights at their Palaces, and making so many Fires about them, that it seemed as if they would be reduced to Ashes in the Flames.

Sir *John Lytcott*, Knight, Agent for his Majesty of *Great Britain*, illuminated all the Windows of his Palace, which stands in the *Strada Gregoriana*, with a vast Number of white Wax Torches for three Nights, where continually, as also the three Days, Drums and Trumpets sounded; and at his own Expences he made all the adjoining Streets to his Palace to be enlightned by the hanging up many Lanthorns with the Royal Arms of *England*, and Links; the Whole being accompanied with the Discharge of a great Number of Mortar-pieces.

Over the Portal of his Palace, which was all hung with red Damask, and with Galloon and Fringe of Gold, was seen exposed a rare Picture, the Work of some able *Apelles*, more than twelve Hands high, on which was drawn the Royal Infant, with the Habit of the most noble Order of the Garter, and every way encompassed with a great Laurel, which descended from Heaven, and was upheld by two Angels, and girt about with a numerous Army of the same; one whereof held the Royal Crown of *England*; another in one Hand a Shield, with the Arms of *England*, and with the other the Sword and Garter; another had an Olive-branch in its right Hand, and in its Left the Cross of

of Union of *England* with *Scotland*; and another above the rest, in the opening of the Heaven, on a Label exhibited these Words,

Serus redeat.

And over the Picture of the most serene Prince were his Arms (*i. e.* three Feathers of an Ostrich) with this Motto,

Ich Dien, i. e. I serve.

Below at a Distance was the Sun rising in the East, figuratively expressing the Child born to be the most resplendent Sun of the Catholic Heaven; and also there was seen the Sea, with a Naval Fight, where the invincible Courage and renowned Valour of the Admiral of *England* triumphed over their Enemies.

This Picture made its Beholders immoveable, who, though they well knew that it was made by Colouring and Pencil, and that it had only a Surface, nevertheless seemed to cheat themselves; insomuch, that they believed the Objects there represented, not feigned, but true: They saw the Child stir, the Wings of the Angelic Troops clap together, the Waves of the Salt Element move, and more than that, dyed with Blood, the broken Masts, the torn Sails, and the Sterns shattered in pieces: There were seen, labouring to swim, those that remained alive out of the sinking Ship; they saw the Soldiers and the gasping Mariners, the Sport of the Waters, and it appeared to them that they asked their Help; they saw the Fire of the Cannons, and if they heard not the Sound, they fancied it, which because of its Distance could not reach them; and if many had not been thrust away from that Place by the People that came to admire so worthy a Work, they had been fixed there for a long time: And this Picture was in the midst of two, one of the King, and the other of the Queen; and above these was that of his Holiness.

He caused also the second Day an Ox to be roasted, with other Animals within it; and because the *Strada Gregoriana* was too streight for such a Performance, he chose the Square of *Trinita de Monti*, near thereto, where it was roasted in a spacious Place; and there the Flesh distributed with Bread in great Abundance, where the Wine run out of a fine Fountain for three Days, and as many Nights together, and the same and like Accidents followed in the Distribution of it, as what were recounted in that of his Eminence Cardinal *Howard's*.

The *Scotch* College set up over the Portal a very charming Picture, where was seen the Royal Babe in Swadling-cloths, lying on a very rich Cushion, on one Side whereof were painted, on a well-wrought Pillar, the three Crowns of the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and on the other, at an agreeable Distance, there was seen a rising Sun, alluding, as that before, to the Birth of the Royal Prince; and over the Picture was this Motto.

Magnus Amor Matris,

Magnum Patris Incrementum.

And that Picture was placed in the midst of two others, one representing the King his Father, on the right Hand, and the other on the Left, the Queen
his

his Mother; and all the Three were under a rich Canopy of red Damask, edged with Gold, whereto were set some Torches before, that made them seen as clearly in the Night as Day.

And if the Pictures of Sir *John Lytcott* were wonderful, these roused, in those that beheld them, the unusual Amazement, seeming, that if they stood silent, it was not that they could not speak, but because Silence became a Royal Decorum in this Conjunction.

And for three Days they had Illuminations, not only all over the Front of the Church and the College, but also of all the Houses that were near, both of one and the other Side of the Street, at their proper Expences.

And in like manner there was cast for three Days and three Nights abundance of Wine, from a pretty contrived Fountain, placed on one Side the Portal of the College, adorned with excellent Paintings and Greens; and on the other Side were distributed several hundred Loaves of Bread to the Poor.

And to this the People flocking together to eat and drink, as in other Places, made of itself a very delightful Sight.

There they discharged sometimes, betwixt the Day and the Night, one hundred and fifty Mortar-pieces; there they burnt many Hogheads; the Trumpets founded from the Windows, and the Drums in the Streets.

They also made a very splendid Banquet for all those of the *Scotch* Nation that they found in *Rome*.

The *Urceline* Nuns, lately founded by the pious Munificence of *Mary Beatrix*, Queen Consort of *England*, and the most serene *Laura*, Duchess of *Modena*, her Mother, in Acknowledgment for so great a Benefit, had Mass solemnly sung in their Church, and *Te Deum*, with discharge of Mortar-pieces; and for three Nights made rich Illuminations and Lanthorns, with the Arms of the King of *Great Britain* artificially disposed over all their Cloyster.

The Convent of the *Dominican* Fathers of the *English* Nation, dedicated to *St. John* and *Paul*, enlightned for three Nights all their Church and Convent, and particularly their Steeple, that seemed in the Darkness of the Night, as if there had been raised from Earth to Heaven another Sphere of Stars.

The *Irish Dominican* Fathers of *St. Sistus* and *St. Clement* also set up innumerable Lights on their Church and Convent.

The religious *Irish Franciscans* of *St. Isidore* made a very glorious Appearance of Lights, that adorned all the Frontispiece of their Church for three Nights.

Mr. Michael Plunket, Agent in *Rome* for the *Irish* Clergy, had very many Lights at all the Windows of his usual Habitation for three Nights after the same manner.

But no less considerable was the magnificent Demonstration of Joy, both by Fires and Lights that were made the three Nights by ——— *Selayne* an *Irishman*, Professor of Divinity in the College *de Propaganda Fide*, and Doctor of the *Sorbonne*.

And

And very many other considerable Persons, in Token either of Dependence on his Majesty, or out of Reverence or Affection to him, rejoiced as others did, with Lights, Torches, and Fires, for so happy a Birth.

All the People of *Rome* were only in those Places where the Rejoicings were made, the rest of the City remaining unpeopled.

Every one grieved that he could not be at the same time in all those Places where these Testimonies were given for Joy of the Birth of so great a Prince ; so that while they enjoyed the Sight at one Place, they afflicted themselves with the Consideration of losing it at others.

And those that sought nothing but Eating and Drinking, complained against Nature, for that it had not made them more Bellies, or those they had, larger, and all would have been *Briareus's*, that they might have stretched out an hundred and an hundred Arms to receive so many Portions.

In fine, all *Rome* rejoiced, every Inhabitant in it feasted, and nothing else was heard all over but the glorious Name of the happy *James II.* in whom the divine Blessings were seen apparently to reward his heroic Acts, in having granted him a Successor; who, treading in his Father's Steps, should pursue the Course of his Catholic Glories.

The *Seven Hills* burned, and seemed one only Light, and one only Fire ; and in despite of the Horrors of the Night, gave a Clearness more resplendent than that of the greater Planet at Noon-day ; and they looked so as when by the Cruelty of *Nero*, they were made a Prey to the Flames, or that they represented the famous City of *Troy*, when by Treachery it was made a Trophy to the Fires.

The Concerts of Music, the festival Sounds of the Drums, Trumpets, and Mortar-pieces, and the common Acclamations that gave Applause to the *English* Rulers, and Tributes of Joy to the born Infant, seemed by Consent even to deafen Heaven.

A Melius Inquirendum into the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*: Or an Account of several new Depositions and Arguments *Pro* and *Con*, and the final Decision of that Affair by the Grand Inquest of *Europe*, being a Supplement to the Depositions published by Authority in *October* last.

Printed in the Year 1689.

Consultation of the ORACLE, by the great Men of *England*, and the Potentates of the Earth, to know if the Prince of *Wales* (Given of God, *Deo datus*, be supposititious, or legitimate.

AS soon as the Darkness of the Night was dispersed, and the Morning had appeared, the Gates of the Temple of the Divinity opened themselves, and one might see all the Potentates of the Earth hastening thither: Great Number of Princes, and mighty Monarchs, many *Heraclitus's* and *Democritus's*, the one sad, and the other merry, for the Birth of this new Messiah; the Catholic Princes were in dispute with the Protestants; the latter did maintain that the Prince of *Wales* was supposititious, and the first the contrary. It was then resolved, by one Part as well as the other, to refer the Business to the Oracle, and that the Divine *Apollo* should decide a Question, whereon the Happiness of *Europe* depended.

The *POPE*

Being the first advanced, kneeled to the Earth, and having taken in each Hand a certain Composition, went on Foot to the Entrance of a little Cavern, as soon as he found himself within, with a great deal of Eagerness and Haste, he spoke

To the ORACLE.

- I desire to know four Things before my Death.
- The first is, to see *Constantinople* purged from execrable *Mahometism*, by my good Son *Leopold*, Emperor of the East and West.
- The second, to see my eldest Son, the King of *France*, to repent himself of all those Affronts that he hath committed during his Reign, against the Holy See, against the other Kings his Brethren, and against his poor People.
- The third, to see my Son *Charles II* always poor, become sufficiently powerful to revenge himself of his Brother-in-law, and give to the Throne of *Spain* a Successor, whether legitimate or supposititious according to the Example of King *James*.

The

‘ The fourth, to learn if my Son *James II.* be well fixed on his Throne,
‘ and if the young Prince of *Wales* shall be legitimated by the Parliament?’

As soon as the Holy Father had ended, all those Powers that had followed him, were impatient to speak of the Queen of *England's* Lying-in, and of the Birth of the young Prince; and although the Cardinal of *Furstenberg* desired it, and would by all means speak of his Election, he was ordered to hold his Tongue, and it was resolved, that the Court of *England* should first be allowed to give Reasons whereby she pretends to prove, that the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate; that the Protestant Princes, who had Arguments to prove the contrary, should be heard next: That the Question should be disputed with Mildness and Moderation; and that the Court of *France*, as well as the Court of *England*, as Allies, should be desired to occasion no Dispute, but leave it fairly to the Decision of Justice.

The King of *E-----d*,

Attended by Father *Petres*, who followed him Step by Step, approached the holy Cavern, and thus spoke to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I give God Thanks for giving me a Son on the 10th Day of *June*, 1688,
‘ and that he gave a happy Delivery to the Queen my Wife, by the Birth of
‘ the Prince of *Wales*.’

His Majesty had scarce made an End of pronouncing these Words, but a Protestant Prince interrupted him, saying,

‘ We all give Thanks to God, because we have discovered that this young
‘ Prince is the Son of the Society of Jesuits, and that he never had any Royal
‘ Blood in him.’

These Words were no sooner delivered, but Father *Petres* advanced, and having fixed his triangular Cap upon his Head, to shew his Indignation, thus said to the

ORACLE.

‘ The Heretics do nothing but laugh at the Queen's Lying-in, as if the
‘ Prince of *Wales* were only a supposited Infant; for my Part, who was not a
‘ Moment absent from the Queen, I know better than any Person, and if I do
‘ not tell Truth, I will call Mrs. *Wilks* as a Witness.’

It was scarce observeable that *Petres* had spoke so much; the Priests of the Temple being employed in furnishing the Soul of *Wilks* with proper Ideas, to make her recollect. To the End that she might discover the Intrigue, she made her Stage upon the Skin of Sacrifices rubbed with certain Drugs which disturb the Brain, and being present at the holy Cavern, spoke thus:

‘ It is easy to prove, that the Queen was really with Child, if one considers
‘ that she kept her Bed at her Lying-in for two or three Days, without get-
‘ ting up, and the rather, for that she never went abroad while she was big.’

The *ORACLE*

Ordered, That she should hold her Peace, if she had no better Proof.

460 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

The Priests of the Temple conducted the Queen of *England*, as yet weak and indisposed, and having given her her Hand to lead her into the Sanctuary, she thus said to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I prove that I have been with Child of a young Prince, because I had many Pains, for five or six Months, and I have always heard it reported, that Women with Child are always subject to them.’

Mrs. *Cellier*, who was near the Queen, had a Mind to speak again, desired her Majesty to add the Sickness she was speaking of; that she had several times been sensible of the Infant’s stirring in her Womb, and that these two Proofs were convincing.

The Princess of *D-----k*,
Being called in her Turn, came near, and said to the

ORACLE,

‘ I find it very difficult to believe, that the young Prince of *Wales* is legitimate, if it be true what is said, that he was some Hours at *St. James’s*, afore the Queen came thither to lie-in.

The *ORACLE*

Answered her :

‘ This Proof is strong, have you any Witnesses ?

The *PRINCESS*

Answered him :

‘ Yes.

The Rev. Father *SMITH*, and Father *ALIX*, Jesuits,
Conspiring together in a Design to destroy the Proof which the Princess had offered to produce,

Father *SMITH*,
As being the eldest, spoke first to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I maintain, that the Queen hath been with Child, and that the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate, by reason the Queen hath resolved, at the present, to have a Daughter, and after that another Daughter, and then another young Prince, that if it happens the first should die, his Majesty may be provided of a Successor.

Father *ALIX*

Took his Turn, and said,

‘ For my Part, I prove that there is nothing supposititious in the Person of the Prince of *Wales*, and that he is the legitimate Son of the King, because he was informed, that the Child was baptized on the 15th Day of *July*, 1688, it being *St. James’s Day*.’

The

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 461

The Priests went out of the holy Cavern, and returned before the Queen's Ladies of Honour, and having made them drink a Glass of the Water of the River *Hircinas*, they said :

' We maintain, that the Queen hath been really with Child, because she was
' always troubled with a kind of a Gout, which hindered her going, and al-
' ways obliged her to be carried in a Chair.

The Archbishop of C-----, attended by his Suffragans,
Came near to the Divinity, extremely pleased to have been acquitted in his Trial, and that Innocence had prevailed over Calumny.

The *DIVINITY*
Made him be informed by one of his Priests, that he was exhorted to reveal what he knew, or what he had learned, concerning the Queen's Lying-in; that there was no Degree of Power above the Gods, and that he was obliged in Conscience to tell the Things as they were, and being approached, he spoke to the

ORACLE.
' Because you conjure me, by all that is most holy in your Temple, to discover an Imposture, which the Society of Jesuits takes care to conceal from
' all *Europe* ; I shall tell you then in two Words, That the Prince of *Wales*
' is *supposititious*, and that they put us in the Tower, at the very Time the
' Queen was in the Straw, to the End that the Bishops of the Kingdom might
' not be present.'

The King of E---d
Hearing this Discourse, came forward hastily, and being angry with the Archbishop, called him *Rebel*, adding, *That he knew how to make him obey.*

The *ORACLE*

Answered the King : ' That he had forgotten that the Place where he blasphemed was holy, and that he ought to be satisfied, long since, that the
' Gods esteem bad Kings no more than silly Shepherds, that he ought to abate
' his Fierceness, and thank the Gods for giving them more good Things in
' this World, oftentimes, than they deserve.

The *KING*,
Being desirous to answer what the Archbishop had objected, said, ' It was
' true that the Bishops were put in the Tower before the Queen lay in, but
' also, that Order was given to release them, and there was nothing to hinder
' their Visits ; besides, I am not willing to argue thus with my Subjects, I
' am a King and expect to be obeyed, without disputing, and when I say that
' the Prince of *Wales* is my legitimate Son, this ought to suffice, and they
' ought to believe it.'

The *ORACLE*
Answered to all this, ' That he was not well satisfied with his Majesty's Behaviour, and that he ought to have more Moderation, and to bring good
Proofs,

462 *A Third Collection of* **TRACTS** *on all Subjects.*

‘ Proofs, because we came hither to know if the Prince of *Wales* was legitimate or supposititious, and not to dispute his royal Prerogative.

The Priestess had Orders to advance some

MEMBERS of the next Parliament,

Who spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘ His Majesty hath solicited us, by his chief Almoner, Father *Petres*, to legitimate his Son the Prince of *Wales*, when we shall meet in Parliament; and
‘ all the People cry in *London*, that it is a supposititious Child, that his Father
‘ is a poor Citizen, and that his Mother is a poor Woman, which the Jesuits
‘ have persuaded, by Money, to keep this Secret. The

ORACLE

Orders the Priestess to conduct in the

Earl of *S-----L---D*,

To see what he had to answer to what was proposed. *S-----l--d* having Order to enter the holy Cavern, desired, before that, to abjure his Religion, and to assist at the holy Office in the King’s Chapel, and to give a Proof of a profound Respect. After which he said,

‘ The Prince of *Wales* is so much the more legitimate, and the Supposition
‘ of which they accuse her Majesty, is the rather a Calumny, by how much
‘ the big Belly of the Queen hath been accompanied with many Wonders, viz.
‘ As the Queen slept, an Angel appeared to her several times, and said to her,
‘ *Have Courage, you shall bring forth a Son, and his Name shall be called Wales:*
‘ The Queen awaking, started, and saw that this Angel was like to him that
‘ appeared long since to *Mary* the Mother of God.

The ORACLE

Asked him how he knew it to be an Angel?

S-----L--D

Answered, that Father *Petres* had told him so.

The Lawyer *P-----n*, one that pleaded for the Bishops,

Hearing that the Earl of *Sunderland* would prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate, by the greatest Imposture that ever was, could not forbear speaking into the holy Cavern, as loud as if he had pleaded in *Westminster-Hall*, and said openly, that it was a Shame that such a Man as he, whom his Majesty had honoured with his Charge of Secretary of State, should have so mean and low Thoughts, and so unworthy of a Man of Honour; he ought to have known that this Angel, of whom he was speaking of, was one of the Queen’s Footmen, who had been instructed by the Jesuits to play this Part: And that the King, having surprized him, with his Sword wounded him in his Arm.

The

The O R A C L E

Ordered the Priests to turn out S—L—D, and bring the

Lord C H A N C E L L O R.

Who spoke to this Purpose to the

D I V I N I T Y.

‘ The greatest Proof that I can offer, to justify that there is no Supposition
‘ in the Birth of this young Prince, is the coming of so many Ministers from
‘ all the Courts of *Europe* to congratulate his Majesty, and pay their Homage
‘ to this young Prince. As to the rest, his Majesty was transacted at his
‘ Council of Conscience with Father *Peters*, and he forbids to enquire into
‘ what passeth there ; so if there be any Supposition, it is a Secret that very
‘ few Persons know at Court. And the King hath ordered us to compel the
‘ People to believe the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate. And this is enough,
‘ and we ought as much as in us lies to adore these great Mysteries, and by
‘ no Means pry into them.’

As soon as my Lord *Chancellor* hath spoken, the Lawyers,

L—s, F—n, S—r, T—y, F—b, S—s

Were ordered to answer what my Lord *Chancellor* had said ; they all un-
animously said, ‘ That having gained the Cause for the Bishops, they would do
‘ their Endeavour to get that for the People also ; and to maintain, by an
‘ authentic Discourse, which they would publish concerning a suppositious
‘ Birth, that the Prince of *Wales* was supposited ; but they prayed the Divi-
‘ nity to grant them some time, the

O R A C L E

Answered them that it was granted, and that in the mean time the Priests
should be examined of such as are to appear.

The Priests had Order to introduce the

J E S U I T S of the College of the S A V O Y.

The most ancient of them having taken off his triangular Cap, said,
‘ That the greatest Proof that they had (that the Prince of *Wales* was the
‘ lawful Son of the King) was, that his Majesty had promised on the Day of
‘ his Coronation, that he intended to give a Successor to the Crown, and
‘ that the King had now performed his Royal Word, in giving them this
‘ young Prince, who they should always acknowledge as legitimate, since they
‘ being Roman Catholics, it was much for the Advantage of their Society.’

The

O R A C L E

Answered, ‘ That these Reasons proved that the King had a Successor ; but
‘ the Question now was, to know if this Successor were of the Blood-Royal.’
The Priests had Order to cause them to go out, and to introduce the

N O N

NONCONFORMISTS, the *QUAKERS* and *PRESBYTERIANS*.

The Quakers being come in said, 'They had presented many Addresses to his Majesty, for to thank him for the Liberty of Conscience he had granted them, but that they acknowledged now by Experience, that he would not keep his Word, and that he would break his Word as often as it tendeth to make him absolute; that they think the Prince of *Wales* is supposititious, and that they will give their Proofs in Writing.'

The Nonconformists say, 'That his Majesty is full of Designs, which he hath to advance the Papists in all Charges, and that his Favours are chiefly reserved for the Jesuits, and that at last he will repent for having assisted at the making so many Innovations; and as to the Prince of *Wales*, it was easy to suppose it supposititious, because it was a Month before the Queen lay in.'

The Presbyterians say in their Turn, 'That what hath passed at the Birth of this young Prince, where Father *Peters* and *Cellier*, only Assistants, is a convincing Proof, that there was a manifest Supposition, and that one only ought to examine the Circumstances of this Birth to make it appear.'

The *O R A C L E*

Ordered a Priest to take in Writing all these Depositions, and omit nothing.

The Priests had Order to introduce the Foreign Princes and their Ambassadors.

The *K I N G* of *F R A N C E*

Before he entered the holy Cavern, according to the Example of the Emperor *Heracitus*, made his Army be purged of the Dragoons for three Days, who came from the hunting the new Converts, and having opened the Holy Evangelist, said to the

D I V I N I T Y.

'I maintain, at the Peril of my Life, that the young Prince of *Wales* is legitimate; and if I ought to transport my Armies, by my Bombs and my Carcasses, I would reduce the World into Ashes, and chastise the rebellious Nations that oppose the Design of King *James* my Cousin.'

The *O R A C L E*

Answered him 'That no one ought to enter into this holy Cavern, to make *French Rhodomantades*, that the Business in hand was to prove he was legitimate or supposititious.'

Father *L A C H A S E*

Hearing them speak of a supposititious Child, came forward, the Priests stopped him, pulling him by the Arm, and told him, 'That he knew very well there was no Safety within the Cavern for such as came not with good Intentions,' so that being drawn near, he made many Bows, kissed the Statue of *Trophanius*, and said to the

O R A C L E,

'I hold the Prince of *Wales* is legitimate, for two strong Reasons:

'The first, because my Master is his Godfather.

'And

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 465

‘ And secondly, because my Master hath sent him his Spirit to inspire him
‘ in the Cradle with the Love for our Society, and with a hatred to Heresy.

The ORACLE

Answered, ‘ That this would not signify any thing, and if he had no other
‘ Reason, he might retire as soon as he could.’ The Priests took his Cap
and threw it out of the Cavern, and having pushed him out, gave their Hands
to the

DAUPHIN,

Who came from hunting the Wolf, and having conducted him into the
Cavern, made him shut his Eyes, and asked him the Number and the Name
of the Things he came to consult about ; and after retired into a little Grotto,
and having taken the Water of a Spring that is hid there, the Divinity or-
dered him to speak ; which he did thus :

‘ I do not intermeddle in other Men’s Affairs, and it little concerns me
‘ whether the Prince of *Wales* be legitimate or not ; I only complain, that
‘ my Father doth all for himself, but nothing for me. The Archduke *Joseph*
‘ is made King of *Hungary* at twelve Years of Age, and I am but Dauphin at
‘ twenty-five.’

The ORACLE

Answered, ‘ That there was no Business concerning the Arch-duke *Joseph*
‘ the Emperor’s Son ; but of the Prince of *Wales*, Son of King *James*, to
‘ know if he were legitimate or not.’

The Priests introduced

Madam *La DAPHINE*,

Who appeared with much Respect and Veneration, having made many
Sacrifices to *Apollo* of *Claros*, she spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘ Praised be God, that he hath given me Children, even more than I de-
‘ fired. I complain of the Misfortune of some poor Queens, who do what-
‘ ever is possible to have some, and yet can have none, but are at length forced
‘ to supposit them, and to make them pass for their own ; however it be,
‘ since I am in this holy Place, for to say what I think, the greatest Proofs
‘ I can offer, are the great public Rejoicings, and the *Te Deum Laudamus*
‘ sung in all Churches of *France*.

The ORACLE

Seeing that Madam the *Dauphine* spoke with a great Freedom and Natural-
ness, ordered the Priestesses to accompany her, and made her a Present of some
Reliques.

The Priestesses re-entered immediately, followed by the young

QUEEN of P——L,

Who after having performed the usual Ceremonies, spoke in this manner to
the

DIVINITY.

‘ The *Eleſtor Palatine* hath married me to *Don Pedro*, upon Condition that
 ‘ I bring him legitimate Children, and by Conſequence a lawful Succeſſor,
 ‘ and not an Infant ſuppoſited: The Truth is, he had a mind to ſuch a fer-
 ‘ tile Houſe as ours is, in compariſon to the Houſe of *Modena*, of which the
 ‘ World hath ſpoken variously: But ſince I am here, to ſpeak my Thoughts
 ‘ concerning the Prince of *Wales*, I will prove it to be a legitimate Child, be-
 ‘ cauſe it came into the World by the Prayers made to our Lady of *Loretto*.

The QUEEN of S——N

Hearing them ſpeak of Children, made haſte to come in, and prayed the
 Priſteſs to introduce her quickly, adding, that ſhe had ſomewhat of Conſe-
 quence to ſay: Being entred, ſhe began thus to the

ORACLE.

‘ All the Queens of *Europe* have Children, except me, notwithstanding I
 ‘ am young and handſome: Why cannot I have one as well as the Queen of
 ‘ *England*?

The ORACLE

Answered her, ‘ That he did not concern himſelf with the getting of Chil-
 ‘ dren, nor examined the Cauſes of Barrenneſs, or Fertility, but only to know
 ‘ if the Child of the Queen of *England* was legitimate or not.

The QUEEN of S——N

Replied, ‘ That ſhe knew nothing, but that it was reported legitimate.
 The Priſteſs conducted the

Three Sisters of Father PETERS.

At the Riſe of the River, and after having made them drink of two ſorts
 of Water, viz. that of *Lethe*, which blots out of the Soul all profane Thoughts,
 and that of *Ninemoſine*, which hath the Virtue to make one remember what-
 ever is ſeen in the holy Cavern.

The ORACLE

Asked them, and ſaid to them, ‘ That they ought to declare all that they
 ‘ knew concerning the Prince of *Wales*, how he came into the World, who
 ‘ was his Father, and who his Mother; that there had been already taken
 ‘ the Depoſitions of many Princes and Princeſſes; but that the Oracle was
 ‘ not yet ſatiſfied, that there remained ſome Obſcurity in all that was ſaid;
 ‘ that in the mean time they ſhould be ſhut up in a Grote, until they did re-
 ‘ veal this Myſtery.

After appeared,

*A Troop of Priſts and Prophets, of Poets, of Interpreters, of Prelates and
 Sacrificers.*

The Pretreſs came before them, and told them then, ‘ That they were in-
 ‘ formed that the Epicureans were baniſhed from that holy Place, and thoſe
 ‘ that were in the Fields had Order to paſs no farther.’

The

A Third Collection of TRACTS *on all Subjects.* 467

The Temple of the Oracle being near to *Parnassus*, one might see the Muses composing by the sweet Harmony of their Instruments and Voices, a Choir, in which was sung the Triumph of the Prince of *Wales*.

After this one might see the young Prince carried into the Temple by four-score Jesuits (as yet afore *Jupiter Hammon* was by eighty Priests) in a kind of Gondolo of Gold, from whence hung Knobs of Silver, followed by a great Numbers of Monks of all Orders, singing with a loud Voice holy Hymns to his Glory : As soon as the little Prince was within the Temple, all the Priests and Priestesses of *Apollo* incompassed him, and having examined and considered the Features of his Face, said aloud (contrary to the Custom of our modern Gossips) ' That he was not at all like his Father.' The

D I V I N I T Y

Ordered, That such should be introduced as had not yet appeared. The Pretrefs came before

Mr. *S K E L T O N* Ambassador of his *Britanic* Majesty to the King of *France*, And being brought to the Entry of the holy Cave, thus spoke :

' I prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate ; because the King his Father ' had wrote to me to spare no Charge in making Fire-works and splendid Feastings.

The Author of the *Triumph of Liberty*

Being come up, answered to Mr. *Skelton*, That if his Excellency had no other Proof to give, he ought to expect to see himself very speedily censured and condemned ; and that having already proved in his Book, that King *James II.* had not been lawfully called to the Crown of *England*, but that he had usurped it, since the Laws of the Land have excluded all *Roman Catholic* Princes ; he had resolved to prove to him presently, that the Prince of *Wales* was never of Royal Blood : That this is a Supposition, believing the Society contrived it to deceive Fools.

The O R A C L E

Ordered, That they should cause to come in

The Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*,

To see what he had to answer thereto.

The Pretrefs conducted him to the Cavern, and made the Author of the *Triumph of Liberty* retire some Paces back, for fear lest a Noise should arise between these two different Spirits. The Author of *Parliamentum Pacificum* said thus to the

D I V I N I T Y.

' I cannot forbear the admiring the divine Wisdom, for giving a Child to ' his Majesty in his old Years, and at a Time when we were near seeing a ' cond Queen *Elizabeth* to reign ; and the greatest Proof that I have that ' this young Infant is legitimate, is the ill Opinion his Majesty hath of all the ' Heretics. The

468 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

ORACLE

Answered him, That he had not in the least satisfied the Question which the Author of the *Triumph* had proposed, viz. That his Majesty had usurped the Crown of *England*; he ought to prove the contrary afore he came to the Supposition. The

Earl of *AVAU X*, Ambassador of *FRANCE*,

Took his Time, and the Pretrefs having received some *Louis*, which he presented her with, he was immediately introduced, and brought the Affair into a few Words. The

ORACLE

Asked him then, how that he pretended to prove the Prince of *Wales* to be legitimate. His Excellency said,

The greatest Proof he had was a magnificent Treat, the *Monsieur Albeville* gave in the Prince *Maurice* his Palace to all the Ministers of Foreign Courts, where we were near three hundred Persons that he invited.

After Mr. *D'Avaux*,

Mr. *St. DISDIER*

Advanced, and as he knew the History to the Bottom, and is knowing in all Things; he said to the

DIVINITY,

That it was not difficult to prove that the Queen of *England* had really been with Child, if one considers that the Queen-Mother lay-in with *Louis* the XIVth, after she had been barren twenty-two Years, which is the Reason they call the King *Given of God*; and at this Day the Prince of *Wales* hath the same Name, because he certainly came into the World by the Gift of Heaven.

Mr. *MOREAU*, Envoy Extraordinary from *POLAND*,

Entred without Ceremony, and dispatched his Business with a laughing Air. The Relish of a Glass of certain delicate Wine he drank at the Palace of Prince *Maurice* made him not want Matter or Words in speaking to the

DIVINITY.

For my part, I shall prove the Prince of *Wales* is not supposititious; because Mr. *Albeville* rose from the Table several times to fill us out to drink of a most excellent Wine, as he did it with so graceful a Mien, that I have Reason to say he hath not forgot his first Employment [a *Butler*, or *Footman*.]

Mr. *ALBEVILLE*'s Steward

Slipped into the Cavern without taking Notice of the Pretrefs, and spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘I am about to abjure my Religion to oblige my Master the Ambassador.’

The *PRETRESS*

Bid him hold his Tongue, for here was nothing to do about Religion, but only to know how the Prince of *Wales* was born.

The

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 469

The STEWARD

Answered, ' That he had resolved to tell all that he knew ; but that he was
' only concerned in performing the Commission he had from the Ambassador
' the Day of the Fire-works ; which was to search out some *English* (or other
' unknown Persons) to borrow for them white Perriwigs, a genteel Dress,
' fine Linen, Cravats, and Cuffs of *French Point* ; and to procure them Foot-
' men to follow, as if they had been my Lords, or other of considerable Quali-
' ty, that I had Orders to seat them at the Table to make a Figure, and fill
' seven or eight Places, because that some of the States had no Mind to come.

The PRETRESS

(Perceiving that this Discourse displeased Monsieur *Albeville*, who was present,
who was concerned to do Things honourably on such Occasions ; besides, that
what the Steward said, did more make known what was done on the Day of
Rejoicing for the young Prince, than to prove that he was of the Blood-Royal)
made him retire.

As soon as the Steward had done, the Pretress introduced Monsieur *d' Albeville*.

The DIVINITY

Told him, ' That all the World was surpris'd to see what pass'd at this
' Day, and that it was a Thing that all People spoke of, that one would
' make a suppos'd Child for a legitimate.

Monsieur ALBEVILLE

Cried out in the Discourse, calling Heaven and Earth to witness, saying,
' That it was a pure Scandal that he had caus'd from the Day that he had
' Notice of the Birth of the young Prince to make Fire-works, which had
' surpris'd the seven Provinces with their Beauty and Magnificence, where was
' to be seen the young Prince upon a Globe, in the midst of a triumphal
' Arch, where these Words were written, which contain the Year of his Birth.

aVgVsta eX IaCobo Magno proLes DIV VIVat.

M.DC.LXXXVIII.

Which is,

That the Son of Great JAMES live long,

Upon this triumphal Arch you might see *St. George*, who represented the
King, trampling under his Feet the Dragon of Rebellion, and abolishing the
Test and Penal Laws : There one might see the good Conscience of the Je-
suits, represented by the Woman that was near the Dragon, firm, and un-
moved, notwithstanding the Rigours of the Penal Laws. There was to be
seen two guardian Angels near the Person of the Prince, to deliver him from
the Ambuscades of the *Quakers*, *Conformists*, and *Nonconformists*, from the
Presby-

470 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Presbyterians, the Arminian Bishops, the Calvinists, Lutherans, Anabaptists, and other Sects. There the Dragon was to be seen, devoured by its own proper Flames, while the Crown, and all other Figures were entire, which was a Prognostic, that his Majesty should bring about his great Designs: After this, ought the Heretic to maintain that the young Prince is not legitimate? and that all this hath been done for a supposited Child?

The Secretary of Monsieur *D'Albeville*

Came forwards with all Speed, and softly put his Excellency in mind to add something of a Number of incomparable flying Squibs, Fire-pots, Rack-ets, Wheels, &c. which filled the Air full of Stars and Serpents, which proved that the Prince was legitimate, because they produced the Effect that was designed.

The O R A C L E

Ordered the Jesuits to enter, together with the Priests that framed these Fire-works.

He that composed the Inscription came first, saying,

Non si commencia bene se non dal Cielo.

I have myself composed,

Veritas & Justitia fulcimentum Throni Patris, & erunt mei:

As Virtue and Justice are the Support of my Father's Throne, so also shall they be of mine. I have moreover composed this fine Device:

Religio & libertas amplexatae sunt:

Liberty and Religion are united. Adding, That this was convincing, and that he had not composed this for an Infant supposited.

The Almoner of the Ambassador of France

Came in his Turn, and said, That he himself had composed a short Prayer, which begun, *Ad Deum Optimum Maximum pro Rege, Principe, & Gente Britanico Precatio brevis:* To the Great God, for the King, Prince, and British Nation, a short Prayer. After this, one ought not to question, that the Prince of Wales was not legitimate.

A Jesuit of the S———*ss* Ambassador.

Pressed hard, and being come in, said, 'That he had distributed a general
' Alms that Morning, and given to the Poor several Shillings, and a Pint of
' Wine to every one to drink the Health of the young Prince, that all this
' might serve to prove and disabuse the vulgar Incredulity.

All the Domestics of Monsieur *Albeville*

Came in their Turn and said, That they had laboured more than fifteen Days to put Things in Order, and prepare a most sumptuous Feast; adding, That there could not remain any Doubt of the young Prince's Legitimacy, since the Ambassador had been at so great Expence.

All the Musicians came also, and said, That they had sung that Day a very fine *Te Deum*, with excellent Music, and an incomparable Symphony, composed by Monsieur *Hacquart*, and that this alone was fully convincing.

The

The Players on the Violins came also and said, That they were carried in a Boat during the Time of the Feast, and that they had played the *Follies of Spain*, the *Descent of Mars*, and many other fine Pieces proper to the Occasion, for to divert the Ambassadors who were in the Palace of Prince *Maurice*; and that all this could not be done for a supposited Child.

Those that had discharged the Cannon which came from *England* on purpose for this Day, came and said, It was not reasonable to suppose so much Noise made for nothing.

Those that had pierced several Tuns of Wine came also and said, That the Street was overflowed by six Fountains of excellent Wine, part Claret, and part White-wine of *France* and *Spain*; and one ought to believe that this was made for an illegitimate Child.

An Unknown P O E T

Desired the Pretrefs to permit him to enter into the holy Cavern, to repeat some Verses which he had composed for the Glory of the young Prince, on the Day of his Triumph: He being come in, said

Some Protestant LORDS

Sliding in the Crowd, desired the *Divinity* to give them Audience; one of them said, 'That this young Prince had let fall his Sceptre while he was upon the Globe, and that this was an ill Presage. Another said, That they had given the *Hydra* but six Heads, because it was said they would not represent by it the seven Provinces. Another said, that *St. George* was devoured by the Monster instead of the Monster being devoured by *St. George*, and that all this proves manifestly that the Child was supposited.

The O R A C L E

Ordered the Pretrefs to introduce

Monsieur the PRINCE, *Madam la Princess* d'O—— and *Messieurs* LE
E S T A T S,

To see what they had to answer to so many Witnesses, who had maintained the King's Side.

The Pretrefs went out of the holy Cavern, and was humbly desired that she would dispense with them for a great many Reasons, which was granted them.

The Pretrefs had Order to call

Dr. B——.

Who being entred, said to the

D I V I N I T Y,

Who desired her, That she would dispense with him from speaking of the Affairs of *England*, for fear of saying too much: The

D I V I N I T Y

Ordered him to tell his Thoughts of the Queen's Lying-in, and of the Birth of the Prince of *Wales*.

Dr.

Dr. B——t

Answered, 'That supposing the Prince of *Wales* was legitimate, and that the Queen was truly his Mother, as they would maintain; it is to be presumed, that it was extremely the Interest of the King, at a Time when his People did with Difficulty obey him, to contrive that the Queen's Lying-in should be made according to the Forms, by calling thither all the Peers of the Realm, as was always practised in the Court of *England*; because it is known, that the People are naturally very difficult to persuade, they scarce believing the Things they see.

Author of the Book, whose Title is, *The Mischiefs that threaten the Protestants of England*,

Seeing that every one endeavoured to speak, desired the Pretress to permit him to recite a History of *Puffendorf*, which proves, marvellous well, that is easy to supposit a young Prince, since we have in Histories many Examples of it. The

O R A C L E

Ordered him to recite the said History.

Puffendorf, a celebrated Historian, speaking of the Kings of *Spain*, saith, 'After *John II*, his Son *Henry* the IVth, the Disgrace and Infamy of that Crown, succeeded to the Kingdom of *Castile*; for since he was esteemed impotent, to remove that Conceit from the People, he made one *Berrand Curva* lie with the Queen, and for a Recompence of that Service he made him Earl of *Desina*. This Adultery produced a Daughter, named *Jane*, which *Henry* proclaimed Successor to the Crown. This Action is the more likely to be true, because this Queen had some time after a Bastard by another: But in fine, to discover this Cheat, and to exclude *Jane* from succeeding, they united together, and carried Things so high, that they exposed upon a Theatre the Figure of *Henry* dressed in all his Royal Ornaments; and after having made a Process against him, and brought an Accusation against him, they stripped him of all his Cloaths, and threw him from Top to Bottom. After, they proclaimed *Alphonfus* King, Brother of *Henry*. But this Farce caused terrible Shocks, and furious Agitations in the Kingdom, which came to bloody Battles. At last *Alphonfus* died during these Troubles, in the Year 1468.

The DIVINITY

Ordered the three Sisters of Father *Peters* to be brought out of the Grote they were shut in.

The Pretress conducted them into the holy Cavern, being veiled.

The ORACLE

Told, 'That it was no longer Time to dissemble; that wanting nothing but their Depositions, they ought seriously to reflect, and to speak to him the plain Truth, that all the World did with Impatience expect the revealing of this Mystery.

She

She that staid in *London*, said, ' That she had seen one *Peters* her Brother,
' go often into three different Houses where there lived big-bellied Women,
' viz. a Baker's House, a Sword-cutler's, and a Miller's, that she had followed
' him, Step by Step, several Times, and she had observed that he stopped
' ofteneft at the Miller's, and that she had observed, that this Woman had
' been brought to-bed without any body knowing what became of the Child.'

APOLLO

Seeing that the Question had been long enough debated, made all the Powers be informed that he was about to pronounce the divine Oracle.

After the divine Cavern was shut of a sudden, and the Pretrefs had ordered that they ought to wash themselves in the River *Hercinas*; after which, to make a Sacrifice to *Trophonius* and all the Family to *Apollo*, to *Jupiter*, to *Saturn*, to *Ceres*, *Europa* Nurse to *Trophenius*, and not to eat during three Days of the Sacrificing, but of the Flesh sacrificed, and then appeared the last Time, the

DIVINITY

Accompanied with her Pretrefs, and there was heard throughout the Cavern many Voices, saying, *The Child supposed, the Monk reigning.*

The Commissioners of the High Court of JUSTICE

Established by the Parliament to try *Charles Stuart*, came in a Body from the other World, causing a Sword of Justice and the Mace to be carried before them.

The President BRADSHAW

Being placed in a Chair of Crimson Velvet, thus spoke to the

DIVINITY.

' We have made an unjust Procefs against *C. Stuart*. When shall we form
' a just one against *James II.* his Son?

The ORACLE.

When the Patience of the good *English* shall be weary of suffering a false Prince of *Wales* to be put upon them.

CROMWELL, one of the Members of the High Court,

Advanced for a Moment out of the Crowd, and said, ' *Jesu my God!*
' what is it they say of *James II.*? all the World cries out, and complains
' against him.

ORACLE

Answers him, ' That King *James II.* is a good Jesuit, and pretends to die
' a Martyr of that Society.

DUKE of MONMOUTH

Before he presented himself to the Divinity, the Pretrefs made him kiss the Statue of *Apollo* of *Claros*, and made him at the same time drink a Glass of Water, called *Lethe*, to make him forget his shameful Death, and said,

474 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

‘ I made too much Haste to Death, and I have lost by it. O would to
 ‘ God I were now living ! What a fair Occasion should I have to secure the
 ‘ Liberties of the *English* Nation.

The ORACLE.

‘ It is long since you have been predestinated by the Society to go reign in
 ‘ another World.

The Q. D——r to the ORACLE.

‘ Since the Death of the King my Husband, I have had no Satisfaction at
 ‘ Court, where nothing rules but Jesuitism ; and as the Society is full of Fury
 ‘ and Rage when it attacks Heresy, I have resolved to go into *Portugal* to
 ‘ avoid the Storm that is rising : They have so moved the People, that one
 ‘ is obliged to suffer the Supposititiousness of the Prince of *Wales*.

The ORACLE.

‘ The Lightnings have flashed, and the Thunder grumbled : If you love
 ‘ Peace and Repose, stay not until the Bolts fall.

The EMPEROR.

The same Pretresses that yet afore conducted *Alexander* and *Vespasian* into the
 Sanctuary of *Hammon* came to introduce the Emperor *Leopold*, and having
 made him a Present of a Crown of Lawrels, conducted him into the holy Ca-
 vern, and said to the

DIVINITY.

‘ I have already filled the Universe with the News of my Victories, ex-
 ‘ tended the Frontiers of my Empire even to *Belgrade* ; planted Christianity
 ‘ in all the Mosques of *Mabomet* ; delivered the Electors of my Empire from
 ‘ the *Ottoman* Fury ; snatched off the Crescent, and planted the Standard of
 ‘ the *Roman* Eagle on all the Towers of *Hungary* ; made *Rome* to triumph,
 ‘ and the Cross of Jesus Christ in the midst of the Terrors of War ; my Ge-
 ‘ nerals being tired with so many Labours, solicit me to make Peace. What
 ‘ ought I do ?

The ORACLE.

‘ *Leopold*, *Leopold*, if thou wilt believe me, hearken no more to *Loyola*,
 make Peace with the Crescent (*Turks*), and War against the Sun (*France*).

Arch-duke JOSEPH, King of *Hungary*,

Having heard of the Surrender of that important Place of *Alba Regalis*,
 came on, and said to the

DIVINITY.

‘ The Emperor my Father hath gained on one Side, and lost on the other:
 ‘ *France* hath promised not to break the Truce, and notwithstanding he every
 ‘ Day advanceth on the *Rhine*, on the other Side, the Jesuits promise him
 ‘ the Universal Monarchy, if he continues the War. I beg you to discover
 ‘ the Mystery.

The ORACLE.

‘ The Jesuits are Traytors to the Empire, banish them the Court. The
 EMPRESS

EMPERESS

After she had ended her short Devotions at *St. Stephen's*, where *Te Deum* was sung for the Prosperity of the Imperial Arms, she came and said to the

ORACLE,

' The House of *Austria* hath triumphed over its greatest Enemies, and if the Emperor my Husband would believe me, we should spill no more *Ottoman* Blood.

The ORACLE.

' When the Emperor shall have shed as much *French* as he hath of the *Ottoman* Blood, he shall secure his Conquests and have no more to fear.

The *GRAND SEIGNIOR*, Emperor of the *Turks*,
Seeing afar off the prophetic Temple, he approached the holy Cavern;
the Entrance of which was covered with Leaves of Laurel, which bespake
the Success of the Christian Arms, and making several Sighs, said to the

DIVINITY.]

La illa alba Mahomet rasoul alba.

The Great God, and our great Prophet *Mahomet*, my Brother *Sultan*, is de-throned, to raise me upon his Throne, and in despite of the Rage of my *Janizaries*, and of his Party, I have extinguished the Fire that burned in the Heart of my Empire: Being unskilful in the Art of War, I propose a Peace to the Christian Emperor, and I yield him all his Conquests, adding thereto, even *Belgrade*, fearing that my *Bashaw* should betray me; and that the un-circumcised Army do not advance to *Constantinople*, I have ordered my Treasury to be carried into *Asia*, Day and Night my Priests go to the holy Temple of *Sophia*, where the *Alcoran* is kept, and I send my *Dervises* to *Mecca* and *Medina* to pray our great Prophet to have pity on the true *Mussulmen*, and to desire the State of *Venice* to make Peace. The ORACLE

Notredame Cent. 3. Quat. 11.

The KING of S——n, *CHARLES* the Second,

Afore he descended into the divine Cavern, he was ordered to spend a certain Number of Days in a little Chapel, which is named *Good Fortune*, or *Good Genius*; after which being introduced, he said to the

ORACLE.

All other Princes reap Laurels in the Art of War, and extend the Frontiers of their Kingdoms; they become the Terror of their Subjects, and do a thousand Exploits to eternalize their Names: For my part I am always the same, and instead of becoming great, I diminish, I sow in ungrateful and barren Earth, which produceth nothing but Brambles. The Queen my Wife gives me no Heir, notwithstanding the Pains I take to get her with Child. Oh! how happy is King *J. the Second*, my Cousin, to have a Son. Oh! that

476 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

the Queen my Wife had been heard by the Lady of *Loretto*. I desire you to tell me, what can make my Wife to have Children?

ORACLE.

You must have at hand a good Father, such as Father *Peters*.

King of *P———d*.

Having received Orders from the Pretrefs to make a Confession of all the Secrets of his Life, approached, and said to the

DIVINITY,

‘ I repent to have made so much Noise of my Victories gotten over the Infidels, and to have called the Emperor, and the Princes of the Empire, ungrateful. I repent me, of having amused the Czar of *Muscovy*, my Allies, in promising them a great many Things, I have not performed; I repent myself also, for having had more Concern, for Love of *France*, than for *Poland*; I repent myself, for having suffered the Emperor to take *Hungary*, since I might have partaken with him of the Plunder of the common Enemy; I repent my not taking *Camienieck* the last Campaign, when its Doors were opened to me, if *France* had not whispered in my Ear, stay, stay. I only ask the Crown of *Poland* for my Son.

The ORACLE.

The King of *France* is a Fox, and if you follow his Counsels, you will live in the Hatred of your People, and your Son shall never be King.

The GRAND VIZIER.

After having saluted the Oracle of *Trophonius*, and drank a Glass of the Water of *Hircinas*, descended into the Holy Cavern, and said,

La illa alha Mahomet rasoul alha.

The new Sultan, my Master, would honour me with the Charge of Grand Vizier, I beseech you inform me what shall be my Fate?

The ORACLE.

Take care of yourself, for the Neck of a Grand Vizier draws to it the Bowstring, as naturally as Amber doth a Straw.

The King of *D——k* to the ORACLE.

I am the Spy of the Northern Crowns, and when any Thing remarkable happens amongst my Neighbours, I inform the King of *France* of it, and the King of *England*; they promise me, so long as we continue Friends, we shall keep the Ballance equal between the Emperor and the other Princes of *Europe*. I answer, that I am content so far, but I doubt *France* will always play the same Play.

The ORACLE.

The King of *France* is often guilty of Deceits, take care of yourself.

The

The Elector of S——y,
Making his Prayers, passed by *Holland*, and after having saluted the Prince
of *Orange*, entred into the Temple, and said to the

D I V I N I T Y.

‘ I love the *French* Wine, but not the *French*; but I like better the *Rhenish*
Wine; and I am of Opinion, that I ought to drink no other, although the
King of *France* cries Day and Night in my Ears, my *Lewisses*, and my good
Champaign Wine. I beseech you tell me what Side I shall take.

The ORACLE.

The Emperor’s Side, and that of *Holland*.

After all Ceremonies were ended, and the Lot was going to be cast, with
much Respect and Veneration,

The Cardinal of FURSTENBERG

Being entered into the holy Cavern, in Haste, overturned the Lots and
Urns.

The Pretrefs being disturbed, ordered him to speak, and he said to the

ORACLE.

‘ Was there ever a Pope seen so wilful and stubborn as ours now is? To have
a red Cap, I have endeavoured above five Years, without Interruption, and
do so at this Day to become Elector, and what way have I not tried? And
I am not nearer it now than I was the first Year; If the King my Patron
would have believed me, he should have abandoned the Affair of the Fran-
chises at the Beginning, without making so much Noise about it, since the
Advantage of being Master of the *Rhine*, and by that to intercept the Com-
munication of the Empire with *Flanders*, and so in few Years promise him-
self the Conquest of *Holland*; it had been better to have made an Exchange
of a Bull, with his Right of the Franchises, which is only —— without en-
deavouring to vex the Holy Father in his old Age.

The ORACLE

For to have a Bull, and to make the Holy Father agree with his eldest Son,
it is necessary that Marshal *d’Estree* quit the barbarous *Algiers*, to come and
bombard the Holy See at *Rome*.

Dr. MOLINOS, the Cardinal PETRUCCI, the Cardinal CICERO
DON LIVIO DUC DE CICERI, Nephew of the Pope, and other
Quietists.

Dr. *Molinos*, stepping forwards, said to the

ORACLE.

‘ Praised be God, the Holy Father hath made us accounted Heretics, and
he

478 *A Third Collection of* TRACTS *on all Subjects.*

‘ he is one himself, if it is true, that he is a Quietist, as it is reported ; the In-
 ‘ quisition having examined him, were about shutting him up in the *Minerva*,
 ‘ if the Cardinal *d’Estree* (who betrayed me, as *Judas* did our Saviour) had not
 ‘ prevailed with him, that he ought to dissemble, which saved him. I be-
 ‘ seech you to inform me, how long this Intrigue shall last.

The ORACLE.

In our Age the Power of the Holy See is a Tyranny, which sacrifices all to
 its Interests.

Madam of *MONTESPAN*.

After much Ceremony she whispered the God in the Ear, and asked him
 what she would ; at last she stopped her Ears with her Hands, and went out,
 coming in again, and said to the

ORACLE.

‘ I have endured a great many Difficulties since my Affairs went backwards
 ‘ at Court, the good Man loves me no more, and the old Hag *Maintenon*
 ‘ hath done me the good Office ; she hath so buzzed the Ears of the King with
 ‘ the Merit of Monsieur *Scarron*, that it hath made him have a Mind to turn
 ‘ Poet. For my Part, not knowing to what Saint to pay my Vows, after
 ‘ having lost the Great *Lewis*, I am resolved to imitate *la Valliere*.

The ORACLE.

To learn to string *Pater Nosters*, is a poor Life for *Montespan*.

Madam of *MAINTENON*

Took the Way of the Temple, accompanied by Father *La Chaise*, who en-
 tertained her with the new Converts of *France*, and the Hopes he had to see
England in the same State, by the Care the Society took to provide a Successor
 to the Crown ; *Maintenon* being come near, said to the

DIVINITY.

‘ That Father *La Chaise* had informed her, that his Penitent, by many re-
 ‘ peated Confessions, had owned, that he always had a Passion for the Fair
 ‘ Sex, that neither Age, nor the Severities of Penance, could ever reclaim him,
 ‘ we have a Mind to marry together, to the End that we may lead a good Life,
 ‘ and that there be no more Discourse in the Royal Family of a Divorce. I
 ‘ beseech you tell me, if I, being sixty Years old, may yet be able to bring
 ‘ forth a Brother to the Dauphin ; his Majesty saith, he will keep only to me.

The ORACLE.

‘ The Fathers of *Loyola* have excellent Secrets, you being a Daughter of the
 ‘ Society, I would have Father *Peters* inform you how the Prince of *Wales*
 ‘ came into the World.

The

The Marechal of *ESTRES*, Vice-Admiral of *France* to the *ORACLE*.

‘ I have two great Designs to execute ; the first obligeth me to destroy *Algiers*, and totally to burn that barbarous People out of their Nests, and on the Ashes of this rebellious Place, I ought to erect a Statue to his Majesty, like to that which the Duke of *Tuillade* hath put up in the Place of *Victory*, to the End that the Name of Great *Lewis* may become the Terror of all *Africa*, as it is of all *Europe*, and that the Report of his great Victories may be conveyed by the Waters of the *Mediterranean* to the Ocean, and by the Ocean to the four Extremities of the World. And in the second Place I have Orders to go as soon as I can to the Coast of *England* to make that rebellious Nation tremble at the Will of King *James*, and to oblige the House of Lords and Commons to revoke the Test and Penal Laws.

The *ORACLE*.

These *Barbarians* are turbulent, and resolved to fight well ; and the *English* expect only a contrary Wind to prove to King *J.* and to *Peters* his Almoner, that the Prince of *W.* is supposited.

The *SWISSES* to the *ORACLE*.

‘ The King of *France* our Uncle is at length tired with engaging us to the *Germans* in Wars : And we have managed the Affair so well, that he hath left poor *Geneva* in Peace. He is contented to see if we are afraid ; but seeing the *Swisses* have always a good Stomach, and drink well, his Counsel of Conscience have not judged it proper to bleed them ; so that he is retired from us without bidding us farewell. We beseech you to inform us if he will ever return again.

The *ORACLE*.

The King your Uncle often makes such Braggings.

GENEVA to the *ORACLE*.

The King of *France* hath at last granted us a Truce for some Months, because his Affairs press him a little too hard on the *Rhine*, his Pretensions on the *Palatinate*, his Franchises at *Rome*, the Stubbornness of the holy Father, the Election of *Furstenberg*, have so employed him, during the Spring, that he hath desired us, by his Resident, to excuse him, if he defers the Business to a fitter Opportunity ; besides, that the new Converts cut him out so much Work, that he knows not which Way to turn him. In the mean time Father *La Chaise* makes him believe, that before he dies, he shall enter with his Coach and Horses into the greatest Church of *Geneva*, adding, that he ought to keep fair, and expect untill his Brother King *J.* hath equipped his Fleet.

The *ORACLE*.

Watch and pray, for you know not the Hour when the Thief will come.

The

The *ALGERINES* to the *ORACLE*.

The King of *France* is a terrible Champion ; after having purged the Heretics out of his Kingdom, he imagines to purge the Sea of Pirates, and to make the Coasts of *Barbary* a Desert: This is a great Design, and worthy of a great Monarch ; but the *Algerines* have already passed so many Times thro' the Fire of their Bombs and Carcasses, that they are become half Devils, that Hell-fire cannot burn them. If our Houses were built so as his *Versailles* is, it had been long since reduced to Ashes, and the Palace of *M'exemorto* had been nothing but a Tomb ; but they are built of a certain Cement, which the Fire cannot hurt ; and the three thousand Bombs which the Marshal of *Estres* discharged against us have done no more Harm than Bullets shot into the Air. Barbarian against Barbarian ; he that is the most barbarous shall conquer : All the *French* that are in our Power shall be put in the Mouth of a Cannon ; we have shot them the Consul already, expecting to send them their King, if ever he fall into our Hands.

The *ORACLE*.

You ought to keep him Prisoner.

All the *ELECTORS* of the *EMPIRE*.

We are encompassed with the Claws of the Eagle, and the Paws of the Fox. The great *Leopold* on one Side engrosses Villages, Provinces and Kingdoms. The great *Lewis* on the other Side ravages amongst us, sometimes as a Lion, and sometimes as a Fox, making his Bombs thunder amongst us ; making a thousand fair Promises ; to one, to oblige him to sell his best Places to them for their Liberty ; to others, for to truck, exchange, or engage their Sovereignty. The great *Leopold* seeing all these Contrivances, adviseth us, under hand, to have a Care of such delusive Promises. The great *Lewis*, on his Side, whispers us by his Spies, *Take Care of your selves*, *Leopold becomes too powerful for you ; you will shortly become Slaves of the House of Austria*. We beseech thee tell us which is our true Interest.

The *ORACLE*.

Your true Interest is to join with the Emperor and the Empire, and to be of Opinion always, that the Fox will do his Endeavour to catch the Eagle and her Eagles.

The Archbishop of *Paris* to the *ORACLE*.

‘ I have hitherto done all the Good and all the Ill I could unto the Hugonots, in order to get a Cardinal’s Cap, and I have only a Mitre. The Bishop of *Camus* that is reputed a Heretic, and is really so in his Heart as well as the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*, who is a very Libertine, given up to his Pleasures, hath got a Cap with ease ; and I who daily sing Vespers, and assist at the holy Offices with the Piety and Zeal of a greatest Prelate, is it possible that I should have nothing to cover my Ears in my old Age ?

The *ORACLE*.

It is true indeed, you are a great Mimic ; but the holy Father doth not reward Grimaces.

All

A Third Collection of T R A C T S *on all Subjects.* 481

All the C A N O N S of the Chapter of C O L O G N E

Came in a Body, and after having drank a Glass of the Water of the River *Hircinas*, and made a Sacrifice to the God *Trophonius*, they entered into the holy Cavern, and said to the

O R A C L E.

‘ The Cardinal of *Furstenberg* is not worthy to wear the Electoral Bonnet, since the holy Father is not willing he should ; if we had the Power, neither should the Prince of *Bavaria* ; for we have received nothing from him. As to *Furstenberg* we very much fear.

The O R A C L E.

For fear lest they strangle you ; for the sure Charge is great, *Qualitas bona, Quantitas mala, aiunt medici*, The Physicians say the Quality is good, but the Quantity is ill.

All the Monks of F R A N C E

Were carried by the Pretress into the Chapel of good *Genius*, and being first laid on the Earth, they entered the holy Cavern : After which the

D I V I N I T Y

Ordered them to sing some *Exaudions* in Music with a loud Voice.

Omnes Sancti in Caelis, Exaudions, & Orate pro nobis, (All the Holy in Heaven, hear us, and pray for us) when the Choir began to repeat the *Ora pro nobis*, the Pretress ordered the most ancient and

V E N E R A B L E S T

To speak, and they said to the

O R A C L E,

‘ At this Time we are the most powerful Part of the Government, under the Protection of a great King. We live in Peace, Ease, fattened with the Blood of the People ; we fear neither War nor Peace, and heaping up Riches, we become so powerful, that we give Laws to the Princes of the Earth ; and it is by us that Kings reign ; we have secret Ways to insinuate ourselves, and every one of us endeavours to play his Part : We make Rich and Poor when we please ; we affect to be counted Men of Estates, and to be wicked when we have a Mind, and under the cheating Mask of Virtue and Vice, we seduce the People ; Hypocrisy is the highest Degree of Perfection, and the wisest, most pious, and honestest amongst us is a great Hypocrite : We have not made Virtue consist in a severe Exercise of good Thoughts, as the ancient Philosophers did, who not having the true Way of enjoying this World, have lived in the Middle, between Good and Evil, without coming to Extremes : In short, we have so well sung for six or seven Months, that the Queen of *England* hath at length had a Son.

The D I V I N I T Y.

Supposited.

VOL. II.

Q q q

Count

482 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Count *TECKELT*

Came out of this Den, imitating the Savage Beasts, who suffer themselves to be seen when the Hunters and Dogs are retired out of the Field.

The *PRETRESS*

Surprised to see him yet alive, made many Acclamations of Joy, crying *Helas, Helas*, and immediately presented him with a Glass of the Water of the River *Hercinas* for ——— and made him sit a Moment to rest himself; after which he was conducted into the holy Cave, and spake thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘ You see here the most wretched and unfortunate Prince that ever was,
‘ notwithstanding I am still living, by the powerful Arm of the great God,
‘ who hath always preserved me from the Hatred of the Emperor my capital
‘ Enemy; against the King of *France*, who hath betrayed me; against the
‘ cursed Race of the Jesuits, who have tried a thousand Ways to sacrifice me
‘ to their Rage; against the Grand Seignior, who cares for me no more than
‘ I am serviceable to him; and in fine, against a thousand and a thousand
‘ Enemies, who are contriving my Death. You see me a Fugitive, and robbed
‘ of a Crown, which the Arch-duke *Joseph* wears for the Love of me:
‘ Yet notwithstanding I have not lost my Courage, and such as you see me,
‘ I give a great deal of Trouble to my Enemies.

The *ORACLE.*

As long as thou livest thou shalt be between the two Rocks, always in Danger ——— the Fathers of *Loyola* have surrounded thee like so many hungry Wolves seeking to devour thee.

Monsieur le Cardinal de *CAMUS*

Being conducted to the holy Cavern, one of the Pretresses gave him her Hand to help him to go down, lest he should fall: Being come near, he made a Narration of his History in an eloquent manner, and said to the

ORACLE.

‘ You see here a Fisherman, like other Men. Pardon, I beseech you, the
‘ Term which seems to be contrary to the Custom, since I have all Reason
‘ imaginable to praise myself, if I have any Regard to that great and august
‘ Dignity the Purple hath raised me to. God be praised, I take a Glory to
‘ be humble, as much as my proper Nature will permit me. You have been
‘ informed, without doubt, that it is my Zeal, and that I endeavour to acquit
‘ myself of the Duty to which the Charge of Pastor engageth me, by the
‘ Pains I take to gather together the poor Sheep strayed about the holy Mother-Church. You know that I blame extremely the Ways of Rigour and
‘ Tyranny which is exercised, and that on the Consciences of Persons, whose
‘ greatest Guilt is, that they pray to God in the Purity of their Heart: That
‘ I have preached, and still do so, that this harsh Way is wholly opposite to
the

‘ the Christian Religion : That I endeavour to prove it by all the Fathers of
 ‘ the Church, who never had any other Way than by Sweetness and Huma-
 ‘ nity : In short, I have said it, allowed in the Chair, and shall eternally say
 ‘ it, of the Reverend Fathers of the Society, who vomit out every Day their
 ‘ Gall and Rage against me. I leave them to their Opinions, and I have
 ‘ acted at present with so much Boldness, that the holy Father begins
 ‘ to approve of my Conduct, and his Majesty on the other Side orders that I
 ‘ be taken for a Model and Example : In short, you may see what I do, and
 ‘ what I have done hitherto : But one thing goes extremely to my Heart, and
 ‘ if I did dare to tell you, it is, that I am of the Opinion of those poor
 ‘ People whom they persecute so much. As to what remains to be said, it
 ‘ is delicate ; and I beseech you, that it may be permitted that I may be suf-
 ‘ fered such, but that the Truth be never known.

ORACLE.

Jansenist, take Care of yourself.

The Duke of *BAVARIA*.

The Pretress having conducted him into the Cavern, made him drink a
 Glass of the Water of the River *Hercinas*, and bid him shut his Eyes, and
 speak to the

DIVINITY.

‘ Since my Marriage with the Daughter of the Empire, I have always got
 ‘ Victories, and gathered Laurels, and the Ottoman War hath been my Ap-
 ‘ prenticeship. I have abandoned the Interest of *France*, in quitting a confi-
 ‘ derable Pension which she gave me, because it blotted my Glory, I have
 ‘ married my Sister to the Dauphin of *France*, he hath cost me nothing, and
 ‘ what I have lost on one Side, I have gained on the other. I have failed in
 ‘ being Governor of the *Spanish Low Countries*, by a Grant which the King of
 ‘ *Spain* would have made me ; but it gave a Jealousy to *France*, and this Af-
 ‘ fair is put off to another Time. I have refused the Alliance of a Bastard,
 ‘ that was offered me, because it did not consist with my Honour ; besides,
 ‘ it would have made me a Slave to a Crown that doth nothing but for Inte-
 ‘ rest. At this time they court me more than ever, the Emperor, my Father-
 ‘ in-law, promiseth me that there shall be no more Jealousy between me and
 ‘ *Lorraine*, and that I shall have the sole Command of all his Arms. The
 ‘ King of *France* promiseth me that I shall share with him in *Spain*, in *Flanders*,
 ‘ in *Milan*, in *Peru*, and *Mexico*, and in all the Goods of his Brother-in-law,
 ‘ after his Death ; what Side ought I to take ?

The ORACLE.

The Empire’s Side, in preferring thy own Glory, to that of the Emperor,
 and all the Electors, to the Castles in *Spain*, and to the deceitful Promises of
France.

The PRETRESS

Seeing coming the

PARTISANS of FRANCE,

Came before them by the Chapel of *Good Fortune*, before they entred into the holy Cavern.

The *PRETRESS*

Ordered, the most Antient to sit in the Chair of *Mnemosine*, and to make a long Discourse ; having shut his Eyes, and opened his Mouth, he spoke thus to the

DIVINITY.

‘ We are a Race cursed by God, bloody to the poor People, Disturbers
‘ of the public Quiet, and Preservers of the Royal Authority ; without us,
‘ the Kings would be Sovereigns without Power, of Power without Arms, of
‘ Riches without Silver ; we grow fat in the Midst of Plenty and Poverty, and
‘ we have the Secret to find Money where there is none. In short, great Di-
‘ vinity, St. *Louis*, yet afore, was only a poor Saint of Wood, and we have
‘ made him at this Day a Saint of Gold, and when you shall see the Ambassa-
‘ dors of the King of *Siam*, and of the King of *China*, wise Men come from
‘ the East, and powerful Kings send their Ambassadors from another World,
‘ let not this surprize you : You ought to know, that all the Powers of the
‘ Earth are obliged to give him Marks of their Submission (because this serves
‘ for his Glory.) In the mean time, he seems to have forgot from whence he
‘ came, that he hath forgot his good Friends, he is become so fierce of late
‘ Years, in relation to us, that we dare no more look upon him. And above
‘ all, since the Reverend Fathers of the Society have put him in the Head to
‘ chase away the Hugonots, without considering, that this doth us wrong ;
‘ farther, he hath taken Care to purge us from time to time with good Taxes,
‘ for fear, lest we growing too rich, we should be able to make War with
‘ him ; but the Revenue begins to diminish, and lessens every Day more and
‘ more, by the great Number of Refugees who have quitted, and daily do
‘ quit, the Kingdom ; who being the Fat and Strength of the Nation, and
‘ rich, and the best Paymasters that we had, what shall we do now for Money ?

The *ORACLE.*

Establish real to ruin the Nobility.

The Reverend Father *TACHART* Jesuit, and Ambassador of the King of
SIAM to the Court of *France*,

Was no sooner arrived at the Sanctuary of *Hammon*, but all the Pretresses
of the Divinity went out to see his Dress, there was one who would have him-
dance ; the Reverend Father having lifted up his triangular Bonnet, saluted
him with a Kiss, praying him to excuse him, and to introduce him into the
holy Cavern ; the twelve Mandarins that accompanied them were ordered to
stay in the Chapel of *Good Genius*, the Reverend Father *Tachart* being come
near, said to the

ORACLE,

‘ I am the Ambassador of a great King, and I come from the other World
‘ to make an Alliance between *Mahomet* and the Christians. The Society have
‘ chosen.

chosen me, an Apostle, who ought to plant the Gospel in the Kingdom of *Siam*. I have persuaded the King of *Siam* to send his Son to the Court of *France*, for to learn the Art there of converting Heretics, to the End that we may suddenly go to hunt the new Converts through all the *Indies*, I have already introduced into the chief Commands of the Kingdom, the principal Members of our Society, and the King of *Siam* himself is a zealous Catholic, who hath been a zealous Idolater.

The ORACLE.

It much concerns the Society, for the Execution of their great Designs, to transport to the *Indies* a naval Army of *French* Dragoons.

Monsieur Le Marquis de LOUVOIS, and Monsieur de VAUBAN, Engineer-General of *France*,

Having a Mind to visit the frontier Places, to see if all be in a good Condition on this Side of the *Rhine*, in case the Emperor and his Allies should openly oppose the Election of the Cardinal of *Furstenberg*;

The PRETRESS.

Seeing them appear,

Monsieur the Marquis of LOUVOIS

Came on first, and was conducted, without Loss of Time, into the Chapel of *Good Genius*, where he saluted the *Apollo* of *Claros*, in passing, and from thence he came into the holy Cavern, and spoke thus to the

ORACLE.

His Majesty is for War, and I for Peace; he is resolved to make his Troops enter *Cologne*, and make *Furstenberg* Elector, in despite of the Pope and the Empire, and for my Part, I am of a contrary Opinion; I represent to him the pitiful Condition that *France* is in at this Time, its Coffers are empty, its Trade ruined, the new Converts ready to put off the Mask at the first Signal. I represent to him all the Electors of the Empire, and *Holland*, expecting War with Impatience, Prudence is my Counsel, and as long as we fish in troubled Waters, I shall be always for Peace, fearing to lose in one Campaign what we have gained in six.

The ORACLE.

So long as the *Ottoman* War shall last, the deceitful Promises shall do more than powerful Enemies.

Monsieur de VAUBAN,

Who was busy in considering the Avenue to the holy Cave, and had already drawn on his Tablets all that he saw curious in the Chapel of *Good Genius*, he was ordered by the Pretress to meddle no more with his Tablets, but to speak his Business, and to retire as fast as he could; having shut his Eyes, and opened his Mouth, he spoke to the

ORACLE.

ORACLE.

‘ We have no Rest Day nor Night, and we are in a perpetual Motion, as
 ‘ the Water of a River that runs without ceasing; and we run from Province
 ‘ to Province, from Place to Place, and from Frontier to Frontier; they may
 ‘ call us Fools. The Glory of our great Monarch, to which we sacrifice all
 ‘ our Pains and Travels, is at present a great Idol we adore, which will erect
 ‘ to us eternal Monuments; which all Ages will admire; all the Monks of
 ‘ France, chiefly the Jesuits, say that the King is immortal, and that the Em-
 ‘ pire, as well as all the other Potentates of *Europe*, will be obliged to submit
 ‘ to his Yoke, and to rank themselves under his Obedience; we beseech thee
 ‘ inform us what will be the Destiny of the Great *Lewis*.

The ORACLE.

The Great *Louis* hath Enemies without Number, who expect only the Re-
 verse of the Medal, That he always endeavours for Peace, in making a Shew
 of declaring War, and this is his great Policy.

The Count *de RAUNTS*, Ambassador of his Imperial Majesty to the
 Chapter of *Cologne*,

Having received Order from the Emperor, and Electors of the Empire, to
 go immediately to the holy Cavern, came forwards, and said to the

ORACLE.

‘ *France* hath endeavoured, for many Years, by his Money and his Menaces,
 ‘ to make the Cardinal of *Furstenberg* Elector of *Cologne*; the Emperor hath
 ‘ ordered me to represent to the most Illustrious and Most Reverend Chapter
 ‘ of *Cologne*, that the said Cardinal, although a *German* by Birth, is gained to be
 ‘ a Slave to the Crown of *France*: That he hath oftentimes betrayed the Em-
 ‘ pire, and its Members: That he brought the War within the Diocese, and
 ‘ made it a bloody Theatre: That he dismembred *Strasburg* from the Empire,
 ‘ and delivered the Citadel of *Liege* to a powerful Stranger: That at this Day
 ‘ he quarters the *French* in the strong Places of the Diocese: That he fortifies
 ‘ *Bonn* with the *Louis* of Gold which the King his Protector lends him, in hopes
 ‘ of being reimbursed by him, in resigning *Cologn* to him.

The ORACLE.

The Empire is a Machine difficult to manage, and *France* will conquer it all,
 so long as Misunderstanding reigns amongst them.

All the *MONKS*, and all the *PRIESTS* of the *Spanish Low Countries*,
 to the ORACLE.

‘ Since the Queen of *England* was brought to Bed, we are ordered by the
 ‘ Holy Father, and all the Clergy of *Spain*, to sing *Ora pro nobis*, and to pray
 ‘ our Lady of *Loretto*, that the Queen of *Spain* may be with Child also. If
 ‘ the Princess of *Orange*, and her Sister the Princess of *Denmark*, were not
 ‘ Heretics,

‘ Heretics, we could at the same time pray for them, and they should have
‘ no Cause to complain, if it happen that they remain barren, while all the
‘ other Princes of *Europe* have Reason to rejoice at their Fruitfulness.

The ORACLE.

In Barrenness, Father of marvellous Effect, as well as the Assistance of some
good Father.

The most Serene Republic of *VENICE*

Came forward, attended by all the Senators; *Morosini* spoke, in quality of
the Doge, and said to the

D I V I N I T Y,

‘ We have purged one Part of *Greece*, the *Adriatic Gulph*, the *Morea*, and
‘ some of the Islands of the *Archipelago*, of infamous *Mahometism*, and we are
‘ about placing the Standard of Christians in all the Churches of *Constantinople*.
‘ The Ports of the holy *Sophia* are open to us, the Impostor *Mahomet* shall
‘ shortly have no Sanctuary, but the fearful Desarts of *Arabia*, the Emperor,
‘ our Ally, solicits us to make Peace; all *Italy* represents to us that *France*
‘ makes Advantage of our Conquests. If we suffer him to pass the *Alps*, and
‘ if he advance on the *Rhine*, what ought we to do?

The ORACLE.

All *Europe* enjoys Peace in the East, and wish the War were in the West.
But since you have gone so far, take *Candia* to assure the Conquests.

The King of *SIAM* to the ORACLE.

‘ I have sent the Reverend Father *Tachart*, of the Society of Jesus, in Qua-
‘ lity of Ambassador Extraordinary to the Court of *France*, there to treat of
‘ the Means to convert my People from Idolatry, and to break Commerce
‘ with the *Hollanders*. Part of the Pagods of my Kingdoms are already con-
‘ secrated to Christianity, and have purged them of *Marmasets*, and of false
‘ Gods, with which they were filled. The Reverend Father *Tachart* hath
‘ counselled him to put in their Places the Statues of St. *Lewis*, and St. *Ignatius*.
‘ On the other Part, I have set out a Fleet, and I have built Fortresses on the
‘ Frontiers of my Countries, and the King of *France* hath sent me Engineers,
‘ and he desires me to send my Son to him, that he may be taught the Art of
‘ Reigning. The Jesuits persuade me to be willing that the Dragoons come,
‘ as Missionaries, from *France*, to convert my People. I beg of you to inform
‘ me what I shall do.

The ORACLE.

A good Dragoon is a good Apostle, but hath no Faith, Law, or Baptism.

The King of *PERSIA* to the ORACLE.

‘ We are at the End of the World, if it be true that the Evangelist of Jesus
‘ Christ is preached through all the habitable Earth. There is no other Dis-
‘ course, but of making new Converts, as if the Son of God was come. The
‘ King of *Siam*, my Brother, hath chosen rather to embrace the Cross than the
‘ *Alcoran*,

488 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

‘ *Alcoran*, and a great many open the Ports of the East to the Fathers of *Loyola*, who advance in Troops, and assemble in the *Indies* like wild Loupes.
 ‘ If the Prophets accomplish their Prophecies, and my Brother the Sultan is driven out of *Europe*, *Constantinople*, and all the holy Places of our Prophet *Mahomet*’s Repose, will be purged of *Mahometism*, and I only shall be left in *Asia*; I beseech you what must I do to continue the Circumcised, that they may spread over the World like an universal Fire. And will not they reduce to Cinders the Mosques of the great God, if we do not take hold of this Opportunity?

The O R A C L E.

The surest Remedy that can be, is to make a great Rampart Wall from *Isapahan* to the Frontiers of *Persia*, which may make a Tower of a Kingdom, to hinder the Fathers of *Loyola* from entering.

The *Canada*, or *New-France*, to the O R A C L E.

‘ There is no finer Countries in the World for the chasing the new Converts than this is, if the Fathers of *Loyola* will believe us, one passeth whole *America*, and principally into *Canada*, where are several great and vast Cham-paigns, Mountains and Forests, where the Land flows with Milk and Honey, where the Taste and Delicateness is to be preferred to the best Chicken in *France*. If the Great *Lewis* was well counselled, he would let them sing no more in his Kingdom, for fear that *France*, in the End, should become a frightful Desert, where none but the Society of Jesuits inhabit.



The

The Catholic ALMANACK for the YEAR 1687.

Containing both the Roman and English Calendar; with Catalogues of the Popes, from St. Peter to this present Innocentius XI. and of the Kings of England and Archbishops of Canterbury, from the Year 600. to the Reformation.

January XXXI.

New M. 3 d. 55 m. aft. 7 ni. | Full M. 18 d. 27 m. af. 12 noo.
First q. 10 d. 24 m. af. 12 noo. | Last q. 26 d. 28 m. p. 1. aftern.

Circumcision.		Eluan. B. Mid. C.
1	a	1000 M.
2	B	Fintan. Ab.
3	c	Melorus M.
4	d	Edward K. C.
5	e	Peter Ab.
6	f	Cedda B.
7	g	Wulfine B.
8	a	Brithwald B.
9	B	Adrian Ab.
10	c	Egwin B.
11	d	Bennet Ab.
12	e	Kentigern B.
13	f	Mau. & Br. V. M.
14	g	Ita Ab.
15	a	Henry Her.
16	B	Caradock Her.
17	c	Deicola Ab.
18	d	Wolstan B.
19	e	Rich Ham. Her.
20	f	Malcalla. Ab.
21	g	Maimbodus M.
22	a	Theorith. V.
23	B	Cadock Ab.
24	c	Paul Dif. Pat.
25	d	Bathildis Q. Fr.
26	e	Algina V.
27	f	Sexulph B.
28	g	Gildas Sen.
29	a	Gildas Jun.
30	B	Pet. Nolasci Con. Dup.
31	c	Wilgis Ab.

Term
beg.

February XXVIII.

New M. 2 d. 13 m. af. 6. mor. | Full M. 17 d. 26 m. af. 7 mor.
First qu. 8 d. 38 m. aft. 12. ni. | Last q. 23 d. 47 m. p. 10. foren.

		Brigit V.	Fast.
1	d	Ignat. Ep. m. Sem.	Lawrence B.
2	e	Purific. B. V. M. Dup.	Weroburg. Ab.
3	f	Blasii Ep. m. Sem.	Gilbert C.
4	g	Andreas Conf. Sem. I.	Indraet. & c. m.
5	a	Agathæ V. M. Sem.	Inas K.
6	B	Quinquæ. Dor. V. M.	Augulus B.
7	c	Romualdi Ab. Dup.	Elfleda Ab.
8	d		Theliam B.
9	e	Asb-Wednesday. Apol- lon. V. M.	Trumvin B.
10	f		Sedm. Simp. C.
11	g		Edilwald Her.
12	a		Ermenilda Q.
13	B	Quadrage.	Fechinus Ab.
14	c	Valent. m.	Sigfride B.
15	d	Faufin & Jovit. m.	Oifwy K.
16	e	Ember Week.	Tinan B.
17	f		Ethelftan B.
18	g	Simeon Ep. m.	Acca B.
19	a		Ulrick Her.
20	B	2 Sunday of Lent.	Cymbert B.
21	c		Ethnea V.
22	d	Cat. S. Pet. Anti. Dup.	Milburga Ab.
23	e		Ethelbert K.
24	f	Matthæ Ap.	Furfeus K.
25	g		Milwida V.
26	a		Elvius B.
27	B	3 Sund. of Lent.	Oswald B.
28	c		

Term
ends.

Fast.

March XXXI,

New Moon 3 d. at 4 aftern. | Full M. 18 d. 17 m. aft. 12 night.
First q. 10 d. 49 m. aft. 8 ni. | Last q. 26 d. 47 m. aft. 10 foren.

1	d	David B.
2	e	Chad B.
3	f	Winwalock Ab.
4	g	Owen C.
5	a	Piran B.
6	b	Fridolin Ab.
7	c	Esterwin Ab.
8	d	Felix B.
9	e	Alured Ab.
10	f	Himelin Her.
11	g	Lictphard B.
12	a	Brian K.
13	b	Cungarus Her.
14	c	Ceolulph K.
15	d	Aristobu. B. m.
16	e	Adoman C.
17	f	Patrick B.
18	g	Edward K. M.
19	a	Alkmund m.
20	b	Cuthbert B.
21	c	Herebert Her.
22	d	Hamund B.
23	e	Finguar, &c. M.
24	f	Lanfrank B.
25	g	William M.
26	a	Alfwold B.
27	b	Rupert B.
28	c	Albert B.
29	d	Geleasius B.
30	e	Patton B.
31	f	Adr. & Cad. C.

April XXX.

New M. 2 d. 8 m. af. 2 morn. | Full M. 17 d. 18 m. p. 2 after.
First q. 9 d. 25 m. p. 2. aftern. | Last q. 24 d. at 4 afternoon.

1	g	Agilbert B.	
2	a	Fr. de Paula C. dup. Tr.	
3	b	Low Sunday.	
4	c		
5	d	Vincent Fer. C. Sem. 1.	
6	e	Affer B.	
7	f	Elstan B.	
8	g	Bernacus Ab.	
9	a	Lothardus B.	
10	b	Gisla & Riç. V.	
11	c	Paternus C.	
12	d	Guthlake Her.	
13	e	Mechtild V.	
14	f	Elfreda Wid.	
15	g	Ethelwolp K.	
16	a	Paternus B.	
17	b	Maxent. V. M.	
18	c	Stephen Ab.	
19	d	Erardus B.	
20	e	Elphegus B.	
21	f	Cedwal K.	
22	g	Anselm B.	
23	a	Bristan B.	
24	b	Etheldred K.	
25	c	Mellitus B.	
26	d	Egbert Ab.	
27	e	Leofrick B.	
28	f	Walburga Ab.	
29	g	Ivo B.	
30	a	Paul B.	
		Erconwald B.	

Term
beg.

May XXXI.

New M. 1 d. 44 m. p. 12 noon. Full Moo. 17 d. at 2 morn.
First quar. 9 d. at 8 in morn. Last qu. 23 d. 12 m. af. 8 ni.
New Moon 30 day, 24 min. after 12 at night.

1	W	S. Phil. & Jac. Ap. dup.	Asaph B.		
2	c	Athanas. B. dup.	Ultan Ab.		
3	d	Invent. of X dup. SS.	Walter Ab.		
4	e	S. Monica Sem.	Ethelred K.		
5	f	Afcen. Dom.	Richard K.		
6	g	Joan. à port. Lat. dup.	Edbert B.		
7	a	Stanisl. E. M. Sem.	John B.		
8	B	Appar. S. Micha. dup.	Wire C.		
9	c	Gregor. Naz. E. C. dup.	Beatus C.		
10	d	Antonin. Sem. 1. Gord.	Henry B.		
11	e	& Ep. M.	Fremund. M.		
12	f	Nerei, Achil, &c. M. S.	Remig. B.		
13	g		Merwin B.		
14	a	Boniface M.	Editha Sen. Ab.		
15	B	Whit Sunday.	Dympna V. M.		
16	c	Ubaldi Ep. C.	Simon Stock C.		
17	d	Ember Week	Carantocus C.		
18	e	Venant. M. Sem. Tr.	Sewal B.		
19	f	Petri Cælest. Tr. Pud.	Dunstan B.		
20	g	Bern. Sen. C. Sem. Tr.	Ethelbert K. M.		
21	a		Godrick Her.		
22	B	Trinity Sund.	Const. the Great.		
23	c		William M.		
24	d		Robert B.		
25	e	Mar. Mag. Paz. Se. Urb.	Aldelm B.		
26	f	Corp. Christi. Phil. El.	Aug. Ap. Eng.		
27	g	Joan. P. M.	Beda C.		
28	a		Theocus Her.		
29	B	2 p. Pent.	Ergontha Ab.		
30	c	Felic. P. M.	Hienna V.		
31	d	Petronil V.	Guithelinus B.		

Term
ends.

Fast.

Term
beg.

June XXX.

First q. 8 d. at 1 in the morn. Last q. 22 d. 8 m. bef. 1 mor.
Full M. 15 d. 30 m. p. 10. mor. New M. 29 d. 31 m. p. 1. aft.

1	e		Winfan M.		
2	f	Marcellin, &c. M.	Malcolu K.		
3	g		Pega V.		
4	a		Petrock Ab.		
5	B	3 p. Pent.	Boniface B.		
6	c	Norbert E. C. dup.	Gudwall B.		
7	d		Robert Ab.		
8	e		William B.		
9	f	Prim. & Feliciani M.	Columba Ab.		
10	g		Margaret Q.		
11	a	Barnab. Ap. dup.	Egbert K.		
12	B	4 p. Pent. S. Bas. &c. M.	Cunera V. M.		
13	c	Anton. de Padua. dup.	Odolphus C.		
14	d	Basil. mag. E. C. dup.	Brandan Ab.		
15	e	Viti, &c. M.	Eadburga V.		
16	f		Mayne Ab.		
17	g		Botolph Ab.		
18	a	Marci & Marcel. M.	Adolph B.		
19	B	5 p. Pent. S. Gervas M.	Burjene V.		
20	c	Silverii P. M.	Transl. Ed. K. M.		
21	d		Edgmond M.		
22	e	Paulin E. C.	Alban Protom.		
23	f		Ediltrud Q. Ab.		
24	g	Nat. S. Joan. Bapt.	Bartlemew Her.		
25	a		Amphibalus M.		
26	B	6 p. Pent. Joan & Pauli	Adelbert C.		
27	c	M. Sem.	Sezinus B.		
28	d	Leo P. C. Sem.	Sethrida Ab.		
29	e	Peter & Paul.	Hugo M.		
30	f	Com. S. Paul. dup.	Theodatus B. M.		

Term
ends.

Fast.

Fast.

July XXXI.

First q. 7 d. 51 m. p. 4. aftern. | Last q. 21 d. 13 m. p. 8. morn.
Full M. 14 d. 24 m. aft. 6 ni. | New M. 29 d. at 4 in morn.

1	g	Jul. & Aaron M.
2	a	Visit B. V. Dup. Proc.
3	b	7 p. Pent.
4	c	Elizabeth. Q. Port. Sem. L.
5	d	
6	e	Marg. Q. Scot. Sem. I.
7	f	
8	g	
9	a	
10	b	8 p. Pen. Sep. Fra. M. Tr.
11	c	Pius P. M.
12	d	John Gaulb. dup. Nab.
13	e	Anaclet. P. M. Sem.
14	f	Bonavent. E. dup.
15	g	Henry Emp. Sem.
16	a	
17	b	9 p. Pent. S. Al. C. Sem.
18	c	Symphoros. & c. M.
19	d	
20	e	Margaret V. M.
21	f	Praxed. V.
22	g	Mary Magd. dup.
23	a	Apollin. E. M. dup.
24	b	10 p. Pint. Chri. V. M.
25	c	James Apost. Christ.
26	d	Ann M. V. M.
27	e	Pantaleon M.
28	f	Nazar, & c. M. Sem.
29	g	Martha V. Sem. Fel.
30	a	Abdon & Sennon M.
31	b	11 p. Pent. Ig. C. dup.
	c	Neotus C.
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September XXX.

First qu. 4 d. at 6 at night. Last q. 18 d. 16 m. p. 9. morn.
Full M. 11 d. 30 m. p. 9. mor. New M. 26 d. 30 m. af. 12 noon.

1	f	Giles Ab. SS. 12. Frat.	Elpheg. Cal. C.
2	g		Adaman Ab.
3	a		Manfuetus B.
4	b	16 p. Pent.	Swibert B.
5	c		Altho Ab.
6	d		Magnus Ab.
7	e		Leofgar B.
8	f	Nativ. B. V. S. Adr. M.	Ethelb. Q. Ab.
9	g	Gorgon M.	Osmana V.
10	a	Nicholas Tol. Dup.	Otgerus C.
11	b	17 p. Pent. SS. Prot.	Wulshildis Ab.
12	c	& Hyacint. M.	Eanfida Ab.
13	d		Turgottus B.
14	e	Exalt. S. Crucis. dup.	Gelduinus Ab.
15	f	Nicomed.	Editha V.
16	g	Cornel. Cypria. M.	Ninian C.
17	a	Impref. fig. S. Fran. S.	Steph. & Soc. M.
18	b	18 p. Pent.	Winoch Ab.
19	c	Janu. E. & Soc. M. dup.	Theodore B.
20	d	Eustach. & Soc. M. dup.	Heriswide Q.
21	e	Matthew Apoff.	Gurvallus B.
22	f	Ember Week. Maurit.	Hia V.
23	g	Lini. P.M. Sem. S. Thec.	Alfwold K.
24	a	V. M.	Winnibald Ab.
25	b	19 p. Pent.	Theodoric. Ab.
26	c	Cyprian & Justin. M.	Hedda Ab.
27	d	Cof. & Dam. M. Sem.	Sigebert K.
28	e	Wenceslaus Sem. 1.	Lioba Ab.
29	f	Ded. S. Mich. Ar.	Roger. B.
30	g	Jerome D. dup.	Honor.

Fast.

Fast.

October XXXI.

First q. 4 d. 10 m. af. 2 morn. Last qu. 18 d. at 3. in morn.
Full M. 10 d. 49 m. af. 6 nig. New M. 5 d. 50 m. p. 10. ni.

1	a	Remig. E. C. Sem. 1.	Wafnulp Her.
2	b	20 p. Pent.	Thomas B.
3	c	guard. Dup.	SS. Ewa. Fr. & M.
4	d	Francis C. Dup.	Edwin K.
5	e	Placid. & Soc. M.	Wilfrid Jun. B.
6	f	Bruno C. Dup.	Ivy C.
7	g	Marc. P. M. SS. Ser. & c.	Ofitha Q. M.
8	a	Bridgit Vid. Sem.	Keyna Her.
9	b	21 p. Pent. S. Dionis.	Ro. Grof. Test. B.
10	c	& c. M. Sem. Tr.	Paulinus B.
11	d		Ethelburga Ab.
12	e		Wilfrid Sen. B.
13	f	Edward K. C. Sem.	Edward K. C.
14	g	Callist. P. M. Sem.	Burchardus B.
15	a	Teresa V. Dup.	Tecla Ab.
16	b	22 p. Pent.	Lullus B.
17	c	Hedwiges Vid. Sem. 1.	Ethelbright M.
18	d	Lucas Evang. Dup.	Ethbin A.
19	e	Peter of Alcant. Sem.	Fridefwid Ab.
20	f		Kenr. & Offæ K.
21	g	Hilarion Ab. SS. Ur-	Urful. & Soc. M.
22	a	fulæ, & c. M.	Melanus B.
23	b	23 p. Pent.	Edilburga Ab.
24	c		Maglorius B.
25	d	Chryfant. & Daxæ M.	Vall. & Pol. V.
26	e	Evarist. P. M.	Eatta B.
27	f		Rumbald B. M.
28	g	Simon & Jude, Ap.	Alfred. K.
29	a		Elfreda V.
30	b	24 p. Pent.	Egelnoth B.
31	c		Foillan M.

Term

beg.

Fast.

Fast.

November XXX.

First q. 2 d. 22 m. aft. 12 noon. | Last q. 16 d. at 11 at night.
Full M. 9 d. 26 m. af. 6 morn. | New M. 24 d. 38 m. af. 8 ni.

1	d	All Saints.	Cissa Ab.
2	e	All Souls.	Vulganus B.
3	f		Winefreda M.
4	g	Charl. Borom C. dup.	Clarus M.
5	a	Vit. &c.	Malachias B.
6	b	25 p. Pent.	Itutus Ab.
7	c		Willebrord B.
8	d	4 Coronat. M. M. Dup.	Willohade B.
9	e	Ded. Bas. Sal. Dup.	Kebius B.
10	f	Triphon & Soc. M.	Justus B.
11	g	Martin. E. Dup.	Jeron M.
12	a	Martin P. M. Sem.	Lebuius.
13	b	26 p. Pent. S. Didac.	Dubritius B.
14	c	Sem. Tr.	Laurence B.
15	d		Machutus B.
16	e		Edmund B.
17	f	Greg. Thau. E. Sem.	Hugo B.
18	g	D. Bas. Pet. & Paul dup.	Fulco C.
19	a	Elizab. Vid. Dup. Pon.	Ermenb. Q. Ab.
20	b	27 p. Pent.	Edmund K.
21	c	Present. B. M. Dup.	Columban Ab.
22	d	Cæciliæ V. M. Dup.	Bega V.
23	e	Clement P. M. Sem.	Eadfinus B.
24	f	Chryfog. M.	Christina Ab.
25	g	Catharin. V. M. Dup.	Alnoth M.
26	a	Peter Alexan. E. M.	Egbert Ab.
27	b	Advent.	Oda V.
28	c		Edwold Her.
29	d	Fast.	Baruch Her.
30	e	Andrew Ap.	Theanus C.

Term
ends.

December XXXI.

First q. 1 d. 16 m. af. 7 at ni. | Last q. 19 d. 5 m. af. 8 at night.
Full M. 8 d. 31 m. af. 8 at ni. | New M. 24 d. 30 m. af. 10 for.

1	f		Virgilius B.
2	g	Bibian. V. M. Sem.	Weede B.
3	a	Francis Xav. Dup.	Lucius K.
4	b	2 Adv. S. Barb. V. M.	Birinus B.
5	c	Saba Ab.	Eanflede Q.
6	d	Nicol. E. C. Dup.	Congellus Ab.
7	e	Ambros. Ep. D. Dup.	Odwald Ab.
8	f	Concept. B. V. Dup.	Agatha Q.
9	g		Elgiva Q.
10	a	Melchad. P. M.	Daniel B.
11	b	3 Adv. Damas P. M. Tr.	Boysil Ab.
12	c		Elfreda V.
13	d	Lucie V. M. Dup.	Judocus Her.
14	e	Evangel. Week.	Edburga Ab.
15	f	Euseb. E. M.	Hilda Ab.
16	g		Colmanus C.
17	a		Tetta Ab.
18	b	4 Advent.	Daniel B.
19	c		Macarius Ab.
20	d		Mathild Q.
21	e	Thomas Ap.	Eustachius Ab.
22	f		Hilclid Ab.
23	g		Ithwara V. M.
24	a		Ruthius C.
25	b	Nativ. Christ.	Gregory C.
26	c	Stephen.	Tatheus Her.
27	d	John Ap. & Ewan.	Gerard C.
28	e	Innocents.	Walstan C.
29	f	Thomas Cant.	Thomas Cant.
30	g		Ralph Ab.
31	a	Silvest. P. C.	Ethernanus C.

Fast.

Fast.

A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects. 495

A continual Succession of the Popes of Rome, from St. Peter to this present Time, with the Year of our Lord in which each Pope died.

S T. Peter <i>sate at Antioch 7 Years, at Rome 24</i>	69	S. Felix III. C.	530	Hadrianus III.	885
S. Linus, Mart.	80	Bonifacius II.	531	Stephanus VI.	891
S. Cletus, M.	93	S. Joannes II. C.	535	Formosus	896
S. Clement, M.	102	S. Agapetus, C.	537	Bonifacius VI.	897
S. Anacletus, M.	112	S. Silverius, C.	540	Stephanus VII.	900
S. Euaristus, M.	121	S. Vigilius, C.	559	Romanus	901
S. Alexander I. M.	132	S. Pelagius I. C.	559	Theodorus II.	901
S. Sixtus I. M.	142	S. Joannes III. C.	572	Joannes IX.	905
S. Telephorus, M.	154	S. Benedictus I. C.	577	Benedictus IV.	906
S. Hyginus, M.	158	Pelagius II.	590	Leo V.	907
S. Pius I. M.	167	S. Gregorius Mag. & I. C.	604	Christoferus	907
S. Anicetus, M.	175	Sabinianus	605	Sergius	910
S. Soter, M.	179	S. Bonifacius III. C.	606	Anastafius III.	912
S. Eleutherius, M.	194	S. Bonifacius IV. C.	614	Lando	912
S. Victor I. M.	203	S. Deusdedit, C.	617	Joannes X.	929
S. Zepherinus, M.	222	S. Bonifacius V. C.	625	Leo VI.	929
S. Callistus I. M.	226	Honorius I.	638	Stephanus VIII.	931
S. Urbanus I. M.	233	Severinus,	639	Joannes XI.	936
S. Pontianus, M.	237	Joannes IV.	641	Leo VII.	939
S. Antherus, M.	238	S. Theodorus, C.	649	Stephanus IX.	946
S. Fabianus, M.	253	S. Martinus I. C.	654	Marinus II.	946
S. Cornelius, M.	255	Eugenius I.	654	Agapetus II.	955
S. Lucius I. M.	257	Vitalianus,	669	Joannes XII.	963
S. Stephanus I. M.	260	S. Adeodatus, C.	676	Leo VIII.	965
S. Sixtus II. M.	261	Domnus,	677	Benedictus V.	965
S. Dionisius, M.	272	S. Agatho, C.	682	Joannes XIII.	972
S. Felix I. M.	275	S. Leo II. C.	684	Domnus II.	972
S. Eutychianus, M.	283	S. Benedictus II. C.	685	Benedictus VI.	974
S. Caius, M.	296	S. Joannes V. C.	686	Bonifacius VII.	975
S. Marcellinus, M.	304	Conon, or Cuno,	687	Benedictus VII.	984
S. Marcellus, M.	309	S. Sergius I. C.	701	John XIV.	985
S. Eusebius, M.	311	Joannes VI.	705	John XV.	996
S. Miltiades, M.	313	Joannes VII.	707	Gregorius V.	999
S. Sylvester I. Confessor	335	Sisinnius	708	Silvester II.	1003
S. Marcus, C.	336	Constantinus	714	John XVI.	1003
S. Julius I. C.	352	S. Gregorius II. C.	731	John XVII.	1009
S. Liberius, C.	367	S. Gregorius III. C.	741	Sergius IV.	1013
S. Damascus I. C.	384	S. Zacharias, C.	752	Benedictus VIII.	1024
S. Siricius, C.	398	Stephanus II.	752	John XVIII.	1033
S. Anastafius I. C.	402	Stephanus III.	757	Benedictus IX.	1045
S. Innocentius I. C.	417	Paulus I.	767	Gregorius VI.	1046
S. Zofimus, C.	418	Stephanus IV.	772	Clemens II.	1047
S. Bonifacius I. C.	423	Hadrianus I.	795	Damasus II.	1048
S. Caelestinus I. C.	432	S. Leo III. C.	816	S. Leo IX. C.	1054
S. Sixtus III. C.	440	S. Stephanus V. C.	817	Victor II.	1057
S. Leo Magnus & I. C.	461	S. Pascalis I. C.	824	S. Stephanus IX. C.	1058
S. Hilarius, C.	467	Eugenius II.	827	Nicolaus II.	1061
S. Simplicius	483	Valentinus	827	Alexander II.	1073
S. Felix II. C.	492	S. Gregorius IV. C.	844	S. Gregorius VII. C.	1085
S. Gelafius I. C.	496	Sergius II.	847	S. Victor III. C.	1087
S. Anastafius II. C.	498	S. Leo IV. C.	856	B. Urbanus II.	1099
S. Symmachus, C.	514	Benedictus III.	858	B. Paschalis II.	1118
S. Hormisda, C.	523	Nicolaus I.	867	B. Gelafius II.	1119
S. Joannes I. C.	526	Hadrianus II.	872	B. Callistus II.	1124
		Joannes VIII.	882	Honorius II.	1130
		Martinus II.	884	Innocentius II.	1143

496 *A Third Collection of TRACTS on all Subjects.*

Celestinus II.	1144	Innocentius V.	1276	Alexander V.	1410	Paulus IV.	1559
Lucius II.	1145	Hadrianus V.	1276	Joannes XXII.	1415	Pius IV.	1565
Eugenius III.	1153	Joannes XX.	1277	Martinus V.	1431	Pius V.	1572
Anastafius IV.	1154	Nicolaus III.	1280	Eugenius IV.	1446	Gregorius XIII.	1585
Hadrianus IV.	1159	Martinus IV.	1285	Nicolaus V.	1555	Sixtus V.	1589
Anglus.		Honorius IV.	1287	Callistus III.	1458	Urbanus VII.	1590
Alexander III.	1181	Nicolaus IV.	1292	Pius II.	1464	Gregorius XIV.	1590
Lucius III.	1185	S. Celestinus V. C.	1294	Paulus II.	1471	Innocentius IX.	1592
Urbanus III.	1187	Bonifacius VIII.	1303	Sixtus IV.	1484	Clemens VIII.	1605
Gregorius VIII.	1187	Benedictus IX.	1304	Innocentius VIII.	1492	Leo XI.	1605
Clemens III.	1191	Clemens V.	1314	Alexander VI.	1503	Paulus V.	1621
Celestinus III.	1198	Joannes XXI.	1334	Pius III.	1503	Gregorius XV.	1623
Innocentius III.	1216	Benedictus X.	1342	Julius II.	1513	Urbanus VIII.	1644
Honorius III.	1227	Clemens VI.	1352	Leo X. under	1517	Innocentius X.	1654
B. Gregorius IX.	1241	Innocentius VI.	1362	whom Luther		Alexander VII.	1667
Celestinus IV.	1241	Urbanus V.	1370	rises.		Clement IX.	1670
Innocentius IV.	1245	Gregorius XI.	1378	Hadrianus VI.	1523	Clement X.	1676
Alexander IV.	1260	Urbanus VI.	1389	Clement VII.	1534	Innocent XI. who now	
Urbanus IV.	1264	Bonifacius IX.	1404	Paulus III.	1549	presides in St. Peter's	
Clemens IV.	1268	Innocentius VII.	1406	Julius III.	1555	Chair.	
Gregorius X.	1276	Gregorius XII.	1410	Marcellus II.	1555		

A Catalogue of the Kings of England, from the Time of St. Augustine converting this Nation to Christianity, till the Reformation.

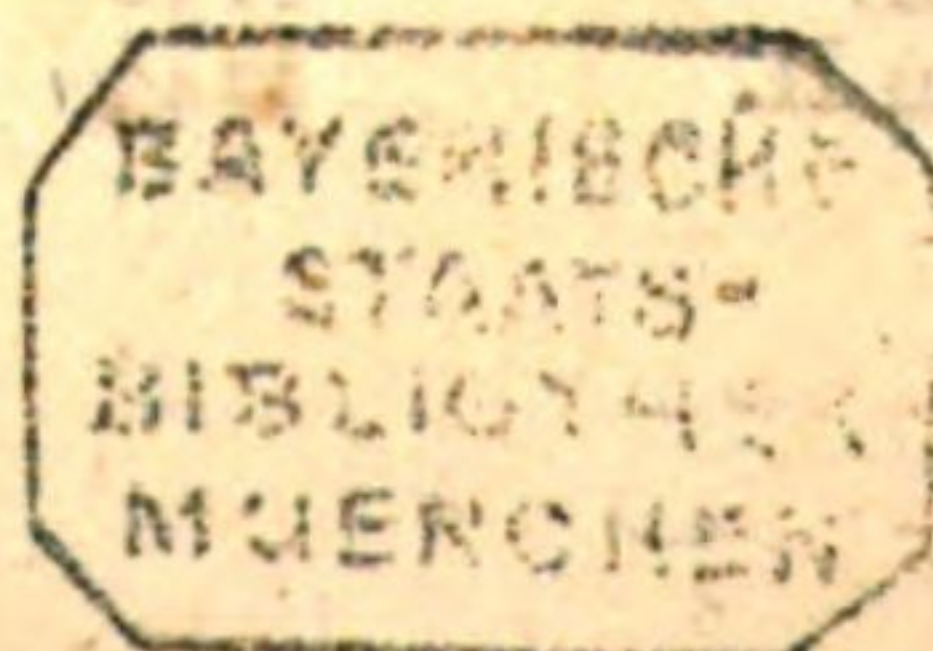
K Ynegilfus	611	Ethelwolph.	837	Edmond Ironside	1016	Henry III.	1216
Senwalch	643	Ethelbald,	857	Canute,	1017	Edward I.	1274
Sexburga,	672	Ethelbert,	862	Harold,	1036	Edward II.	1307
Efcuin,	674	Ethelred,	867	Hardy Canut.	1040	Edward III.	1326
Kentwin,	677	Alfred,	872	St. Edw. Confes.	1042	Richard II.	1377
Cedwella,	686	Edward,	901	Harold,	1066	Henry IV.	1399
Ina	688	Athelstane,	924	Will. the Conqu.	1069	Henry V.	1413
Ethelard,	728	Edmund,	940	Will. Rufus,	1088	Henry VI.	1422
Cuthred,	741	Edred,	946	Henry I.	1100	Edward IV.	1460
Sigibert,	754	Edwin,	955	Stephen,	1135	Edward V.	1483
Kinulph,	755	Edgar,	959	Henry II.	1155	Richard III.	1483
Bithricus,	784	St. Edward,	975	Rich. Cœur de Lion	1189	Henry VII.	1485
Egbert,	800	Egelred,	979	John,	1199	Henry VIII.	1509

A Catalogue of the Archbishops of Canterbury, from St. Augustine, till the Reformation.

S T. Augustin,	596	Athelard,	871	Rodolph,	1114	John Stratford,	1333
St. Lawrence	619	Plegmund,	889	William Corvel,	1122	John Ufford,	1348
St. Mellit,	619	Athelin,	915	Theobald,	1138	Tho. Bradwardin,	1349
St. Justus	624	Wolfehelm,	924	St. Thomas,	1161	Simon Islip,	1349
St. Honorius	633	St. Odo,	934	Richard,	1173	Simon Langhorne	1366
Deusdedit	655	St. Dunstan,	959	Baldwin,	1184	William Witlefly	1368
St. Theodore	668	Ethelgar,	988	Reginald,	1191	Simon Sulbury	1375
Brithwald,	692	Syricius,	990	Hubert Walter,	1193	Will. Courtney,	1381
Tacwin,	731	Africus,	995	Stephen Langton,	1207	Thomas Arundel,	1396
Nothelm,	734	St. Elpheg,	1006	Richard Magnus,	1223	Henry Chichley,	1414
Cutbert,	742	Living,	1013	St. Edmond,	1234	John Stafford,	1443
Bregwin,	759	Agelnote,	1020	Boniface,	1244	John Kemp,	1452
Lambert,	762	Eadfin,	1038	Robert Kilwerby,	1272	Tho. Bouchier,	1454
Ethelard,	793	Robert,	1050	John Peckham,	1278	John Morton	1487
Wulfred,	807	Stigand,	1052	Rob. Winchilsey,	1294	Henry Dean	1501
Theologild,	829	Lanfrank,	1070	Walter Reynolds,	1313	William Warham,	1504
Celnoth,	830	St. Anselm,	1093	Simon Mephram,	1327	Reginald Pool,	1555

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The End of the Second Volume.



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